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A

SELECTION

FROM

THE WRITINGS

OF THE

REFORMERS

AND

EARLY PROTESTANT DIVINES

OF THE

Church of England.

BY THE REV. LEGH RICHMOND, A.M.

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; RECTOR OF TURVEY, BEDFORDSHIRE; AND CHAPLAIN TO H. R. H. THE DUKE OF KENT.

THIS VOLUME CONTAINS

NOWELL'S CATECHISM;

ARCHBISHOP PARKER'S PREFACES TO THE BIBLE;

VARIOUS TRACTS ANNEXED TO THE GENEVA BIBLE, LITURGY, &c.;

HADDON AND FOX AGAINST OSORIUS:

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

A SPIRITUAL AND MOST PRECIOUS PEARL.

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A

CATECHISM,

OR

FIRST INSTRUCTION AND LEARNING

OF

CHRISTIAN RELIGION:

WRITTEN IN LATIN BY

A. NOWELL,

AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

T. NORTON.

At London: Printed by John Day, cum Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis per Decennium An. 1571.

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A

CATECHISM*,

&c.

The Master—The Scholar.

Master. FORASMUCH as the master ought to be to his scholars a second parent and father, not of their bodies but of their minds, I see it belongeth to the

* "One considerable thing more passed the hands of this convocation, of which mention was made before, viz. the Catechism in Latin for the use of schools, and also for a brief summary of religion to be owned and professed in this reformed church. And this is the same with that which is commonly known to this day by the name of Nowell's Catechism. The occasion was this: upon Secretary Cecil's advice, Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, drew up a Catechism in elegant Latin, yet making much use of the Catechism set forth towards the latter end of King Edward's reign. This, when the Dean had finished, he dedicated to the said Secretary who set him on work. And the clergy of the convocation thought fit to peruse it, and having well considered it, and making some corrections, gave it a more public character, as proceeding from them, and so allowing and approving the use of it. In the 22d session of this convocation, the Prolocutor, with Sampson and Day attending him, presented it to the upper house, as unanimously consented to by those of the lower. This taking up time, it was somewhat longer before the Dean could send it again to the said Secretary's hands.

"And because the particulars of this may be worth knowing, I shall here repeat the contents of the Dean's letter to the Secretary, dated in June 1563, a little after the rising of the synod. He certified him, 'That whereas the copy of the Catechism, 'which he caused to be written out for his Honour, came to the 'hands of the bishops and clergy, assembled in the late convoca-'tion, and by reason that certain places were by their judgments 'altered, and that it was interlined, and somewhere blotted, he 'had caused it to be copied out again, and had sent it him now,

order of my duty, my dear child, not so much to instruct thee civilly in learning and good manners, as to furnish thy mind, and that in thy tender years,

'not in his own name, as afore, but in the name of the clergy of 'the convocation, as their book, seeing it was by them approved 'and allowed. And that he would have sent it sooner, but that 'he thought his Honour to be occupied with certain most weighty 'public affairs by occasion rising and increasing in the mean 'time, that he could have no leisure to view that or any other 'book; which great public businesses, seeing they did not so 'speedily, as he trusted, draw toward an end, but continued and 'augmented still, he thought it meet, that the copy of the book, 'at the beginning appointed and dedicated to his Honour, should 'remain with the same; that when opportunity should serve, he 'might at leisure have it, and judge, whether it were not worthy, 'by his help, to be made public by the Queen's Majesty's autho-'rity. For how expedient it were, that some treaty of religion 'should be set forth publicly in the name of our country, his Ho-'nour did well understand; seeing the opinion beyond the seas 'was, that nothing touching religion was, with any authority or 'consent of any number of the learned here in our country, 'taught and set forth; but that a few private persons taught and 'wrote their opinions, without the approbation of any authority 'at all.

"'That for the most part he had taken pains, as well about 'the matter of the book, that it might be consonant unto the 'true doctrine of the Scriptures, as also that the style might 'agree with the purity of the Latin tongue. And that as the 'book had not misliked their judgments, whom he did both most 'allow, and also reverence; so if it might likewise be approved 'to him, whose patrocinie in his purpose he appointed it, when 'he first began it, he should think his pains most happily 'bestowed.'

"This Catechism lay in Cecil's hands for above a year, and then was returned to Nowell again with some learned man's notes, remaining with him till 1570, and then it was called for again by both Archbishops, in order to the publishing of it; and by Cecil's consent (to whom it was dedicated before) being dedicated now by the author to the two Archbishops, and the Bishop of London by name, and to all the rest of the Bishops, it was printed, and printed again 1572, and again 1578, bearing this title, *Christianæ Pietatis prima Institutio, ad usum Scholarum Latinè scripta.* This Catechism was translated also by the same Dean's procurement into English and Greek, for the use also of young learners.

"This Catechism seems to be the same with that set forth a

with good opinions and true religion. For this age of childhood ought no less, yea, also much more, to be trained with good lessons to godliness, than with

month or two before King Edward's death, and licensed and recommended by the said King's letter set before it. For the two persons that hold the dialogue in both Catechisms, are Magister and Auditor. In that letter it is said to have been written by a certain pious and learned man, and to have been moreover diligently perused by certain Bishops, and other persons of learning, to whom the King had committed it; and likewise the same which in Queen Mary's first convocation was much quarrelled with, and complained of; and lastly, which the popish Bishops brought with them, when they came to Mr. Philpot's examination, which Philpot very probably was one of those learned men in convocation that King Edward had committed this Catechism to their perusal of. Yet not so the same, but that now in the convocation, 1562, it had undergone divers and great alterations: one of these appeareth in the explanation of those petitions in the Lord's Prayer, *Hallowed be thy name: thy kingdom come:* which in King Edward's Catechism were explained to favour the Millennium more openly, than in this later. This made Mr. Joseph Mede, in one of his letters to Dr. Twisse, speak of an old Catechism that he had long in his possession, yet knowing no more of it than that it had King Edward's letter recommendatory before it, but making a great remark concerning an assertion there of Christ's reign upon earth after the destruction of antichrist and all his enemies, as though it were a doctrine well known and owned among divines in King Edward's days.

"It was thought fit that ministers should converse in this Catechism, and learn true divinity from it. But this some, conceited of their own learning, afterwards thought much of. Thus Thomas Cartwright, in his Admonition, complained, that now ministers, like young children, must be instructed and learned catechisms. Where in the margin he placed these words, 'Ministers of London enjoined to learn Mr. Nowell's Catechism.' To which thus Whitgift, 'That Catechism which you in derision 'quote in the margin is a book fit for you to learn also. And I 'know no man so well learned, but it may become him to read 'and learn that learned and necessary book.' Such was the esteem of this Catechism upon its coming abroad, that at some visitation, as it seems, in London, the reading of it was recommended to the ministers, and that with good reason, having passed the synod.

"Let me add, that many years after, concerning this Catechism, thus it was writ by a great Bishop in answer to Martin

good arts to humanity: wherefore I thought meet to examine thee by certain short questions, that I may surely know whether thou have well bestowed thy study and labour therein, or no.

Scholar. And I for my part, right worshipful master, shall willingly answer your demands, so far as I have been able with wit to conceive or keep in memory, and can at this present call to mind and remember, what I have heard you teach me out of the holy Scriptures.

Ma. Go to therefore, and tell me what religion it is that thou professest.

Scho. The religion that I profess, right worshipful master, is the same whereof the Lord Christ is the Author and Teacher, and which is therefore properly and truly called the Christian religion, like as the professors thereof are also named Christians.

Ma. Dost thou acknowledge thyself to be a follower of Christian godliness and religion, and a scholar of our Lord and schoolmaster Christ?

Scho. I do so acknowledge indeed, and do unfeignedly and freely profess it: yea, I do settle therein the sum of all my felicity, as in that which is the chiefest good that can come to man, and such as without it our state should be far more miserable than the state of any brute creature.

Ma. Well then, I would have the substance and nature of Christian religion and godliness, the name whereof is most honourable and holy, to be briefly expressed, with some definition of it.

Marprelate: 'For a Catechism, I refer them to that which was 'made by the learned and godly man, Mr. Nowell, Dean of St. 'Paul's, received and allowed by the church of England, and very 'fully grounded and established upon the word of God. There 'may you see all the parts of true religion received, the difficulties 'expounded, the truth declared, the corruptions of the church 'of Rome rejected.' "

STRYPE's *Annals of the Reformation, page* 313.

Scho. Christian religion is the true and godly worshipping of God, and keeping of his commandments.

Ma. Of whom dost thou think it is to be learned?

Scho. Of none other surely but of the heavenly word of God himself, which he hath left unto us written in the holy Scriptures.

Ma. What writings be those which thou callest the word of God and the holy Scriptures?

Scho. None but those which have been published, first by Moses, and the holy Prophets, the friends of Almighty God, by the instinct of the Holy Ghost in the Old Testament, and afterward more plainly in the New Testament by our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and by his holy Apostles inspired with the Spirit of God, and have been preserved unto our time whole and uncorrupted.

Ma. Why was it God's will so to open unto us his word in writing?

Scho. Because we of ourselves (such is the darkness of our hearts) are not able to understand the will of Almighty God, in the knowledge of whom, and in obedience toward him, true godliness consisteth. God having pity upon us, hath opened and clearly set it out unto us; and the same so clearly set out he hath left in the book of the two Testaments, which are called the holy Scriptures, to the end that we should not be uncertainly carried hither and thither, but that by his heavenly doctrine there should be made us, as it were, a certain entry into heaven.

Ma. Why dost thou call God's word a Testament?

Scho. Because it is evident that in conceiving of religion it is the chief point to understand what is the will of the everliving God. And sith by the name of Testament is signified not only a will, but also a last and unchangeable will, we are hereby ad-

monished that in religion we follow nothing, nor seek for any thing further than we are therein taught by God; but that as there is one only true God, so there be but one godly worshipping and pure religion of one only God. Otherwise we should daily forge ourselves new-feigned religions; and every nation, every city, and every man would have his own several religion; yea, we should in our doings follow for our guide, not religion and true godliness, the beginning and foundation of virtues, but superstition, a deceitful shadow of godliness, which is most plain to see by the sundry and innumerable, not religions, but worse than doting superstitions of the old gentile nations, who otherwise, in worldly matters, were very wise men.

Ma. Dost thou then affirm that all things necessary to godliness and salvation are contained in the written word of God?

Scho. Yea; for it were a point of intolerable ungodliness and madness to think, either that God hath left an imperfect doctrine, or that man were able to make that perfect which God left imperfect. Therefore the Lord hath most straitly forbidden men, that they neither add any thing to, nor take any thing from, his word, nor turn any way from it, either to the right hand or to the left.

Ma. If this be true that thou sayest, to what purpose then are so many things so oft in councils, ecclesiastical assemblies, decreed, and by learned men taught in preaching, or left in writing?

Scho. All these things serve either to expounding of dark places of the word of God, and to take away controversies that arise among men, or to the orderly stablishing of the outward governance of the church, and not to make new articles of religion. For all things necessary to salvation, that is to say, how godliness, holiness, and religion are to be purely

and uncorruptedly yielded to God; what obedience is to be given to God, by which alone the order of a godly life is to be framed; what affiance we ought to put in God; how God is to be called upon. and all good things to be imputed to him; what form is to be kept in celebrating the divine mysteries: all these things, I say, are to be learned of the word of God, without the knowledge whereof all these things are either utterly unknown, or most absurdly done; so that it were far better that they were not done at all, as the Lord himself witnesseth that ignorance of the Scripture is the mother of all errors; and he himself in his teaching doth commonly allege the written word of God, and to it he sendeth us to learn of it. For this cause therefore, in old times also, the word of God was openly read in churches, and the help of expounders used when they might have them, as appeareth by the histories of the church. And the Lord himself, immediately before his ascending to heaven, gave principally in charge to his Apostles whom he had chosen, that they should instruct all men throughout the world with his word. And Paul, following his example, ordained that some should be appointed in every church to teach the people, for that he well knew that faith and all things pertaining to godliness do hang upon the reading and hearing of the word of God, and that therefore apostles, teachers, prophets, and expounders, are most necessary in the church of God.

Ma. Dost thou then think that we are bound to hear such teachers and expounders?

Scho. Even as the Lord himself if he were present, so far as they teach only those things which they have received of the Lord; which himself witnesseth, saying, "He that heareth you, heareth me; he that despiseth you, despiseth me:" yea and moreover, to these preachers of his word he hath given the power

to bind and loose, that whose sins soever they by the word of God shall pardon or detain in earth, the same shall be pardoned or detained in heaven.

Ma. Is it enough to hear them once treat of religion?

Scho. We ought to be the scholars of Christ to the end, or rather, without end. It is not therefore enough for a man to begin, unless he continue: and such is our dulness and forgetfulness, that we must oft be taught and put in remembrance, oft pricked forward, and, as it were, pulled by the ear. For things but once or seldom heard are wont lightly to slip out of mind. And for this cause (as is aforesaid) every Sabbath-day (as appeareth by the ecclesiastical histories), the people assembling together, the word of God was openly read, and the expounders thereof, if any were present, were heard; which custom is also at this day received in our churches by the ordinance of the Apostles, and so of God himself.

Ma. Dost thou then think that the word of God is to be read in a strange tongue, and such as the people understandeth not?

Scho. That were grossly to mock God and his people, and shamelessly to abuse them both. For whereas God commandeth that his word be plainly read to young and old, men and women, namely, to the intent that all may understand and learn to fear the Lord their God, as he himself in his own word expressly witnesseth, it were a very mockery that the word of God, which is appointed by God himself to teach his people, should be read to the people in a tongue unknown to them, and whereof they can learn nothing. Also St. Paul doth treat of this matter, and thereupon concludeth that the unlearned people cannot answer Amen to the thanksgiving which they understand not, but that the readers and the hearers should be strangers the one to the other,

if any thing be spoken in the congregation that is not understood of them that be present; and that he had rather to speak in the church of God five words understood, than five thousand words not understood.

Ma. Shall we then have sufficiently discharged our duties, if we so endeavour ourselves that we hear and understand the word of God?

Scho. No. For we must not only hear and understand the word of God, but also with steadfast assent of mind embrace it as the truth of God descended from heaven, and heartily love it, yield ourselves to it, desirous and apt to learn, and to frame our minds to obey it, that, being once planted in our hearts, it may take deep roots therein, and bring forth the fruits of a godly life, ordered according to the rule thereof, that so it may turn to our salvation as it is ordained. It is therefore certain that we must, with all our travail, endeavour that in reading it, in studying upon it, and in hearing it both privately and publicly, we may profit: but profit in any wise we cannot, if it be set forth to us in a tongue that we know not.

Ma. But shall we attain to such perfection as thou speakest of, by only reading the word of God, and diligently hearing it, and the teachers of it?

Scho. Forasmuch as it is the wisdom of God, men should vainly labour in either teaching or learning it, unless God would vouchsafe with the teaching of his Spirit to instruct our hearts, as Paul teacheth, that in vain is the planting and the watering, unless God give the increase: therefore, that we may attain the wisdom of God, hidden in his word, we must with fervent prayer crave of God that with his Spirit He lighten our minds, being darkened with extreme darkness. For Him the Lord hath promised to us to be our teacher sent from heaven, that shall guide us into all truth.

Ma. Into what chief parts dost thou divide all this word of God?

Scho. Into the law and the Gospel.

Ma. How be these two known the one from the other?

Scho. The law setteth out our duties both of godliness toward God, that is, the true worshipping of God, and of charity toward our neighbour, and severely requireth and exacteth our precise obedience, and to the obedient promiseth everlasting life, but to the disobedient pronounceth threatenings and pains, yea, and eternal death. The Gospel containeth the promises of God; and to the offenders of the law, so that they repent them of their offence, it promiseth that God will be merciful through faith in Christ.

Ma. Hitherto then thou hast declared that the word of God doth teach us his will, and containeth all things needful to salvation, and that we ought earnestly to study upon it, and diligently to hear the teachers and expounders of it; but, above all things, that we must by prayer obtain us a teacher from heaven; and what is the word of God, and of what parts it consisteth.

Scho. It is true.

Ma. Since then Christian religion floweth out of God's word as out of a spring-head: as thou hast before done with God's word, so now divide me also religion itself, which is to be drawn out of God's word, into her parts and members, that we may plainly determine whereunto each part ought to be applied, and, as it were, to certain marks to be directed.

Scho. As of the word of God, so of religion also, there are principally two parts; obedience, which the law, the perfect rule of righteousness, commandeth; and faith, which the Gospel, that embraceth the promises concerning the mercy of God, requireth.

Ma. It seemeth yet that there are either more or other parts of religion; for sometimes, in dividing it, the holy Scriptures do use other names.

Scho. That is true. For sometimé they divide whole religion into faith and charity, and sometime into repentance and faith. For sometime for obedience they set charity, which by the law is required to be perfect towards God and men; and sometime because we perform neither obedience nor charity such as we ought, they put in place thereof repentance most necessary for sinners to the obtaining of the mercy of God. Some, which like to have more parts, do set forth first out of the law, the knowledge of our due duty, and damnation by the law for forsaking and rejecting our duty; secondly, out of the Gospel, the knowledge and affiance of our deliverance; thirdly, prayer and craving of the mercy and help of God; fourthly, thanksgiving for deliverance and other benefits of God. But howsoever they differ in names, they be the same things; and to these two principal parts, obedience and faith, in which is contained all the sum and substance of our religion, all the rest are referred. For whereas many do add, as parts, invocation and thanksgiving, and the divine mysteries most nearly conjoined to the same, which are commonly called sacraments, these in very deed are comprised within those two former parts. For no man can truly perform the duty towards God, either of affiance or of obedience, which will not, when any necessity distresseth him, flee to God, and account all things to come from him, and, when occasion and time serveth, rightly use his holy mysteries.

Ma. I agree with thee, that all may be drawn to these two parts, if a man will precisely and somewhat narrowly treat of them. But forasmuch as the most precise manner of dividing is not to be required of

children, I had rather that somewhat in plainer sort thou divide religion into more parts, that the whole matter may be made the clearer. Therefore let us handle these things more grossly, so it be more openly.

Scho. Where you like best to deal with me in plainer sort, I may conveniently of two parts make four, and divide whole religion into obedience, faith, invocation, and sacraments.

Ma. Go to then. Since I desire to have this teaching of religion to be as plain as may be, let us keep this order; first, to inquire of obedience, which the law requireth; secondly, of faith, which looketh to and embraceth the promises of the Gospel; thirdly, of invocation and thanksgiving, which two are most nearly joined together; fourthly and lastly, of the sacraments and mysteries of God.

Scho. And I, worshipful master, shall willingly, according to my slender capacity, answer your questions as I am taught by the holy Scriptures.

THE FIRST PART.

OF THE LAW AND OBEDIENCE.

Ma. Forasmuch as our obedience whereof we have first to speak, is to be tried by the rule of the law of God, it is necessary that we first search out the whole substance and nature of the law, which being found and known, it cannot be unknown, what and of what sort our obedience ought to be. Therefore begin to tell what thou thinkest of the law.

Scho. I think that the law of God is the full and in all points perfect rule of the righteousness which is required of man, which commandeth those things that are to be done, and forbiddeth the contraries. In this law God hath restrained all things to his own will and judgment, so as no godliness toward him nor

dutifulness toward men, can be allowed of him but that only which doth in all things agree with the straitness of this rule. Vainly therefore do mortal men invent to themselves forms of godliness and duty after their own fancy; for God hath set forth to us his law written in two tables, as a most sure rule both of our worshipping of God and of our duties to men, and therewith also hath declared that there is nothing on earth more pleasant and acceptable to him than our obedience.

Ma. Whereof treateth the first table?

Scho. It treateth of our godliness toward God, and containeth the first four commandments of the law.

Ma. Whereof treateth the second?

Scho. Of the duties of mutual charity or love among men, which containeth six commandments. And so in a sum ten commandments make up the whole law; for which cause the law is called the Ten Commandments.

Ma. Rehearse me the first commandment of the first table.

Scho. "Hear, O Israel, I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have none other gods before me."

Ma. Why doth God first speak somewhat of himself and of his benefit?

Scho. He hath principally care that the estimation of the laws ordained by him should not be shortly abated by contempt: and therefore that they might have the greater authority, he useth this, as it were, an entry, "I am the Lord thy God." In which words he teacheth that he is our Maker, Lord, and Saviour, and the Author of all good. And so with good right by his dignity of a law-maker, he challengeth to himself the authority of commanding; and by his goodness he procureth favour to his law; and by

them both together, burdeneth us with necessity to obey it, unless we will be both rebels against him that is most mighty, and unthankful toward him that is most bountiful.

Ma. But whereas he speaketh of Israel by name, and maketh expressly mention of breaking the yoke of the bondage of Egypt, doth not this belong only to the people of Israel?

Scho. God indeed rescued the Israelites by his servant Moses from bodily bondage; but he hath delivered all men that be his, by his Son Jesus Christ, from the spiritual thraldom of sin, and the tyranny of the devil, wherein else they had lain pressed and oppressed. This kind of deliverance pertaineth indifferently to all men which put their trust in God their deliverer, and, to their power, obey his laws; which if they do not, he doth by this rehearsal of his most great benefit pronounce that they shall be guilty of most great unthankfulness. For let every man imagine the devil, that hellish Pharaoh, ready to oppress him, and how sin is that foul mire in which he most filthily walloweth; let him set before the eyes of his mind hell, the most wretched Egyptian bondage, and then shall he easily perceive that this freedom, whereof I speak, is the thing that he ought principally to desire, as the thing of most great importance to him, whereof yet he shall be most unworthy, unless he honour the Author of his deliverance with all service and obedience.

Ma. Say on.

Scho. After that he hath thus stablished the authority of his law, now followeth the commandment, "Thou shalt have none other gods before me."

Ma. Tell me what this meaneth.

Scho. This commandment condemneth and forbiddeth idolatry, which God thoroughly hateth.

Ma. What is idolatry, or to have strange gods?

Scho. It is in the place of the one only true God, which hath openly and manifestly shewed and disclosed himself unto us in the holy Scriptures, to set other persons or things, and of them to frame and make to ourselves, as it were, certain gods, to worship them as gods, and to set and repose our trust in them. For God commandeth us to acknowledge him alone for our only God; that is, that of those things that wholly belong to his majesty, and which we owe to him alone, we transfer not any part, be it never so little, to any other, but that to him alone and entirely we give his whole honour and service, whereof to yield any whit to any other were a most heinous offence.

Ma. What be the things that we properly owe to God alone, wherein thou sayest that his proper and peculiar worship consisteth?

Scho. Innumerable are the things that we owe to God; but they all may be well reduced to four chief points.

Ma. What be they?

Scho. That we give to his majesty the sovereign honour, and to his goodness the greatest love and affiance; that we flee to him, and crave his help; that with thankfulness we yield, as due to him, ourselves and all that we have. These things are to be given, as to none other, so to him alone, if we desire to have him alone our God, and to be his peculiar people.

Ma. What mean these last words, *before me*, or *in my sight?*

Scho. That we cannot once so much as tend to revolting from God, but that God is witness of it; for there is nothing so close nor so secret that can be hid from him. Moreover, he thereby declareth that he requireth not only the honour of open confession, but also inward and sincere godliness of heart, for

that he is the understander and judge of secret thoughts.

Ma. Well then, let this be enough said of the first commandment. Now let us go on to the second.

Scho. "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in the heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them; for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shew mercy unto thousands in them that love me, and keep my commandments."

Ma. What is the meaning of these words?

Scho. As in the first commandment he commandeth that himself alone be honoured and worshipped, so in this commandment he restraineth us from all superstition, and from all wrongful and bodily inventions, forasmuch as the worshipping of him ought to be spiritual and pure; and chiefly he frayeth us from the most gross fault of outward idolatry.

Ma. It seemeth then that this law wholly condemneth the arts of painting and portraiture, so that it is not lawful to have any images made at all.

Scho. Not so. But he first forbiddeth us to make any images to express or counterfeit God, or to worship him withal; and secondly he chargeth us not to worship the images themselves.

Ma. Why is it not lawful to express God with a bodily and visible form?

Scho. Because there can be no likeness or agreeing between God, which is a Spirit eternal, unmeasurable, infinite, incomprehensible, severed from all mortal composition, and a frail, bodily, silly, spiritless, and vain shape. Therefore they do most injuriously abate the majesty of the most good and most

great God, when they go about in such sort to make resemblance of him.

Ma. Have they not then said well, which affirm that images are unlearned men's books?

Scho. I know not what manner of books they be; but surely, concerning God, they can teach us nothing but errors.

Ma. What manner of worshipping is that which is here condemned?

Scho. When we, intending to pray, do turn ourselves to portraitures or images; when we do fall down and kneel before them with uncovering our heads, or with other signs shewing any honour unto them, as if God were represented unto us by them; briefly, we are in this law forbidden, that we neither seek nor worship God in images, or, which is all one, that we worship not the images themselves in honour of God, nor in any wise by idolatry or superstition abuse them with injury to his majesty. Otherwise the lawful use of making portraitures and of paintings is not forbidden.

Ma. By this thou tellest me it may easily be gathered that it is very perilous to set any images or pictures in churches, which are properly appointed for the only worshipping of God.

Scho. That that is true, we have had already too much experience, by the decay in a manner of whole religion.

Ma. Yet there remaineth a certain, as it were, addition or appendant of this law.

Scho. "For I (saith he), I the Lord your God am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the, &c. &c."

Ma. To what end, or wherefore, were these things spoken?

Scho. These serve to this end, to stablish and confirm this law, by adding, as it were, a certain

special decree. For in naming himself our Lord and our God, he doth by two reasons, that is, in respect of his authority, and of his bountifulness, urge us to obey him in all things. And by this word *jealousy*, he declareth that he can abide no partner or equal.

Ma. What is the reason of this jealousy that thou speakest of?

Scho. A most just reason. For since that to us which have nothing deserved, only of his own infinite goodness, he hath given himself; by most good right it is that he will have us, to be wholly, altogether, and entirely his own. For this is that bond, as it were, of a holy marriage, wherein to God, the faithful husband, our souls, as chaste spouses, are coupled; whose chastity standeth in this, to be dedicated to God alone, and to cleave wholly to him, like as on the other side our souls are said to be defiled with adultery when they swerve from God to idolatry or superstition. And how much more heartily the husband loveth his wife, and the chaster he is himself, so much is he more grievously displeased with his wife when she breaketh her faith.

Ma. Go on.

Scho. Now to the intent to shew more vehemently how he hateth idolatry, and with greater fear to restrain us from offending therein, he threateneth that he will take vengeance not only of them that shall so offend, but also of their children and posterity.

Ma. But how doth this agree with the righteousness of God, that any one should be punished for another's offence?

Scho. The very state of mankind doth sufficiently assoil this question. For by nature we are all subject to damnation, in which state if God do leave us, we have no cause to complain of him. And as toward the godly he sheweth his love and mercy, in defending and cherishing their posterity with giving them their

preservation which he owed them not; so toward the ungodly he executeth his vengeance in withholding that his goodness from their children, and yet in the mean time he doeth them no wrong, but as he found them, so leaveth them to their own disposition and nature.

Ma. Go forward to the rest.

Scho. That he should not seem to enforce us with only threatenings, now followeth the other part, wherein God, with gentle and liberal promising, entreateth and allureth us to obey him. For he promiseth that he will shew most great mercifulness both toward all themselves that love him and obey his commandments, and also toward their posterity.

Ma. By what reason dost thou think this to be righteous?

Scho. Some reason it is because of the godly education wherein godly parents do so instruct their children, that they commonly use to succeed them as their heirs in the true fear and love of God: also nature itself draweth us to a good will towards our friends' children. But the surest reason is, that God so promiseth, who neither can swerve from righteousness, nor at any time break his promise.

Ma. But it appeareth that this is not continually certain, and ever falleth so. For sometimes godly parents beget ungodly children, and such as go out of kind from their parents' goodness, whom God, notwithstanding this promise, hath grievously punished.

Scho. This indeed cannot be denied. For as God, when he will, sheweth himself merciful to the children of the wicked, so is he by no such necessity bounden to the children of the godly, but that he is at liberty to reject such of them as he will. But therein he always useth such moderation, that the truth of his promise ever remaineth steadfast.

weighty matter the truth should otherwise not be believed, we may lawfully confirm it with an oath.

Ma. What followeth next?

Scho. "For the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain."

Ma. Since God doth in other places pronounce that he will punish generally all the breakers of his law, why doth he here particularly threaten them that abuse his name?

Scho. His meaning was to shew how highly he esteemeth the glory of his name, to the end that, seeing punishment ready for us, we should so much the more heedfully beware of profanely abusing it.

Ma. Dost thou think it lawful to swear by the names of saints, or by the names of other men or creatures?

Scho. No. For since a lawful oath is nothing else but the swearer's religious affirming that he calleth and useth God, the knower and judge of all things, for witness that he sweareth a true oath, and that he calleth upon and wisheth the same God to be the punisher and avenger of his lying and offence if he swear falsely; it were a most heinous sin to part or communicate among other persons or creatures this honour of God's wisdom and majesty, which is his own proper and peculiar honour.

Ma. Now remaineth the fourth commandment, which is the last commandment of the first table.

Scho. "Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath-day. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do. But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt do no manner of work: thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea,

and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day. Wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it."

Ma. What meaneth this word Sabbath?

Scho. Sabbath, by interpretation, signifieth rest. That day, for that it is appointed only for the worshipping of God, the godly must lay aside all worldly business, that they may the more diligently intend to religion and godliness.

Ma. Why hath God set herein before us an example of himself for us to follow?

Scho. Because notable and noble examples do more thoroughly stir and sharpen men's minds. For servants do willingly follow their master, and children their parent. And nothing is more to be desired of men, than to frame themselves to the example and imitation of God.

Ma. Sayest thou then that we must every seventh day abstain from all labour?

Scho. This commandment hath a double consideration. For inasmuch as it containeth a ceremony, and requireth only outward rest, it belonged peculiarly to the Jews, and hath not the force of a continuing and eternal law. But now by the coming of Christ, as the other shadows of Jewish ceremonies are abrogate, so is this law also in this behalf abridged.

Ma. What then beside the ceremony is there remaining, whereunto we are still perpetually bound?

Scho. This law was ordained for these causes: first, to stablish and maintain an ecclesiastical discipline, and a certain order of the Christian commonweal; secondly, to provide for the state of servants, that it be made tolerable; thirdly, to express a certain form and figure of the spiritual rest.

Ma. What is that ecclesiastical discipline that thou speakest of?

Scho. That the people assemble together to hear

the doctrine of Christ, to yield confession of their faith, to make openly public prayers to God, to celebrate and retain the memory of God's works and benefits, and to use the mysteries that he hath left us.

Ma. Shall it be enough to have done these every seventh day?

Scho. These things indeed every man privately ought to record and think upon every day; but for our negligence and weakness sake, one certain special day is by public order appointed for this matter.

Ma. Why was there in this commandment provision made for relieving of servants?

Scho. It was reason that they which be under other men's power should have some time to rest from labour. For else their state should be too grievous and too hard to bear. And surely meet it was that servants should, together with us, sometime serve Him that is the common master of them and us; yea, and farther too, since he hath by Christ adopted them to himself as well as us. It is also profitable for the masters themselves that servants should sometimes rest between their workings, that, after respiting their work awhile, they may return more fresh and lusty to it again.

Ma. Now remaineth for thee to tell of the spiritual rest.

Scho. That is, when, resting from worldly business, and from our own works and studies, and as it were having a certain holy vacation, we yield ourselves wholly to God's governance, that he may do his works in us; and when (as the Scripture termeth it) we crucify our flesh, we bridle the froward desires and motions of our heart, restraining our own nature, that we may obey the will of God. For so shall we most aptly reduce and bring the figure and image of eternal rest to the very thing and truth itself.

Ma. May we then cast away this care on the other days?

Scho. No; for when we have once begun, we must go forward to the end, throughout the whole race of our life. And the number of seven, forasmuch as in the Scripture it signifieth perfection, putteth us in remembrance that we ought with all our force and endeavour continually to labour and travail toward perfection: and yet therewithal it is shewed us, that so long as we live in this world, we are far from the perfection and full attaining of this spiritual rest, and that here is given us but a certain taste of that rest which we shall enjoy perfectly, fully, and most blessedly in the kingdom of God.

Ma. Hitherto thou hast well rehearsed me the laws of the first table, wherein the true worshipping of God, which is the fountain of all good things, is briefly comprehended. Now therefore I would have thee tell me what be the duties of our charity and love towards men, which duties do spring and are drawn out of the same fountain, and which are contained in the second table.

Scho. The second table beginneth thus: "Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee."

Ma. What is meant in this place by this word Honour?

Scho. The honour of parents containeth love, fear, and reverence; and consisteth as in the proper work and duty of it, in obeying them, in saving, helping, and defending them, and also feeding and relieving them if ever they be in need.

Ma. Doth the law extend only to parents by nature?

Scho. Although the very words seem to express no more; yet we must understand that all those to whom an authority is given, as magistrates, ministers of the

church, schoolmasters; finally, all they that have any ornament, either of reverend age, or of wit, wisdom, or learning, worship, or wealthy state, or otherwise be our superiors, are contained under the name of fathers; because the authority both of them and of fathers comes out of one fountain.

Ma. Out of what fountain?

Scho. The holy decree of the laws of God, by which they are become worshipful and honourable, as well as natural parents. For from thence they all, whether they be parents, princes, magistrates, or other superiors, whatsoever they be, have all their power and authority; because by these it has pleased God to rule and govern the world.

Ma. What is meant by this that he calleth magistrates, and other superiors, by the name of parents?

Scho. To teach us that they are given us of God, both for our own and public benefit, and also by example of that authority, which of all other is naturally least grudged at, to train and enure the mind of man, which of itself is puffed with pride, and loth to be under other's commandment, to the duty and obedience towards magistrates. For by the name of parents, we are charged not only to yield and obey to magistrates, but also to honour and love them. And likewise on the other part, superiors are taught so to govern their inferiors, as a just parent useth to rule over good children.

Ma. What meaneth that promise which is added to the commandment?

Scho. That they shall enjoy long life, and shall long continue in sure and steadfast possession of wealth, that give just and due honour to their parents and magistrates.

Ma. But this promise seemeth to belong peculiarly to such Jews as are kind to their parents.

Scho. It is no doubt, that that which is by name

Scho. "Thou shalt not kill."

Ma. Shall we sufficiently fulfil this law if we keep our hands clean from slaughter and blood?

Scho. God made his law not only for outward works, but also and chiefly for the affections of the heart. For anger and hatred, and every desire to hurt, is, before God, adjudged manslaughter. Therefore these also God by this law forbiddeth us.

Ma. Shall we then fully satisfy the law if we hate no man?

Scho. God, in condemning hatred, requireth love towards all men, even our enemies, yea, so far as to wish health, safety, and all good things to them that wish us evil, and do bear us a hateful and cruel mind, and, as much as in us lieth, to do them good.

Ma. What is the seventh commandment?

Scho. "Thou shalt not commit adultery."

Ma. What dost thou think to be contained therein?

Scho. By this commandment is forbidden all kind of filthy and wandering lust, and all uncleanness that riseth of such lust, as fondness in handling, unchasteness of speech, and all wantonness of countenance and gesture, all outward show of unchastity whatsoever it be. And not only filthiness of words and uncleanness of doings is forbidden by God; but also forasmuch as both our bodies and our souls are the temples of the Holy Ghost, that honesty may be kept undefiled in them both, shamefacedness and chastity is commanded, that neither our bodies be defiled with uncleanness of lust, nor our minds with unhonest thoughts or desires, but be always preserved chaste and pure.

Ma. Go on to the rest.

Scho. The eighth commandment is, "Thou shalt not steal." By which commandment are condemned not only those thefts which are punished by men's

laws, but also all frauds and deceivings. But none doth offend more heinously against this law than they that are wont by means of trust to beguile them toward whom they pretend friendship. For they that break faith, labour to overthrow the common succour of all men. We are therefore commanded that we deceive no man, that we undermine no man, that we suffer not ourselves to be allured with advantage or gain of buying or selling, to do any wrong; that in trading of buying or selling we seek not wealth unjustly, nor make our profit by untrue and uneven measures and weights, nor increase our riches with sale of slight and deceitful ware.

Ma. Thinkest thou there is any more to be said of this commandment?

Scho. Yea forsooth; for not only outward thefts and frauds are forbidden, and we are commanded to use bargaining without guile and deceits, and to do all things else without subtle undermining; but also we are charged to be altogether so minded, that though we were sure to escape unpunished and unespied, yet we would of ourselves forbear from wrong. For that which is wrong before men to do, is evil before God to have will to do. Therefore all counsels and devices, and especially the very desire to make our gain of other's loss, is forbidden by this law. Finally, we are by this law commanded to endeavour all the ways we may that every man may most speedily come to his own, and safely keep that which he possesseth.

Ma. What is the ninth commandment?

Scho. "Thou shalt bear no false witness against thy neighbour."

Ma. What is the meaning of this commandment?

Scho. That we break not our oath or faith. And in this law we are forbidden, not only open and mani-

fest perjuries, but also wholly all lying, slanders, backbitings, and evil speakings, whereby our neighbour may take loss or harm, or lose his good name and estimation. For one example containeth a general doctrine. Yea, and we ought neither ourselves at any time to speak any false or untrue thing, nor with our words, writing, silence, presence, or secret assent in holding our peace, once allow the same in other. But we ought always to be lovers and followers of simple truth, ever to rest upon truth, to bring forth all things diligently into the light of truth, as place, time, or necessity shall require; finally, ever ready to take upon us the defence of truth, and by all means to maintain and uphold it.

Ma. For satisfying of this law is it not enough to bridle our tongue and pen?

Scho. By the same reason that I have before said, when he forbiddeth evil speaking, he therewith also forbiddeth sinister suspicions and wrongful misdeemings. For this Lawmaker hath ever chief respect to the affections of the heart. This law therefore forbiddeth us to be inclined so much as to think evil of our neighbours, much less to defame them. Yea, it commandeth us to be of such gentle sincerity and indifferency toward them, as to endeavour, so far as truth may suffer, to think well of them, and to our uttermost power to preserve their estimation untouched.

Ma. What is the reason why the Lord in his law doth term the corrupt affections of the heart by the names of the most heinous offences? For he comprehendeth wrath and hatred under the name of manslaughter; all wantonness and unclean thoughts, under the name of adultery; and unjust coveting, under the name of theft.

Scho. Lest we (as the nature of man is) should wink at the ungodly affections of the heart, as things

of small weight, therefore the Lord setteth them out by their true names, according as he measureth them by the rule of his own righteousness. For our Saviour, the best interpreter of his Father's meaning, doth so expound the same: "Whoso," saith he, "is angry with his brother, he is a manslayer; whoso lusteth after a woman, he hath committed adultery."

Ma. But whereas only vices and sins are forbidden in these commandments, why dost thou, in expounding them, say that the contrary virtues are also commanded therein? For thou sayest that in forbidding adultery, chastity is enjoined; and in forbidding manslaughter and theft, most entire good will and liberality is commanded. And so of the rest.

Scho. Because the same our Saviour hath so expounded it, which setteth the sum of the law not in abstaining only from injury and evil doing, but in love and charity, like as the kingly Prophet had also before taught, saying, "Depart from evil and do good."

Ma. Now remaineth the last commandment.

Scho. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his."

Ma. Seeing, as thou hast oft said already, the whole law is spiritual, and ordained not only to restrain outward evil doings, but also to bridle the inward affections of the heart; what is there herein commanded more than was before omitted?

Scho. God hath before forbidden evil doings and corrupt affections of the mind; but now he requireth of us a most precise pureness, that we suffer not any desire, be it never so light, nor any thought, be it never so small, in any wise swerving from right, once to creep into our heart.

Ma. How then? dost thou say that unadvised and sudden desires, and short thoughts that come

upon the very godly, are sins, although they strive against such, rather than yield to them?

Scho. Surely it is plain that all corrupt thoughts, although our consent be not added to them, do proceed of our corrupt nature. And it is no doubt that sudden desires that tempt the hearts of men, although they prevail not so far as to win a steadfast assent of mind and allowance, are in this commandment condemned by God as sins. For it is meet that even in our very hearts and minds should shine before God their most perfect pureness and cleanness. For no innocency and righteousness but the most perfect can please him, whereof he hath also set before us this his law a most perfect rule.

Mn. Hitherto thou hast shortly and plainly opened the law of the ten commandments: but cannot all these things that thou hast severally and particularly declared, be in few words gathered, as it were, into one sum?

Scho. Why not? seeing that Christ, our heavenly schoolmaster, hath comprised the whole pith and substance of the law in a sum and short abridgment, in this manner, saying, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. And this is the greatest commandment in the law. And the second is like unto this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. For in these two commandments are contained the whole law and the prophets."

Ma. What manner of love of God dost thou take to be here required?

Scho. Such as is meet for God, that is, that we acknowledge him, both for our most mighty Lord, and our most loving Father, and most merciful Saviour. Wherefore to this love is to be adjoined both reverence to his majesty, and obedience to his will, and affiance in his goodness.

Ma. What is meant by all the heart, all the soul, all the strength?

Scho. Such fervency and unfeignedness of love, that there be no room for any thoughts, for any desires, for any meanings or doings that disagree with the love of God. Dear (as one saith) are our parents, dear are our children, our kinsfolk, our friends, and dearer yet is our country: but all the dear loves of them all, entire zeal toward God, and the most perfect love of him, not only containeth, but also much and far surmounteth; for whom what good man will stick to die? For every godly man loveth God not only more dearly than all his, but also more dearly than himself.

Ma. Now what sayest thou of the love of our neighbour?

Scho. Christ's will was, that there should be most strait bonds of love among his Christians. And as we be by nature most inclined to the love of ourselves, so can there not be devised a plainer nor shorter, nor more pithy, nor more indifferent rule of brotherly love than that which the Lord hath gathered out of our own nature and set before us, that is, that every man should bear to his neighbour the same good will that he beareth to himself. Whereof it followeth that we should not do any thing to our neighbour, nor say nor think any thing of him, which we would not have other to do to ourselves, or to say or think of ourselves. Within the compass of which only law, which is indeed as it were the soul of all other laws, if we could be holden, surely there were no need of so many bars of laws as men do daily devise to hold men in from doing wrong one to another, and to maintain civil society, and all well near in vain, if among men this one law be not regarded.

Ma. How far extendeth the name of neighbour?

Scho. The name of neighbour containeth not

only those that be of our kin and alliance, or friends, or such as be knit to us in any civil bond of love, but also those whom we know not, yea, and our enemies.

Ma. Why, what have those to do with us?

Scho. Surely they are knit to us with the same bond wherewith God hath coupled together all mankind, which bond his will is to have inviolable and steadfast, and therefore it cannot be taken away by any man's frowardness, hatred, or malice. For though any man hate us, yet that notwithstanding, he remaineth still our neighbour, and so must alway be accounted, because the same order by which this fellowship and conjoining among men is knit together ought alway to remain steadfast and inviolable. And hereby it may be easily perceived why the holy Scripture hath appointed charity or love to be one of the principal parts of religion.

Ma. But what meaneth that addition in the end, that therein are contained the whole law and the prophets?

Scho. Because in very deed the sum of them all belongeth thereunto. For all the warnings, commandments, exhortations, promises, and threatenings, which the law itself and the prophets and apostles do every where use, are directed to nothing else but to the end of this law, as it were to a mark. And all things in the holy Scriptures are so applied to charity, that they seem, as it were, to lead us by the hand unto it.

Ma. Now I would have thee to tell me what law, that is that thou speakest of—whether it is the same that we call the law of nature, or some other besides it?

Scho. I remember, master, that I have long ago learned this of you, that is, that the law, as the highest reason, was by God grafted in the nature of man,

while man's nature was yet sound and uncorrupted, being created after the image of God; so this law is indeed, and is called, the law of nature. But since the nature of man became stained with sin, although the minds of wise men have been in some sort lightened with the brightness of this natural light, yet in the most part of men this light is so put out, that scarce any sparkles thereof are to be seen; and in many men's minds is deeply grafted a sharp hatred of God and men, against the ordinances of God and his commandments written in this law, which command most hearty love to God and man. And hereof cometh so great ungodliness toward God, and so deadly cruelty toward men.

Ma. How cometh it to pass that God would have these commandments written in tables?

Scho. I will tell you. The image of God in man is, since the fall of Adam, by original sin and by evil custom, so darkened, and natural judgment so corrupted, that man doth not sufficiently understand what difference is between honest and dishonest, right and wrong. Merciful God therefore, minding to renew the same image in us, hath by his law, written in tables, set forth the rule of perfect righteousness, and that so lively and fully, that God requireth no more of us but to follow the same rule. For he accepteth none other sacrifice but obedience, and therefore he hateth all, whatsoever it be, that we admit in religion, or in the case of worshipping God without his prescribed ordinance.

Ma. But where in this law there are no commandments set out of every man's private vocation, how can this be a perfect rule of life?

Scho. Though here be no commandments expressly set out concerning the duties of every several man, yet forasmuch as the law commandeth to give to every man his own, it doth in a sum comprise all

the parts and duties of every man privately in his degree and trade of life. And in these tables the Lord hath briefly and summarily comprehended all those things which in the Scriptures are each-where most largely set out concerning the several commandments and duties of every several man.

Ma. Seeing then the law doth shew a perfect manner of worshipping God aright, ought we not wholly to live according to the rule thereof?

Scho. Yea, and so much that God promiseth life to them that live according to the rule of the law, and, on the other side, threateneth death to them that break his law, as is aforesaid. And for this cause, in my division, I have named obedience as one of the principal parts of religion.

Ma. Dost thou then think them to be justified that do in all things obey the law of God?

Scho. Yea surely, if any were able to perform it, they should be justified by the law; but we are all of such weakness, that no man in all points fulfilleth his duty. For though we put case, that there be one found that performeth the law in some point, yet shall he not thereby be justified before God; for he pronounceth them all to be accursed and abominable that do not fulfil all things that are contained in the law.

Ma. Dost thou then determine that no mortal man is justified before God by the law?

Scho. No man. For the Scriptures do also pronounce the same.

Ma. Why then did God make such a law as requireth a perfection above our ability?

Scho. In making the law, God respected not so much what we were able to perform, which by our own fault are very weak, as what was meet for his own righteousness. And forasmuch as none but the highest righteousness could please God, it behoveth

the short sum of our faith, by which the Christians are severally known from them that be not Christians, is rightly called a symbol.

Ma. But why is it called the symbol of the Apostles?

Scho. Because it was first received from the Apostles' own mouth, or most faithfully gathered out of their writings, and allowed from the very beginning of the church, and so hath continually remained among all the godly, firm, steadfast, and unmoved, as a sure and staid rule of Christian faith.

Ma. I would have thee now rehearse to me the symbol itself.

Scho. I will. "I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord; which was conceived by the Holy Ghost; born of the Virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead, and buried; he descended into hell, the third day he rose again from the dead, he ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen."

Ma. These things, my child, thou hast briefly and in short sum set forth. Wherefore it is good that thou declare more plainly and at large what thou thinkest of every particular. And first, into how many parts dost thou divide the whole confession of faith?

Scho. Into four principal parts: in the first whereof is entreated of God the Father, and the creation of all things: in the second, of his Son Jesus Christ; which part also containeth the whole sum of the redemption of man: in the third, of the Holy Ghost:

in the fourth, of the church, and of the benefits of God towards the church.

Ma. Go forward then to declare me those four parts in order. And first, in the very beginning of the Creed, what meanest thou by this word, *believe?*

Scho. I mean thereby that I have a true and a lively faith, that is to say, a Christian man's faith in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that I do by this form of confession testify and approve the same faith.

Ma. Is there any faith which is not a true and a lively faith?

Scho. There is indeed a certain general faith, as I may so call it; and there is a dead faith.

Ma. Since then it is a matter of no small weight what thou comprehendest under the name of believing and of a Christian faith, that is to say, a true and lively faith, go to and tell me what faith that same is, and how it differeth from the general faith, and also from the dead faith?

Scho. The general faith is that which crediteth the word of God; that is, which believeth all those things to be true that are contained in the Scriptures concerning God, his incomprehensibleness, power, righteousness, wisdom, mercy toward the faithful and godly, and most earnest severity toward the unbelieving and ungodly, and likewise all other things taught in the Scriptures.

Ma. Doth not the true faith that thou speakest of believe also all these same things?

Scho. Yea forsooth. But the true faith goeth further, as I shall shew by and by. For thus far not only ungodly men, but also the very devils, do believe; and therefore neither are they indeed faithful, nor are so called. But the true faith, as it nothing doubteth that all things taught in the word of God are most certainly true, so doth it also embrace the promises made concerning the mercy of God the Fa-

ther, and the forgiveness of sins to the faithful through Jesus Christ, which promises are properly called the Gospel; which faith whosoever have, they do not only fear God as the most mighty Lord of all, and the most righteous Judge (which we already said that the most part of the ungodly and the devils themselves do), but also they love him as their most bountiful and merciful Father, whom as they travail in all things to please (as becometh obedient children) with godly endeavours and works, which are called the fruits of faith, so have they a good and a sure hope of obtaining pardon through Christ, when, as men, they swerve from his will. For they know that Christ (whom they trust upon) appeasing the wrath of his Father, their sins shall never be imputed any more unto them, than if the same had never been committed. And though themselves have not satisfied the law, and their duty towards God and men, yet believe they that Christ, with his most full observing of the law, hath abundantly satisfied God for them, and are persuaded that by this his righteousness and observing of the law of God, themselves are accounted in the number and state of the righteous, and that they are beloved of God, even as if themselves had fulfilled the law. And this is the justification which the holy Scriptures do declare that we obtain by faith.

Ma. Cannot these things also be in the devils, or in wicked men?

Scho. Nothing less. For though they fear, or rather with horror do dread God as most mighty and righteous, for that they know he will take vengeance of their ungodliness, yet can they neither have any trust in his goodness and mercy toward them, nor any recourse to his grace, nor enter into any endeavour to obey his will. Therefore their faith, although they doubt not of the truth of the word of God, is called a dead faith, for that like a dry and dead stock

it never bringeth forth any fruits of godly life, that is, of love to God and charity toward men.

Ma. Give me then, out of that which thou hast hitherto said, a definition of that same lively, true, and Christian faith.

Scho. Faith is an assured knowledge of the fatherly good will of God toward us through Christ, and an affiance in the same goodness, as it is witnessed in the Gospel; which faith hath coupled with it an endeavour of godly life, that is, to obey the will of God the Father.

Ma. Thou hast sufficiently declared what thou meanest by the terms of *faith* and *believing*. Now go forward, and tell me, in as apt words as thou canst, what thou understandest by the name of God, which followeth next in the Creed.

Scho. I will do the best I can, good master, as my wit and ability will serve me. I understand that there is one nature, or substance, or soul, or mind, or rather divine Spirit (for diversely have wise men, both heathen and Christian, termed God, where indeed by no words he can be properly termed), eternal, without beginning and end, unmeasurable, uncorporal, invisible with the eyes of men, of most excellent majesty, which we call God, whom all people of the world must reverence and worship with highest honour; and in him, as in the best and greatest, to settle their hope and affiance.

Ma. Seeing there is but one God, tell me why, in the confession of the Christian faith, thou rehearsest three, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Scho. Those be not the names of sundry Gods, but of three distinct Persons in one Godhead. For in one substance of God we must consider, the *Father*, which of himself begat the Son even from eternity, the beginning and first author of all things; the *Son*,

even from eternity begotten of the Father, which is the eternal wisdom of God the Father; the *Holy Ghost*, proceeding from them both, as the power of God spread abroad through all things, but yet so as it also continually abideth in itself: and yet that God is not therefore divided. For of these three Persons, none goeth before the other in time, in greatness, or in dignity: but the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three distinct Persons, in eternity of like continuance, in power, even in dignity equal, and in Godhead one. There is therefore one eternal, immortal, almighty, glorious, the best, the greatest God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. For so hath the universal number of Christians, which is called the catholic church, taught us by the holy Scriptures concerning God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: where otherwise the infinite depth of this mystery is so great that it cannot with mind be conceived, much less with words be expressed, wherein therefore is required a simplicity of Christian faith ready to believe, rather than sharpness of wit to search, or the office of the tongue to express so secret and hidden a mystery.

Ma. Thou sayest true. Go forward therefore. Why dost thou call God Father?

Scho. Beside the same principal cause which I have already rehearsed, which is, for that he is the natural Father of his only Son, begotten of himself from before all beginning, there be two other causes why he both is indeed and is called our Father. The one is, for that he first created us, and gave life unto us all. The other cause is of greater value, namely, for that he hath divinely begotten us again through the Holy Ghost, and by faith in his true and natural Son Jesus Christ, he hath adopted us his children, and through the same Christ hath given us his kingdom and the inheritance of everlasting life.

Ma. In what sense dost thou give him the name of *Almighty?*

Scho. For that as he hath created the world and all things, so he hath the same in his power, governeth them by his providence, ordereth them after his own will, and commandeth all as it pleaseth him: so as that there is nothing done but by his appointment or sufferance, and nothing is there which he is not able to do: for I do not imagine God to have a certain reserved power which he putteth not in use.

Ma. Dost thou then make ungodly men also and wicked spirits subject to the power of God?

Scho. Why not? For else were we in most miserable case, for that we should never be out of fear if they might have any power over us without the will of God. But God, as it were with the bridle of his power, so restraineth them, that they cannot once stir but at his beck and sufferance. And we for our parts are upholden with this comfort, that we are so in the power of our Almighty Father, that not so much as one hair of ours can perish but by his will that beareth us so good will.

Ma. Go forward.

Scho. Forasmuch as the mind of man is not able of itself to conceive the goodness and incomprehensibleness of the most good and most great God, we add further, that he is the Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things contained in them. By which words we signify that God is, at it were, in a glass to be beholden, and (so far as behoveth us) to be known in his works, and in the orderly course of the world. For when we see that same unmeasurable greatness of the world, and all the parts thereof, to be so framed, as they could not possibly in beauty be fairer, nor for profit be better, we forthwith thereby understand the infinite power, wisdom, and goodness of the workman and builder thereof. For who is so

brutish, that in looking up to heaven doth not perceive that there is a God? Yea, for this cause specially it seemeth that God hath fashioned men out of the earth, tall and upright, that they should be beholders of things above, and heavenly matters, and in beholding heaven might conceive the knowledge of him.

Ma. How dost thou say that God created all things?

Scho. That God, the most good and mighty Father, at the beginning and of nothing, by the power of his word, that is, of Jesus Christ his Son, framed and made this whole visible world, and all things, whatsoever they be, that are contained therein, and also the uncorporal spirits, whom we call angels.

Ma. But dost thou think it godly to affirm that God created all spirits, even those wicked spirits whom we call devils?

Scho. God did not create them such; but they, by their own evilness, fell from their first creation, without hope of recovery, and so are they become evil, not by creation and nature, but by corruption of nature.

Ma. Did God think it enough to have once created all things, and then to cast away all further care of things from thenceforth?

Scho. I have already briefly touched this point. Whereas it is much more excellent to maintain and preserve things created, than to have once created them; we must certainly believe, that when he had so framed the world and all creatures, he from thenceforth hath preserved and yet preserveth them. For all things would run to ruin, and fall to nothing, unless by his virtue, and, as it were, by his hand they were upholden. We also assuredly believe, that the whole order of nature and changes of things, which are falsely reputed the alterations of fortune, do hang

all upon God: that God guideth the course of the heaven, upholdeth the earth, tempereth the seas, and ruleth this whole world, and that all things obey his divine power, and by his divine power all things are governed: that he is the author of fair weather and of tempest, of rain and of drought, of fruitfulness and of barrenness, of health and of sickness: that of all things that belong to the sustentation and preserving of our life, and which are desired either for necessary use or honest pleasure; finally, of all things that nature needeth, he hath ever given, and yet most largely giveth abundance and plenty with most liberal hand; to this end verily, that we should so use them as becometh mindful and kind children.

Ma. To what end dost thou think that Almighty God hath created all these things?

Scho. The world itself was made for man, and all things that are therein were provided for the use and profit of men. And as God made all other things for man, so made he man himself for his own glory.

Ma. What hast thou then to say of the first beginning and creation of man?

Scho. That which Moses wrote; that is, that God fashioned the first man of clay, and breathed into him soul and life; and afterward, out of the side of man, being cast in a sleep, he took out woman, and brought her into the world, to join her to man for a companion of his life. And therefore was man called Adam, because he took his beginning of the earth; and woman was called Eve, because she was ordained to be the mother of all living persons.

Ma. Whereas at this day then is to be seen in both sorts, both men and women, so great corruption, wickedness, and perverseness, did God create them such from the beginning?

Scho. Nothing less. For God being most perfectly good can make nothing but good. God then

fore, at the first, made man according to his own image and likeness.

Ma. What is that image, according to the which thou sayest that man was fashioned?

Scho. It is most absolute righteousness and most perfect holiness, which most properly belongeth to the very nature of God; and which hath been most evidently shewed in Christ our new Adam, and whereof in us there now scant appear any sparkles.

Ma. Yea, do there scant appear any?

Scho. Yea, truly; for they do not now so shine, as at the beginning before the fall of man, because man, with darkness of sins and mist of errors, hath extinguished the brightness of that image.

Ma. But tell me how this came to pass?

Scho. I will tell you. When the Lord God had made this world, he prepared a most finely trimmed garden, and most full of delight and pleasantness, every where abounding with all delightful things that might be wished. Herein the Lord God, for a certain singular good will, placed man, and allowed him the use of all things, only he forbad him the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, threatening him with death if he once tasted of it. For reason it was that man having received so many benefits, should, in so far obeying, shew himself willingly obedient to the commandment of God, and that, being contented with his own estate, he should not, being himself a creature, advance himself higher against the will of his Creator.

Ma. What then followed?

Scho. The woman, deceived by the devil, persuaded the man to taste the forbidden fruit, which thing made them both forthwith subject to death. And that heavenly image, according to which he was first created, being defaced, in place of wisdom, strength, holiness, truth, and righteousness, the jewels where-

with God had adorned him, there succeeded the most horrible plagues, blindness, weakness, vain-lying, and unrighteousness, in which evils and miseries he also wrapped and overwhelmed his issue and all his posterity.

Ma. But may it not seem that God did too rigorously punish the tasting of one apple?

Scho. Let no man extenuate the most heinous offence of man as a small trespass, and weigh the deed by the apple and the only excess of gluttony. For he with his wife, catched and snared with the guileful allurements of Satan, by infidelity, revolted from the truth of God to a lie: he gave credit to the false suggestions of the serpent, wherein he accused God of untruth, of envy, and of malicious withdrawing of some goodness: having received so many benefits, he became most unthankful toward the Giver of them: he, the issue of the earth, not contented that he was made according to the image of God, with intolerable ambition and pride sought to make himself equal with the majesty of God. Finally, he withdrew himself from allegiance to his Creator, yea, and malapertly shook off his yoke. Vain, therefore, is it to extenuate the sin of Adam.

Ma. But how can it seem but unrighteous, that for the parent's fault all the posterity should be deprived of sovereign felicity, and burdened with extreme evils and miseries?

Scho. Adam was the first parent of mankind: therefore God endued him with those ornaments, to have them or lose them for him and his, that is, for all mankind. So soon as he therefore was spoiled of them, his whole nature was left naked, in penury, and destitute of all good things. So soon as he was defiled with that spot of sin, out of the root and stock corrupted, there sprung forth corrupted branches, that conveyed also their corruption into the

other twigs springing out of them. Thence it came that so short, small, and uncertain race of life is limited unto us. Thence came the infirmity of our flesh, the feebleness of our bodies, the weakness and frailness of mankind. Thence came the horrible blindness of our minds and perverseness of our hearts. Thence came that crookedness and corruptness of all our affections and desires. Thence came that seed-plot, as it were, a sink of all sins, with the faults whereof mankind is infected and tormented. Of which evil, learned Christians that have sought the proper and true name, have called it original sin.

Ma. Doth mankind suffer the punishments of this sin in this life only?

Scho. No: but man's nature hath been so corrupted and destroyed with this active mischief, that if the goodness and mercy of Almighty God had not, with applying a remedy, holpen and relieved us in affliction, like as we fell in our wealth into all calamities, and in our bodies into all miseries of diseases and of death, so should we of necessity fall headlong into darkness and everlasting night, and into fire unquenchable, there, with all kind of punishment, to be perpetually tormented. And no marvel it is, that other creatures also incurred that pain which man deserved, for whose use they were created. And the whole order of nature being troubled, both in heaven and in earth, harmful tempests, barrenness, diseases, and infinite other evils, brake into the world, into which miseries and woes, beside the said native mischief, we by our many and great sins are most deservedly fallen.

Ma. Oh deadly and horrible plague and calamity by sin! But what remedy is that which thou sayest that God hath provided for us, wherein our forefathers, and from thenceforth all their posterity, have set and settled their hope?

Scho. Forsooth, they were comfortably raised to that hope of salvation which they have conceived of faith in Jesus Christ the Deliverer and Saviour promised them of God. For that is it which now followeth next in the Creed: "I believe in Jesus Christ," &c.

Ma. Did God give also to our first parents, by and by, hope of deliverance by Jesus Christ?

Scho. Yea; for as he thrust Adam out of the garden, after that he had first sharply chastised them with words, so he cursed the serpent, and threatened him that the time should one day come, when the seed of the woman should bruise his head.

Ma. What seed is that whereof God speaketh?

Scho. That same seed is (as St. Paul plainly teacheth us) Jesus Christ the Son of God very God, and the Son of the Virgin very man, in whom we profess, in the second part of the Creed, that we settle our hope and confidence: which was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the nature of the holy, chaste, and undefiled Virgin Mary; and of the same mother he was so born and nourished as other infants be, saving that he was altogether pure and free from all contagion of sin.

Ma. Did God think it sufficient once in the Old Testament to have made promise of this seed?

Scho. No: but this most joyful promise to mankind, which was first made to our parents, the Lord God did often confirm to their posterity, to the end that men should have the greater expectation of the performance of it. For after he had entered into covenant by circumcision with Abraham and his seed, he confirmed his promise first to Abraham himself, and then to Isaac his son, and after to Jacob his son's son. Last of all, with most evident oracles uttered by Moses and his other Prophets, he continued and maintained the assuredness of his promises.

Ma. What mean these words, *to bruise the serpent's head?*

Scho. In the head of the serpent his poison is contained, and the substance of his life and strength consisteth. Therefore the serpent's head signifieth the whole strength, power, and kingdom, or rather the tyranny of the devil the old serpent: all which Jesus Christ, that same seed of the woman, in whom God hath performed the full sum of his promise, hath subdued by the virtue of his death. And so in breaking the serpent's head, he hath rescued and made free from tyranny all them that trust in him. For this is it which we here profess in the Creed, that we *believe in Jesus Christ the Son of God*; that is, that Jesus Christ is the Deliverer and Saviour of us which were holden bond, and fast tied with impiety and wickedness, and wrapped in the snares of eternal death, and holden thrall in foul bondage of the serpent the devil.

Ma. It seemeth me that thou hast expounded the name of Jesus with a very plain declaration.

Scho. It is true. For JESUS, in Hebrew, signifieth none other than in Greek SOTER, in Latin SERVATOR, and in English a SAVIOUR. For they have no fitter name to express the force and signification thereof. And by this that we have said, it cannot now be unknown, why he had this name. For he alone hath delivered and saved them that be his from eternal damnation, whereunto otherwise they were appointed. Some others indeed have taken upon them this name, because it was thought that they had saved some men's bodies; but Jesus Christ alone is able to save both souls and bodies of them that trust in him.

Ma. Who gave him this name?

Scho. The angel by the command of God himself. And also it was of necessity that he should indeed

answer and perform the name that God hath given him.

Ma. Now tell me what meaneth the name of Christ?

Scho. It is as much as to say *Anointed*: whereby is meant that he is the sovereign King, Priest, and Prophet.

Ma. How shall that appear?

Scho. By the holy Scripture, which both doth apply anointing to these three offices, and doth also oft attribute the same offices to Christ.

Ma. Was then Christ anointed with oil, such as they used at the creation of kings, priests, and prophets in old time?

Scho. No: but with much more excellent oil, namely, with the most plentiful grace of the Holy Ghost, wherewith he was filled and most abundantly endued with his divine riches. Of which heavenly anointing, that outward anointing was but a shadow.

Ma. Obtained he these things for himself alone, or doth he also give us any commodities thereby?

Scho. Yea, Christ received these things of his Father, to the intent that he should communicate the same unto us, in such measure and manner as he knew to be most meet for every of us. For out of his fulness, as out of the only holy and ever-increasing noble fountain, we all do draw all the heavenly good things that we have.

Ma. Dost thou not then say that Christ's kingdom is a worldly kingdom?

Scho. No: but a spiritual and eternal kingdom, that is governed and ordered by the word and Spirit of God, which bring with them righteousness and life.

Ma. What fruit take we of this kingdom?

Scho. It furnisheth us with strength and spiritual armour to vanquish the flesh, the world, sin, and

the devil, the outrageous and deadly enemies of our souls: it giveth us blessed freedom of conscience: finally, it endoweth us with heavenly riches, and comforteth and strengtheneth us to live godlily and holily.

Ma. What manner of Priest is Christ?

Scho. The greatest and an everlasting priest, which alone is able to appear before God, only able to make the sacrifice which God will allow and accept, and only able to appease the wrath of God.

Ma. To what commodity of ours doth he this?

Scho. For us he craveth and prayeth peace and pardon of God, for us he appeaseth the wrath of God, and us he reconcileth to his Father. For Christ alone is our mediator, by whom we are made at one with God. Yea, he maketh us as it were fellow-priests with him in his priesthood, giving us also an entry to his Father, that we may with assuredness come into his presence, and be bold by him to offer us and all ours to God the Father in sacrifice.

Ma. What manner of Prophet is Christ?

Scho. Whereas man did despise and reject the Prophets, the servants of Almighty God, sent before, by himself, to teach mortal man his will, and had with their own dreams and inventions darkened and drowned his holy word, he himself, the Son of God, the Lord of all Prophets, came down into this world, that, fully declaring the will of his Father, he might make an end of all prophecies and foretellings. He therefore came, his Father's ambassador and messenger to men, that by his declaration they might be brought into the right knowledge of God, and into all truth. So in the name of Christ are contained those three offices which the Son of God received of his Father, and fulfilled to make us partners with him of all the fruit thereof.

Ma. It seemeth then, that in a sum thou sayest

thus, that the Son of God is not only called, and is indeed, Jesus Christ, that is, the Saviour, King, Priest, and Prophet, but also that he is so for us, and to our benefit and our salvation.

Scho. It is true.

Ma. But since this honour is given to all the godly to be called the children of God, how dost thou call Christ the only Son of God?

Scho. God is the natural Father of Christ alone, and Christ alone is naturally the Son of God, being begotten of the substance of the Father, and being of one substance with the Father. But us hath God, freely through Christ, made and adopted his children. Therefore we rightly acknowledge Christ the only Son of God, sith this honour is by his own and most just right due unto him: yet the name of children by right of adoption is also freely imparted to us through Christ.

Ma. Now how dost thou understand that he is our Lord?

Scho. For that the Father hath given him dominion over men, angels, and all things, and for that he governeth the kingdom of God both in heaven and in earth, with his own will and power. And hereby are all the godly put in mind, that they are not of their own liberty, but that both in their bodies and souls, and in their life and death, they are wholly subject to their Lord, to whom they ought to be obedient and serviceable in all things, as most faithful servants.

Ma. What followeth next?

Scho. Next is declared how he took upon him man's nature, and hath performed all things needful for our salvation.

Ma. Was it then necessary that the Son of God should be made man?

Scho. Yea: for necessary it was that what man

had offended against God, man should atone and satisfy it; which most heavy burden, none but the man Jesus Christ was able to take up and bear. And other mediator could there not be to set men at one with God, and to make peace between them, but Jesus Christ both God and man. Therefore being made man, he did, as it were, put upon him our person, that he might therein take upon him, bear, perform, and fulfil the parts of our salvation.

Ma. But why was he conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, rather than begotten after the usual and natural manner?

Scho. It behoveth that he who should and could satisfy for sins, and entirely restore wicked and damned persons, should not himself be defiled or blemished with any stain or spot of sin, but be endued with singular and perfect uprightness and innocency. Therefore when the seed of man was wholly corrupt and defiled, it behoved that in conception of the Son of God there should be the marvellous and secret working of the Holy Ghost, whereby he might be fashioned in the womb of the most chaste and pure Virgin, and of her substance, that he should not be defiled with the common stain and infection of mankind. Christ, therefore, that most pure Lamb, was begotten and born by the Holy Ghost and the conception of the Virgin without sin, that he might cleanse, wash, and put away our spots, who, as we were first conceived and born in sin and uncleanness, so do still from thenceforth continue in unclean life.

Ma. But why is there, in this Christian confession, mention made by name of the Virgin Mary?

Scho. That he might be known to be that true seed of Abraham and David, of whom it was from God foretold and foreshewed by the prophecies of the Prophets.

Ma. By this that hath been said, I perceive that Jesus Christ the Son of God did put on man's nature for salvation of men. Now go forward. What was done next?

Scho. That same most joyful and altogether heavenly doctrine of restoring salvation by Christ (which doctrine is in Greek called *Evangelion*, the Gospel or glad tidings), which in old time was disclosed by the holy Prophets, the servants of God, he himself, at length, the Lord of Prophets, Jesus Christ the Son of God, and also the Virgin, even the same promised seed, hath most clearly taught all men, and commanded his Apostles, whom he chose for that purpose, to teach the same throughout the whole world.

Ma. Did he think it enough to have simply and plainly taught this doctrine in words?

Scho. No; but to the end that men should with more willing minds embrace it, he confirmed and approved the same with healing of diseases, chasing away devils, and with infinite other good deeds, miracles, and signs, whereof both his own life and the life of his Apostles most innocently and holily led, was most plentiful.

Ma. But why doth the Creed omit the story of his life, and pass straight from his birth to his death?

Scho. Because in the Creed are rehearsed only the chief points of our redemption, and such things as so properly belong to it, that they contain, as it were, the substance thereof.

Ma. Now tell me the order and manner of his death.

Scho. He was wickedly betrayed and forsaken of his own disciples, falsely and maliciously accused of the Jews, condemned by Pontius Pilate the judge, cruelly beaten with sore stripes, vilely handled and scorned, haled up to the cross and fastened upon it,

and so, tormented with all extreme pains, he suffered shameful and most painful death.

Ma. Is this the thank and recompense they gave him for that heavenly doctrine, and for these most great and infinite benefits?

Scho. These things verily they did to him for their parts cruelly, maliciously, and wickedly. But he, of his own accord and willingly, suffered and performed all these things, to the intent, with this most sweet sacrifice, to appease his Father toward mankind, and to pay and suffer the pains due to us, and by this mean to deliver us from the same. Neither is it unused among men, one to promise, and to be surety, yea sometime to suffer for another. But with Christ as our surety so suffering for us, God dealt, as it were, with extremity of law; but to us whose sins, deservings, punishments, and due pains he laid upon Christ, he used singular lenity, gentleness, clemency, and mercy. Christ therefore suffered, and in suffering overcame death, the pain appointed by the everliving God for men's offence. Yea, and by his death he overcame, subdued, overthrew, and vanquished him that had the dominion of death; that is, the devil, from whose tyranny and thraldom he rescued us, and set us at liberty.

Ma. But sith we are nevertheless punished with death, which daily hangeth over us, and do still suffer the penalty of our sin, what fruit receive we of this victory?

Scho. Surely most large fruit. For by Christ's death it is come to pass, that to the faithful, death is now not a destruction, but, as it were, a removing and changing of life, and a very short and sure passage into heaven, whither we ought to follow our guide without fear, which as he was not destroyed by death, so will he also not suffer us to perish: wherefore the godly ought now no more to shrink or quake

vernance of these things and times was in their hand and power, but that of his own will, not compelled by any force, he suffered this death for our salvation.

Ma. Why did God specially appoint that day for his death?

Scho. That by the very time also it might be perceived that Christ is that Paschal Lamb, that is to say, the truly chaste and pure Lamb that should be slain, and yield himself the most acceptable sacrifice to his Father for us.

Ma. Sith he had the power to choose his own death, why would he be crucified rather than suffer any other kind of death?

Scho. First, for his Father's will, whereunto he conformed himself, and which had been long afore in old time uttered and declared by God, by so many prophecies and oracles, signs and tokens. Moreover, his will was to suffer extremity, for us that had deserved all extremity; for that kind of death was of all other most accursed and abominable, which death yet he chiefly chose to die for us, to the intent to take upon himself the grievous curse, wherein our sins had bound us, and thereby to deliver us from the same curse. For all spiteful handlings, all reproaches and torments, for our salvation he counted light, and as things of nought, and so was contented to be despised, an abject, and to be accounted the basest of all men, that he might restore us which were utterly undone, to the hope of salvation that we had lost.

Ma. Hast thou any more to say of the death of Christ?

Scho. That Christ suffered not only a common death in the sight of men, but also was touched with the horror of eternal death: he fought and wrestled, as it were, hand to hand, with the whole army of hell: before the judgment-seat of God he put himself un-

der the heavy judgment and grievous severity of God's punishment: he was driven into most hard distress: he for us suffered and went through horrible fears, and most bitter griefs of mind, to satisfy God's just judgment in all things, and to appease his wrath. For to sinners whose person Christ did here bear, not only the sorrows and pains of present death are due, but also of death to come and everlasting: so when he did take upon him and bear both the guiltiness and just judgment of mankind, which was undone, and was already condemned, he was tormented with so great trouble and sorrow of mind, that he cried out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

Ma. Is not the Son of God hereby dishonoured and touched with some note of desperation?

Scho. He suffered all these things without any sin, much less did any desperation possess his soul. For he never ceased in the mean time to trust in his Father, and to have good hope of his safety. And being beset round about with fear, he was never dismayed or overwhelmed with sorrow; and wrestling with the whole power of hell, he subdued and overcame all the force that stood against him, and all the furious and violent assaults; and all these he took upon him, and utterly destroyed them; and himself remained nevertheless most blessed, and imparted his blessedness to us that put our trust in him; for if we had not by this his blessed death obtained salvation and life, we had all perished for ever in everlasting death.

Ma. But how could Christ, being God, have so great sorrow of mind and fearfulness?

Scho. This came to pass according to the state of his human nature, his Godhead in the mean time not putting forth the force of his power.

Ma. Now rehearse me briefly and in a sum, these

most large benefits which the faithful receive of the death of Christ, and his most grievous pain.

Scho. Briefly, with the one only sacrifice of his death he satisfied for our sins before God, and, appeasing the wrath of God, made us at one with him. With his blood, as with most pure washing, he hath washed and cleansed away all the filth and spots of our souls; and defacing with everlasting forgetfulness the memory of our sins, that they shall no more come in the sight of God, he hath cancelled, made void, and done away the hand-writing whereby we were bound and convicted, and also the decree by the sentence whereof we were condemned. All these things hath he done by his death, both for the living, and for the dead that trusted in him while they lived. Finally, by the strength of his death he so bridleth and subdueth in them that cleave wholly to him by faith, the lusts which otherwise are unbridled and untamed, and so quencheth the burning heat of them, that they more easily obey and yield to the Spirit.

Ma. Why dost thou also add, that he was buried?

Scho. His dead and spiritless body was laid in the grave, that his death should be more evident, and that all men might certainly know it. For if he had by and by revived, many would have brought his death in debate and question, and so might it seem that it was likely to prove doubtful.

Ma. What meaneth that which followeth, of his descending into hell?

Scho. That as Christ in his body descended into the bowels of the earth, so, his soul severed from the body, he descended into hell: and that therewith also the virtue and efficacy of his death so pierced through to the dead, and to very hell itself, that both the souls of the unbelieving felt their most painful and just damnation for infidelity, and Satan

himself, the prince of hell, felt that all the power of his tyranny and darkness was weakened, vanquished, and fallen to ruin. On the other side, the dead, which, while they lived, believed in Christ, understood that the work of their redemption was now finished, and understood and perceived the effect and strength thereof with most sweet and assured comfort.

Ma. Now let us forward to the rest.

Scho. The third day after he rose again; and by the space of forty days oftentimes shewed himself alive to them that were his, and was conversant with his disciples, eating and drinking with them.

Ma. Was it not enough that by his death we obtain deliverance from sin and pardon?

Scho. That was not enough if we consider either him or ourselves. For if he had not risen again, he could not be thought to be the Son of God; yea, and the same did they that saw it, when he hung on the cross, reproach him with and object against him, "He saved other (said they); himself he cannot save. Let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him." But now, rising from the dead to eternity of life, he declared a greater power of his Godhead, than if, in descending from the cross, he had fled from the terrors of death. To die certainly is common to all; and though some for a time have avoided death intended against them, yet to loose or break the bonds of death once suffered, and by his own power to rise alive again, that is the proper doing of the only Son of God, Jesus Christ, the Author of life, by which he hath shewed himself the conqueror of sin and death, yea, and of the devil himself.

Ma. For what other cause rose he again?

Scho. That the prophecies of David and of other holy Prophets might be fulfilled, which told before

that neither his body should be touched with corruption, nor his soul left in hell.

Ma. But what profits bringeth it unto us that Christ rose again?

Scho. Manifold and divers. For thereof cometh to us righteousness, which before we lacked: thence cometh to us endeavour of innocency, which we call newness of life: thence cometh to us power, virtue, and strength to live well and holily: thence have we hope that our mortal bodies also shall one day be restored from death, and rise whole again. For if Christ himself had been destroyed by death, he had not been our deliverer; for what hope of safety should we have had left by him that had not saved himself? It was therefore meet for the person which the Lord did bear, and a necessary help for us to salvation, that Christ should first deliver himself from death, and afterward that he should break and pull in sunder the bands of death for us, and so that we might set the hope of our salvation in his resurrection. For it cannot be that Christ our head, rising again, should suffer us, the members of his body, to be consumed, and utterly destroyed, by death.

Ma. Thou hast touched, my child, the principal causes of the resurrection of Christ. Now would I hear what thou thinkest of his ascending to heaven.

Scho. He being covered with a cloud spread about him, in sight of his Apostles ascended into heaven, or rather, above all heavens, where he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father.

Ma. Tell me how this is to be understood.

Scho. Plainly, that Christ in his body ascended into heaven, where he had not afore been in his body, and left the earth, where he had afore been in his body. For in his nature of Godhead, which filleth all things, both he ever was in heaven;

and also with the same, and with his Spirit, he is alway present in earth with his church, and shall be present till the end of the world.

Ma. Then thou sayest, that there is one manner of his Godhead, and another of his manhood?

Scho. Yea forsooth, master. For we never make of his Godhead a body, nor of his body God; for his manhood is a creature, his Godhead not created. And the holy Scriptures witness that his manhood was taken up into heaven, and abideth in heaven; but his Godhead is so every where, that it filleth both heaven and earth.

Ma. But dost thou say that Christ is in any wise present with us in body?

Scho. If we may liken great things to small, Christ's body is so present to our faith, as the sun when we see it is present to our eye. For no one thing subject to our senses cometh more near to the likeness of Christ than the sun, which, though it still abide in the heaven, and therefore in very deed toucheth not the eye, yet the body of the sun is present to the sight, notwithstanding so great a distance of place between. So the body of Christ, which by his ascending is taken up from us, and hath left the world, and is gone to his Father, is indeed absent from our senses; yet our faith is conversant in heaven, and beholdeth that Sun of Righteousness, and is verily in presence with it there present, like as our sight is present with the body of the sun in heaven, or as the sun is present with our sight in earth. Moreover, as the sun is with his light present to all things, so is also Christ with his Godhead, Spirit, and power, present to all, and filleth all.

Ma. Now as touching Christ, what dost thou chiefly consider in his ascending and sitting at the right hand of his Father?

Scho. It was meet that Christ, which from the

highest degree of honour and dignity had descended to the basest estate of a servant, and to the reproach of condemnation and shameful death, should on the other side obtain most noble glory and excellent estate, even the same which he had before, that his glory and majesty might in proportion answer to his baseness and shame; which thing St. Paul also, writing to the Philippians, doth most plainly teach. "He became (saith he) obedient unto the death, even the death of the cross; and therefore God made him the head of the church, advanced him above all principalities, endowed him with the dominion of heaven and earth, to govern all things; exalted him to the highest height, and gave him a name that is above all names, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, both of things in heaven, earth, and hell."

Ma. When thou namest the right hand of God, and sitting, dost thou suppose and imagine that God hath the shape or form of a man?

Scho. No forsooth, master. But because we speak of God among men, we do, in some sort after the manner of men, express thereby how Christ hath received the kingdom given him of his Father. For kings use to set them on their right hands to whom they vouchsafe to do highest honour, and make lieutenants of their dominion. Therefore in these modes is meant that God the Father made Christ his Son the head of the church, and that by him his pleasure is to preserve them that be his, and to govern all things universally.

Ma. Well said. Now what profit take we of his ascending into heaven, and sitting on the right hand of his Father?

Scho. First, Christ, as he had descended to the earth, as into banishment for our sake; so when he went up into heaven, his Father's inheritance, he entered in our name, making us a way and entry

and from all bodily sense, that by this mean our faith may be both stirred up and exercised to behold his governance and providence that is not perceived by bodily sense.

Ma. Is there any other reason why he withdrew himself from the earth into heaven?

Scho. Sith he is prince not of some one land, but of all lands of the world, yea and of heaven also, and Lord both of quick and dead, meet it was that he should govern his kingdom in order unknown to our senses. For if he should be within the reach of sight, then must he needs change place and seat, and be drawn now hither and now thither, and now and then remove into sundry countries to do his affairs. For if in one moment of time he were every where present with all men, then should he seem not to be a man, but some ghost, and not to have a very body, but imagination, or (as Eutyches thought), that his body was turned into his Godhead, that it might be thought to be every where; whereof would by and by arise infinite false opinions, all which he hath driven away with carrying his body up whole into heaven, and hath delivered men's minds from most foul errors. Yet in the mean time, though he be not seen of us, he wonderously ruleth and governeth the world, with most high power and wisdom. It is for men to govern and order their commonweals after a certain order of men, but for Christ, that is, the Son of God, to do it after the manner of God.

Ma. Thou hast touched certain of the chief of the infinite and unmeasurable benefits, the fruit whereof we receive by the death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ: for the whole cannot be conceived by the mind and heart of man, much less in anywise be expressed by words and utterance. But yet thus far will I try thy cunning in this matter, to

have thee set me out briefly and in a sum the chief principal points whereunto all the rest are referred.

Scho. Then, I say, that both of these and of the other doings of Christ, we take two kinds of profit: the one, that whatsoever things he hath done, he hath done them all for our benefit, even so far as that they be as much our own, so that with steadfast and lively faith we cleave unto them as if we ourselves had done them. He was crucified, and we also are crucified with him, and our sins punished in him. He died and was buried. We also, together with our sins, are dead and buried, and that so as all the remembrance of our sins is for ever forgotten. He rose from death, and we also are risen again with him, being so made partakers of his resurrection and life, that from thenceforth death hath no more dominion over us. For in us is the same spirit which raised Jesus Christ from the dead. Finally, beside that, since his ascension, we have most abundantly received the gifts of the Holy Ghost, he hath also lifted and carried us up into heaven with him, that we might, as it were with our head, take possession thereof. These things indeed are not yet seen, but then shall they be brought abroad into light, when Christ which is the light of the world, in whom all our hope and wealth is set and settled, shining with immortal glory, shall shew himself openly to all men.

Ma. What manner of profit is the other which we receive of the doings of Christ?

Scho. That Christ hath set himself for an exemplar for us to follow, to frame our life according thereunto. Where Christ died for sin and was buried, he but once suffered the same. Where he once rose again and ascended into heaven, he but once rose again, and but once ascended, he now dieth no more, but enjoyeth eternal life, and reigneth in most high

and everlasting glory. So if we be once dead and buried to sin, how shall we hereafter live in the same? If we be risen again with Christ, if by assured faith and steadfast hope we be conversant with him in heaven, then ought we from henceforth to bend all our cares and thoughts upon heavenly, divine, and eternal things, not earthly, worldly, and transitory. And as we have heretofore borne the image of the earthly man, we ought from henceforth to put on the image of the heavenly man, quietly and patiently bearing, after his example, all sorrows and wrongs, and following and expressing his other divine virtues so far as mortal man be able. And, whereas Christ our Lord never ceaseth to do us good, continually to entreat for and to crave his Father's mercy for us, to give us his holy Spirit, and wonderfully and continually to garnish his church with most liberal gifts; it is meet that we in like manner, with our whole endeavour, should help our neighbour, and that we be bound to all men in most strait bonds of love, concord, and most near friendship, so much as shall lie in us, and so to be wholly framed after the manners of Christ, as our only exemplar.

Ma. Are we not hereby also put in mind of our duty toward Christ?

Scho. We are indeed admonished that we obey and follow the will of Christ, whose we are wholly, and whom we profess to be our Lord: that we so again on our part, and with all our affection, love, esteem, and embrace Christ our Saviour, which shewed us such dear love while we were yet his enemies, as his most entire love towards us could not possibly be increased: that we hold Christ dearer unto us than ourselves: that to Christ, which hath so given himself wholly to us, we again yield ourselves wholly and all that is ours: that we esteem riches,

honours, glory, our country, parents, children, wives, and all dear, pleasant, and delightful things, of no value in comparison of Christ; and account light, and despise all dangers for Christ: finally, that we lose our life and our very soul, rather than forsake Christ, and our love and duty toward him. For happy is the death, that, being due to nature, is chiefly yielded for Christ; for Christ, I say, which offered and yielded himself to willing death for us, and which being the author of life, both will and is able to deliver us, being dead, from death, and to restore us to life.

Ma. Go forward.

Scho. We are furthermore taught purely and sincerely to worship Christ the Lord now reigning in heaven, not with any earthly worship, wicked traditions and cold inventions of man, but with heavenly and every spiritual worship, such as may best beseem both us that give it, and Him that receiveth it, even as he honoured and honoureth his Father, seeing that all in one we give the same honour to his Father. For he that honoureth Christ, honoureth also his Father, whereof he himself is a most sure and substantial witness.

Ma. Now I would hear thee tell me, shortly, what thou thinkest of the last judgment and of the end of the world.

Scho. Christ shall come in the clouds of the heaven with most high glory, and with most honourable and reverend majesty, waited on and beset with the company and multitude of holy angels. And at the horrible sound and dreadful blast of trumpet, all the dead that have lived from the creation of the world to that day, shall rise again with their souls and bodies whole and perfect, and shall appear before his throne to be judged, every one for himself, to give account

of their life, which shall be examined by the uncorrupted and severe Judge according to the truth.

Ma. But seeing the day of judgment shall be in the end of the world, and death is limited and certainly appointed for all, how dost thou in the Creed say that some shall then be quick or alive?

Scho. Saint Paul teacheth that they which then remain alive shall suddenly be changed and made new, so that the corruption of their bodies being taken away and mortality removed, they shall put on immortality; and this change shall be to them instead of a death, because the ending of a corrupt nature shall be the beginning of a nature uncorrupted.

Ma. Ought the godly at thinking upon this judgment be strickened and abashed with fear, and to dread it and shrink from it?

Scho. No. For He shall give the sentence, which was once by the Judge's sentence condemned for us, to the end that we, coming under the grievous judgment of God, should not be condemned but acquitted in judgment. He, I say, shall pronounce the judgment in whose faith and protection we are, and which hath taken upon him the defence of our cause. Yea, our consciences are cheerfully stayed with a most singular comfort, and, in the midst of the miseries and woes of this life, do leap for joy that Christ shall one day be the Judge of the world; for upon this hope we chiefly rest ourselves, that then at last we shall, with unchangeable eternity, possess that same kingdom of immortality and everlasting life, in all parts fully and abundantly perfect, which hitherto hath been but begun, and which was ordained and appointed for the children of God before the foundations of the world were laid. But the ungodly, which either have not feared the justice and wrath of God, or have not trusted in his clemency and mercy by Christ, and which have persecuted the

godly by land and sea, and done them all kinds of wrong, and slain them with all sorts of torments and most cruel deaths, shall, with Satan and all the devils, be cast into the prison of hell appointed for them, the revenger of their wickedness and offences, and into everlasting darkness, where, being tormented with conscience of their own sins, with eternal fire, and with all and most extreme execution, they shall pay and suffer eternal pains. For that offence which mortal men have done against the unmeasurable and infinite majesty of the immortal God, is worthy also of infinite and ever-during punishment.

Ma. To the last judgment is adjoined the end of the world, whereof I would have thee speak yet more plainly.

Scho. The Apostle declareth that the end of the world shall be thus. The heaven shall pass away like a storm, the elements with heat shall be molten, the earth and all things in it shall be inflamed with fire; as if he should say, The time shall come when this world burning with heat, all the corruption thereof (as we see in gold) tried out by fire, shall be wholly fined and renewed to most absolute and high perfection, and shall put on a most beautiful face, which in everlasting ages of worlds shall never be changed. For this is it that St. Peter saith, we look for, according to the promise of God, a new heaven and a new earth, wherein righteousness shall inhabit. Neither is it uncredible, that as sin, so the corruption of things and changeableness and other evils grown of sin, shall once at the last have an end. And this is the sum of the second part of the Christian faith, wherein is contained the whole story of our redemption by Jesus Christ.

Ma. Sith then thou hast now spoken of God the Father, the Creator, and of his Son Jesus Christ,

the Saviour, and so hast ended two parts of the Christian confession, now I would hear thee speak of the third part, what thou believest of the *Holy Ghost.*

Scho. I confess that he is the third Person of the most holy Trinity, proceeding from the Father and the Son before all beginning, equal with them both, and of the very same substance, and together with them both to be honoured and called upon.

Ma. Why is he called holy?

Scho. Not only for his own holiness, which yet is the highest holiness, but also for that by him the elect of God and the members of Christ are made holy. For which cause the holy Scriptures have called him "the Spirit of sanctification."

Ma. In what things dost thou think that this sanctification consisteth?

Scho. First, we are by his divine instinct and inspiration newly begotten, and therefore Christ said that we must be born again of water and the Spirit. Also by his heavenly breathing on us, God the Father doth adopt us his children, and therefore he is worthily called the Spirit of Adoption. By his expounding, the divine mysteries are opened unto us: by his light, the eyes of our souls are made clear to understand them; by his judgment, sins are either pardoned or reserved; by his strength, sinful flesh is subdued and tamed, and corrupt desires are bridled and restrained. At his will manifold gifts are distributed among the godly. In the manifold and divers discommodities, molestations, and miseries of this life, the Holy Ghost with his secret consolation, and with good hope, doth assuage, ease, and comfort the griefs and mourning of the godly, which commonly are in this world most afflicted, and whose sorrows do pass all human consolation: whereof he hath the true and proper name of Paraclete or the Comforter.

Finally, by his power our mortal bodies shall rise alive again. Briefly, whatsoever benefits are given us in Christ, all these we understand, feel, and receive by the work of the Holy Ghost. Not unworthily, therefore, we put confidence and trust in the Author of so great gifts, and do worship and call upon him.

Ma. Now remaineth the fourth part of *the Holy Catholic Church*, of the which I would hear what thou thinkest.

Scho. I will bring into few words that which the holy Scriptures do hereof largely and plentifully declare. Before that the Lord God made heaven and earth, he determined to have to himself a certain most beautiful kingdom and most holy commonweal. This the Apostles that wrote in Greek called *Ecclesia*, which by interpreting the word may fitly be called a *Congregation*. Into this, as into his own city, God did incorporate an infinite multitude of men, which must all be subject, serviceable, and obedient to Christ their only king, and which have all committed themselves to his protection, and of whom he hath taken upon him to be defender, and doth continually maintain and preserve them. To this commonweal do all they properly belong, as many as truly fear, honour, and call upon God, altogether applying their minds to live holily and godly, and which putting all their trust and hope in God do most assuredly look for the blessedness of eternal life. They that be steadfast, stable, and constant in this faith, were chosen and appointed, and (as we term it) predestinated to this so great felicity, before the foundations of the world were laid, whereof they have a witness within them in their souls, the Spirit of Christ the author, and therewith also the most sure pledge of this confidence. By the instinct of which divine Spirit, I do also most surely persuade myself

that I am also, by God's good gift through Christ, freely made one of this blessed city.

Ma. It is sure a godly and very necessary persuasion. Now, therefore, give me the definition of the church that thou speakest of.

Scho. I may most briefly and truly say, that *the church is the body of Christ.*

Ma. Yea; but I would have it somewhat more plainly, and at large.

Scho. The church is the body of the Christian commonweal, that is, the universal number and fellowship of all the faithful, whom God through Christ hath before all beginning of time appointed to everlasting life.

Ma. Why is this point put into the Creed?

Scho. Because if the church were not, both Christ had died without cause; and all the things that have been hitherto spoken of, should be in vain and come to nothing.

Ma. How so?

Scho. Because hitherto we have spoken of the causes of salvation, and have considered the foundations thereof, namely, how God by the deserving of Christ loveth us and dearly esteemeth us, how also by the work of the Holy Ghost we receive this grace of God, whereunto we are restored. But of these this is the only effect, that there be a church, that is, a company of the godly, upon whom these benefits of God may be bestowed; that there be a certain city and commonweal, in which we ought to lay up, and, as it were, to consecrate all that we have, and to give ourselves wholly unto it, and for which we ought not to stick to die.

Ma. Why dost thou call this church holy?

Scho. That by this mark it may be discerned from the wicked company of the ungodly. For all those

whom God hath chosen, he hath restored unto holiness of life and innocency.

Ma. Is this holiness which thou dost attribute to the church, already upright and in all points perfect?

Scho. Not yet. For so long as we live a mortal life in this world, such is the feebleness and frailty of mankind, we are of too weak strength wholly to shun all kinds of vices. Therefore the holiness of the church is not yet full and perfectly finished, but yet very well begun. But when it shall be fully joined to Christ, from whom she hath all her cleanness and pureness, then shall she be clothed with innocency and holiness in all points full and perfectly finished, as with a certain snowy white and most pure garment.

Ma. To what purpose dost thou call this church catholic?

Scho. It is as much as if I called it universal. For this company, or assembly of the godly, is not pent up in any certain place or time, but it containeth and compriseth the universal number of the faithful, that have lived and shall live in all places and ages, since the beginning of the world, that there may be one body of the church, as there is one Christ, the only head of the body. For whereas the Jews claimed and challenged to themselves the church of God as peculiar, and by lineal right due to their nation, and said that it was theirs, and held it to be only theirs: the Christian faith professeth that a great number and infinite multitude of godly persons, gathered together out of all countries of the world, out of all parts of all nations every where, and all ages of all times, by the strength and power of his holy word and voice, and by the divine motion of his heavenly Spirit, is, by God, incorporated into this church as into his own city; which all agreeing together in one true faith, one mind and voice, may

of men, which, in what place soever they be, do profess the doctrine of Christ, pure and sincere, even the same which the Evangelists and Apostles have, in the everlasting monuments of holy Scriptures, faithfully disclosed to memory, and which do truly call upon God the Father in the name of Christ, and moreover, do use his mysteries, commonly called sacraments, with the same pureness and simplicity (as touching their substance), which the Apostles of Christ used and have put in writing.

Ma. Thou sayest then, that the marks of the visible church are, the sincere preaching of the Gospel, that is to say, of the benefits of Christ, invocation, and administration of the sacraments.

Scho. These are, indeed, the chief and the necessary marks of the visible church, such as without which it cannot be indeed, nor rightly called the church of Christ. But yet also in the same church, if it be well ordered, there shall be seen to be observed a certain order and manner of governance, and such a form of ecclesiastical disciplne, that it shall not be free for any that abideth in that flock publicly to speak or do any thing wickedly or in heinous sort without punishment, yea, and so that in that congregation of men, all offences (so far as is possible) be avoided. But this discipline, since long time past, by little and little decaying, as the manners of men be corrupt and out of right course, specially of the rich and men of power, which will needs have impunity and most free liberty to sin and do wickedly, this grave manner of looking to them and of chastisement can hardly be maintained in churches. But in whatsoever assembly the word of God, the calling upon him, and his sacraments, are purely and sincerely retained, it is no doubt that there is also the church of Christ.

Ma. Are not, then, all they that be in this visible

church, of the number of the elect to everlasting life?

Scho. Many, by hypocrisy and counterfeiting of godliness, do join themselves to this fellowship, which are nothing less than true members of the church. But, forasmuch as wheresoever the word of God is sincerely taught, and his sacraments rightly ministered, there are ever some appointed to salvation by Christ, we count all that whole company to be the church of God, seeing that Christ also promiseth that himself will be present with two or three that be gathered together in his name.

Mi. Why doest thou by and by, after the church, make mention of the forgiveness of sins?

Scho. First, because the keys, wherewith heaven is to be shut and opened, that is, that power of binding and loosing, of reserving and forgiving sins, which standeth in the ministry of the word of God, as by Christ given and committed to the church, and properly belongeth unto the church. Secondly, because no man obtaineth forgiveness of sins, that is, [illegible] the member of the body of Christ, that is, [illegible] earnestly, godly, [illegible] [illegible] and to the end, embrace and [illegible] the [illegible] of the church.

Mi. [illegible]

[illegible]

Ma. What meanest thou by this word Forgiveness?

Scho. That the faithful do obtain at God's hand discharge of their fault and pardon of their offence; for God, for Christ's sake, freely forgiveth them their sins, and rescueth and delivereth them from judgment and damnation, and from punishments just and due for their ill-doing.

Ma. Cannot we then, with godly, dutiful doings and works, satisfy God, and by ourselves merit pardon of our sins?

Scho. There is no mercy due to our merits, but God doth yield and remit to Christ his correction and punishment that he would have done upon us. For Christ alone, with sufferance of his pains, and with his death, wherewith he hath paid and performed the penalty of our sins, hath satisfied God. Therefore by Christ alone we have access to the grace of God. We, receiving this benefit of his free liberality and goodness, have nothing at all to offer and render again to him by way of reward or recompense.

Ma. Is there nothing at all to be done on our behalf, that we may obtain forgiveness of sins?

Scho. Although among men, the fault once granted, it is hard to obtain forgiveness of him that ought to be the punisher of offences, yet even they that are strangers to our religion, have not been ignorant, that confession is a certain remedy to him that hath done amiss. And I have already said how sinners for obtaining of pardon have need of repentance, which some like better to call resipiscence or amendment, and of change of mind; and the Lord promiseth that he will pardon sinners if they repent, if they amend and turn their hearts from their naughty lives unto him.

Ma. How many parts be there of repentance?

Scho. Two chief parts: the mortifying of the old man, or the flesh; and the quickening of the new man, or the spirit.

Ma. I would have these more largely and plainly set out.

Scho. The mortifying of the old man is unfeigned and sincere acknowledging and confession of sin, and therewith a shame and sorrow of mind, with the feeling whereof the person is sore grieved for that he hath swerved from righteousness, and not been obedient to the will of God. For every man ought, in remembering the sins of his life past, wholly to mislike himself, to be angry with himself, and to be a severe judge of his own faults, and to give sentence and pronounce judgment of himself, to the intent he abide not the grievous judgment of God in his wrath. This sorrow some have called contrition, whereunto are joined in nearness and nature an earnest hatred of sin, and a love and desire of righteousness lost.

Ma. But the conscience of heinous offences, and the force of repentance, may be so great, that the mind of man, on each side compassed with fear, may be possessed with despair of salvation.

Scho. That is true, unless God bring comfort to the greatness of sorrow. But to the godly there remaineth yet one other part of repentance, which is called renewing of the Spirit, or quickening of the new man. That is, when faith cometh, and refresheth and lifteth up the mind so troubled, assuageth sorrow, and comforteth the person, and doth revoke and raise him up again from desperation, to hope of obtaining pardon of God through Christ, and from the gate of death, yea, from hell itself, unto life. And this is it that we profess that we believe the forgiveness of sins.

Ma. Is man able in this fear and these hard distresses to deliver himself by his own strength?

Scho. Nothing less. For it is only God which strengtheneth man, despairing of his own estate, raiseth him up in affliction, restoreth him in utter misery, and by whose guiding the sinner conceiveth this hope, mind, and will that I spake of.

Ma. Now rehearse the rest of the Creed.

Scho. I believe *the resurrection of the flesh and life everlasting.*

Ma. Because thou hast touched somewhat of this before in speaking of the last judgment, I will ask thee but a few questions. Whereto or why do we believe these things?

Scho. Although we believe that the souls of men are immortal and everlasting, yet if we should think that our bodies should by death be utterly destroyed for ever, then must we needs be wholly discouraged; for that, wanting the one part of ourselves, we should never entirely possess perfect joy and immortality. We do therefore certainly believe not only that our souls, when we depart out of this life, being delivered from the company of our bodies, do by and by fly up pure and whole into heaven by Christ, but also that our bodies shall at length be restored to a better state of life, and joined again to their souls, and so we shall wholly be made perfectly and fully blessed; that is to say, we doubt not that both in our bodies and souls we shall enjoy eternity, immortality, and most blessed life, that shall never in everlasting continuance of time be changed. This hope comforteth us in miseries. Endued with this hope, we not only patiently suffer and bear the incommodities and cumbrances that light upon us in this life, but also very departure from life and the sorrows of death. For we are thoroughly persuaded that death is not a destruction that endeth and consumeth all things, but

a guide for us to heaven, that setteth us in a way of a quiet, easy, blessed, and everlasting life. And therefore gladly and cheerfully we run, yea, we fly out, from the bonds of our bodies, as from a prison, to heaven, as to the common town and city of God and men.

Ma. Doth the believing of these things avail us to any other end?

Scho. We are put in mind that we cumber not nor entangle ourselves with uncertain, transitory, and frail things: that we bend not our eye to earthly glory and felicity; but inhabit this world as strangers, and ever minding our removing: that we long upward for heaven and heavenly things, where we shall in bliss enjoy eternal life.

Ma. Sith thou hast before said, that the wicked shall rise again, in sort most far differing from the godly, that is to say, to eternal misery and everlasting death, why doth the Creed make mention only of life everlasting, and of hell no mention at all?

Scho. This is a confession of the Christian faith, which pertaineth to none but to the godly, and therefore rehearseth only those things that are fit for to comfort, namely, the most large gifts which God will give to them that be his. And therefore here is not recited what punishments are provided for them that be out of the kingdom of God.

Ma. Now thou hast declared the Creed, that is, the sum of the Christian faith, tell me, what profit get we of this faith?

Scho. Righteousness before God, by which we are made heirs of eternal life.

Ma. Doth not then our own godliness toward God, and leading of our life honestly and holily among men, justify us before God?

Scho. Of this we have said somewhat already after the declaring of the law, and in other places, to this

effect. If any man were able to live uprightly according to the precise rule of the law of God, he should worthily be counted justified by his good works. But seeing we are all most far from that perfection of life, yea, and be so oppressed with conscience of our sins, we must take another course, and find another way, how God may receive us into favour, than by our own deserving.

Ma. What way?

Scho. We must flee to the mercy of God, whereby he freely embraceth us with love and good-will in Christ, without any our deserving, or respect of works, both forgiving us our sins, and so giving us the righteousness of Christ by faith in him, that for the same Christ's righteousness he so accepteth us, as if it were our own. To God's mercy therefore through Christ we ought to impute all our justification.

Ma. How do we know it to be thus?

Scho. By the Gospel, which containeth the promises of God by Christ, to the which when we adjoin faith, that is to say, an assured persuasion of mind and steadfast confidence of God's good will, such as hath been set out in the whole Creed, we do, as it were, take state and possession of this justification that I speak of.

Ma. Dost not thou then say, that faith is the principal cause of this justification, so as by the merit of faith we are counted righteous before God?

Scho. No: for that were to set faith in the place of Christ. But the spring-head of this justification is the mercy of God, which is conveyed to us by Christ, and is offered to us by the Gospel, and received of us by faith as with a hand.

Ma. Thou sayest then that faith is not the cause, but the instrument of justification, for that it embraceth Christ, which is our justification, coupling

as with so strait bond to him, that it maketh us partakers of all his good things?

Scho. Yea forsooth.

Ma. But can this justification be so severed from good works, that he that hath it can want them?

Scho. No: for by faith we receive Christ such as he delivereth himself unto us. But he doth not only set us at liberty from sins and death, and make us at one with God, but also with the divine inspiration and virtue of the Holy Ghost doth regenerate and newly form us to the endeavour of innocency and holiness, which we call newness of life.

Ma. Thou sayest then that justice, faith, and good works do naturally cleave together, and therefore ought no more to be severed, than Christ, the author of them in us, can be severed from himself?

Scho. It is true.

Ma. Then this doctrine of faith doth not withdraw men's minds from godly works and duties?

Scho. Nothing less. For good works do stand upon faith as upon their root. So far, therefore, is faith from withdrawing our hearts from living uprightly, that, contrariwise, it doth most vehemently stir us up to the endeavour of a good life; yea and so far, that he is not truly faithful that doth not also to his power shun vices and embrace virtues, so living always as one that looketh to give an account.

Ma. Therefore tell me plainly how our works be acceptable to God, and what rewards be given to them?

Scho. In good works, two things are principally required. First, that we do those works that are prescribed by the law of God; secondly, that they be done with that mind and faith which God requireth. For no doings or thoughts enterprised or conceived without faith can please God.

Ma. Go forward.

Scho. It is evident, therefore, that all works what soever we do, before that we be born again and re newed by the Spirit of God, such as may properly b called our own works, are faulty. For whatsoeve show of gayness and worthiness they represent an give to the eyes of men, sith they spring and procee from a faulty and corrupted heart, which God chiefl considereth, they cannot but be defiled and cor rupted, and so grievously offend God. Such work therefore, as evil fruits, growing out of an evil tree God despiseth and rejecteth from him.

Ma. Can we not, therefore, prevent God wit any works or deservings, whereby we may first pro voke him to love us and be good unto us?

Scho. Surely, with none. For God loved and choo us in Christ, not only when we were his enemies that is, sinners, but also before the foundations o the world were laid. And this is the same spring head, and original of our justification, whereof I spake before.

Ma. What thinkest thou of those works whic we, after that we be reconciled to God's favour, do by the instinct of the Holy Ghost?

Scho. The dutiful works of godliness, which proceed out of faith, working by charity, are indeed acceptable to God, yet not by their own deserving; but that for he, of his liberality, vouchsafeth them his favour. For though they be derived of the Spirit of God, as little streams from the spring-head, yet of our flesh, that mingleth itself with them in the doing by the way, they receive corruption, as it were by infection, like as a river, otherwise pure and clear, is troubled and mudded with mire and slime, wherethrough it runneth.

Ma. How then dost thou say that they please God?

Scho. It is faith that procureth God's favour to our

works, while it is assured that he will not deal with us after extremity of law, nor call our doings to exact account, nor try them as it were by the square; that is, he will not, in valuing and weighing them, use severity, but remitting and pardoning all their corruptness, for Christ's sake and his deservings, will account them for fully perfect.

Ma. Then thou standest still in this, that we cannot by merit of works obtain to be justified before God, seeing thou thinkest that all doings of men, even the perfectest, do need pardon?

Scho. God himself hath so decreed in his word; and his Holy Spirit doth teach us to pray that he bring us not into judgment. For where righteousness, such as God the Judge shall allow, ought to be thoroughly absolute, and in all parts and points fully perfect, such as is to be directed and tried by the most precise rule, and, as it were, by the plumb-line of God's law and judgment; and sith our works, even the best of them, for that they swerve and differ most far from the rule and prescription of God's law and justice, are many ways to be blamed and condemned; we can by no means be justified before God by works.

Ma. Doth not this doctrine withdraw men's minds from the duties of godliness, and make them slacker and slower to good works, or at least less cheerful and ready to godly endeavours?

Scho. No: for we may not therefore say that good works are unprofitable or done in vain and without cause, for that we obtain not justification by them. For they serve both to the profit of our neighbour and to the glory of God; and they do, as by certain testimonies, assure us of God's good-will toward us, and of our love again to God-ward, and of our faith, and so consequently of our salvation. And reason it is, that we being redeemed with the blood of Christ the

a Christian man ought to wish and desire; and sith he alone is able, in every danger, to give help and succour, and to drive away all perils: it is meet that of him we ask all things, and in all distresses flee to him alone, and crave his help. For this he himself, in his word, asketh and requireth, as the peculiar and proper worshipping of his majesty.

Ma. Shall we not then do well to call upon holy men that are departed out of this life, or upon angels?

Scho. No. For that were to give to them an infiniteness to be present every where, or to give them, being absent, an understanding of our secret meanings, that is, as much as a certain godhead, and therewithal partly to convey to them our confidence and trust, that ought to be set wholly in God alone, and so to slide into idolatry. But forasmuch as God calleth us to himself alone, and doth also, with adding an oath, promise that he will both hear and help us; to flee to the help of other were an evident token of distrust and infidelity. And as touching the holy men that are departed out of this life, what manner of thing, I pray you, were this, forsaking the living God, that heareth our prayers, that is most mighty, most ready to help us, that calleth us unto him, that in the word of truth promiseth and sweareth, that, with his divine power and succour, he will defend us; forsaking him, I say, to flee to men dead, deaf, and weak, which neither have promised help, nor are able to relieve us, to whom God never gave the office to help us, to whom we are by no Scriptures directed, whereupon our faith may surely rest, but are unadvisedly carried away, trusting upon the dreams, or rather dotages, of our own head.

Ma. But God doth to our salvation use the service of angels, that wait upon us, and therefore do hear us.

Scho. That is true. But yet it appeareth no where in the word of God, that God would have us pray to angels, or to godly men deceased. And, sith faith resteth upon the word of God, and what is not of faith is sin, I said rightly that it is a sure token of infidelity to forsake God, to whom alone the Scriptures do send us, and to pray to and crave help of angels, or godly men departed this life, for calling upon whom there is not one word in the holy Scriptures.

Ma. But seeing charity never falleth out of the hearts of the godly, even while they be in heaven they are careful for us, and do desire our salvation.

Scho. That cannot be denied; yet it doth not follow that we must therefore call upon them, unless we think that we must call for the help and succour of our friends, be they never so far from us, only because they bear us good-will.

Ma. But we oft crave help of men that be alive, and with whom we are presently conversant.

Scho. I grant. For men, as they have mutually need of one another's help, so hath God granted them power, one mutually to help another; yea, and he hath expressly commanded every man to relieve his neighbour with such help as he can. We do therefore call upon men, as ministers of God's goodness, according to the will of God, looking for help and succour of them: but yet so that all our trust be settled in God alone, and that we reckon received from him, as the spring-head of all liberality, whatsoever is delivered us by the hands of men. Therefore this is well and orderly done, and no impediment to the calling upon of God alone, so that we confess that we do not from elsewhere look for any good thing, nor settle our whole succour in any other.

Ma. Dost thou then say that we must use prayer and supplication, like as all other duties of godliness,

according to the prescription of God's word, or els we cannot please God?

Scho. Yea verily; for every offence in religion i committed by changing the order and manner ap pointed by God.

Ma. Hitherto then thou hast said that God alon is to be called upon, putting all our trust in him and that to him all things, as to the spring-head o all good things, are to be imputed; now followed next to declare with what confidence we wretche mortal men, that are so many ways unworthy, ough to call upon the immortal God.

Scho. We are indeed every way most unworthy But we thrust not ourselves in, proudly and arro gantly, as if we were worthy, but we come to hin in the name and upon the trust of Christ our Media tor, by whom the door being opened to us, thoug we be most base silly wretches, made of clay an slime, oppressed with conscience of our own sins we shall not be forbidden to enter, nor shall hav hard access to the majesty of God, and to the ob taining of his favour.

Ma. We need not then, for access to God, som man to be our mean or interpreter, to commend an declare our suit unto him, as it were unto som worldly prince.

Scho. Nothing less; unless we will think tha God is as men be, bound to one place; that he can not understand many things but by his servants that he sometime sleepeth, or hath not leisure t hear. For, as touching our unworthiness, we hav already said, that our prayers stand in confidence, no upon any thing in us, but upon the only worthiness of Christ, in whose name we pray.

Ma. Dost thou then think that God the Fathe is to be called upon in the name and upon trust o Christ alone?

Scho. Yea forsooth, master; for he alone, above all other, most singularly loveth us, so far that he will do all things for our sakes: he alone is with God his Father, at whose right hand he sitteth, in most high favour, that he may obtain what he will of him: he therefore alone is the Mediator of God and men, the man Jesus Christ: he alone, I say, is the Mediator of redemption, and also of invocation, in whose name alone the holy Scriptures do expressly bid us to go unto God the Father, adding also promises that he by his intercession will bring to pass that we shall obtain all that we pray for: otherwise without Christ the ear and heart of God abhorreth man.

Ma. But we do yet with mutual prayers one help another, so long as we abide in this world.

Scho. That is true. But we do not therefore set other mediators in place of Christ; but with conjoined hearts and prayers, according to the rule of charity and the word of God, we do by one Mediator call upon our common Father.

Ma. Thou sayest then, that to appoint other mediators to God, or patrons for our cause, but Christ alone, is both against the holy Scriptures, and therefore against faith, and also containeth great injury to Christ himself.

Scho. Yea forsooth, master.

Ma. Go on then.

Scho. The sum is this, that we must come to call upon God the Father, resting upon the affiance of the promises made to us by Christ, and trusting upon his intercession, leaving all respect of our own worthiness, and framing our prayers, as it were, out of the mouth of Christ; which doipg, as it is most agreeable to the truth of the Scriptures, so is it most far from the fault of arrogance and presumption.

Ma. Thinkest thou that they which so pray to

God as thou sayest, ought to have a good hope to obtain what they ask?

Scho. The Lord himself doth also command us to ask with sure faith, making therewith a promise, and adding an oath, that it shall be given us whatsoever we ask with faith. And likewise his Apostles do teach that right prayer proceedeth from faith. Therefore we must alway lay this most assured foundation of prayer, that, resting upon sure trust of his fatherly goodness, we must determine that God will hear our prayers and petitions, and that we shall obtain so far as it is expedient for us. Therefore they that come rashly and inconsiderately to prayer, and such as pray doubting and uncertain of their speeding, they do without fruit pour out vain and bootless words.

Ma. I see with what confidence thou sayest we must call upon God. Now tell me with what affection of heart we must come unto him.

Scho. Our hearts must be sore grieved with feeling of our need and poverty, and the miseries that oppress us, so far forth that we must turn with great desire of deliverance from that grief, and of God's help which we pray for. Being thus disposed in heart, it cannot be but that we shall most attentively and with most fervent affection, with all manner of prayers and petitions, crave that we desire.

Ma. I see then it is not enough to pray with tongue and voice alone.

Scho. To pray, not applying thereto our minds and attentiveness, without which our prayers can never be effectual, is not only to take fruitless labour in vain, (for how shall God hear us, when we heed not nor hear not ourselves?) and not only to pour out vain and fruitless, but also hurtful words, with offending God's majesty; so far off is it that such prayers can appease the majesty of God, that is displeased with our offence.

Ma. How know we that it is thus?

Scho. Sith God is a Spirit, and (as I may so call him) a most pure mind; he both in all other things, and specially in prayer, whereby men, as it were, talk and commune with God, requireth the soul and mind. And he also testifieth that he will be near to them only that call upon him truly, that is, with their heart, and that their prayers please him. On the other side, God doth worthily abhor and detest their prayers that feignedly and unadvisedly utter with their tongue that which they conceive not with their heart and thought, and deal more negligently with immortal God, than they are wont to do with a mortal man. Therefore in prayer the mind is ever needful, but the tongue is not alway necessary.

Ma. But there is some use of the tongue in prayer?

Scho. Yea forsooth. For meet it is that the tongue do also diligently and earnestly employ all her strength and ability to set forth the honour o God, sith it is above all other parts of the body properly created by God to that use. Moreover, as from a mind earnestly bent with study and care, sometime words break out of us ere we be aware; so oftentimes the very sound of utterance, and the hearing of our own words, quickeneth and sharpeneth our mind, and helpeth the heedfulness thereof, and keepeth off and driveth away slackness wherewith the heart is continually tempted.

Ma. Sith it is so, what thinkest thou of them that pray in a strange tongue, and such as they understand not?

Scho. I think that they not only lose their labour, but therewith also mock God himself. For if *loqui*, to speak, be wittingly to bestow each word in his right place, they that utter words which they understand not, chatter rather than speak, so far be they from praying. For they play the parrots rather than

men, much less Christian men. Therefore far be from godly men such hypocrisy and mockery; for if St. Paul think it an absurdity for a man to speak to other that speech which they understand not, because words move no man but him that hath the same language, and affirmeth that both he that speaketh and he that heareth shall either of them be an alien to the other, how much greater absurdity is it that we ourselves be aliens to ourselves, while we use that speech that we know not, and go about to utter our meanings and prayers in that tongue wherein ourselves are deaf? Wise men in old time thought that such men, as most fond, were most worthy to be laughed at.

Ma. I see how heedful a mind and fervent affection is required in prayer. But tell me, dost thou think this ferventness to be natural, and by kind planted in our hearts, or that it is a raising up of our minds by God?

Scho. The holy Scriptures do testify that the Spirit of God raiseth up unspeakable groanings whereby our prayers are made effectual. He therefore, without doubt, with his inspiration stirreth up our minds, and whetteth and helpeth us to pray.

Ma. How then, when this ferventness of mind, that cannot alway be present, is slacked, or wholly quenched, shall we, as it were drowsy with sloth and sleeping, idly look for the stirring and moving of the Spirit?

Scho. Nothing less. But rather, when we be faint and slack in mind, we must by and by crave the help of God, that he will give us cheerfulness, and stir up our hearts to prayer. For this mind and will we conceive by the guiding of God.

Ma. Now remaineth that I hear of thee what we ought to ask of God by prayer. Is it lawful to ask of God whatsoever cometh in our mind and mouth?

Scho. When men that were strangers to true god-

times had such an honest opinion of the majesty and mind of their gods, that they thought they ought not to ask of them any thing unjust or unhonest; God forbid that we Christians should ever ask any thing of God in prayer that may mislike the mind and will of God. For this were to do to God's majesty most high injury and dishonour; so much less may such a prayer please him, or obtain any thing of him. And sith both the wits of men are too dull to understand what is expedient for them, and the desires of their hearts are so blind and wild, that they not only need a guide whom they may follow, but also bridles to restrain them, it were too great an absurdity that we should in prayer be carried rashly and headlong by our own affections. By a certain rule therefore and prescribed form, our prayers ought wholly to be directed.

Ma. What rule and form?

Scho. Even the same form of prayer verily which the heavenly Schoolmaster appointed to his disciples, and by them to us all; wherein he hath couched in very few points all those things that are lawful to be asked of God, and behooveful for us to obtain; which prayer is after the Author thereof called the Lord's Prayer. If therefore we will follow the heavenly Teacher with his divine voice, saying before us, truly we shall never swerve from the right rule of praying.

Ma. Rehearse me then the Lord's Prayer.

Scho. When ye will pray (saith the Lord), say thus: *Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory for ever. Amen.*

trust of obtaining, as children use to come to their parents?

Scho. That far more sure and steadfast is the trust of the good will of God than of man, Christ, the natural Son of God, best acquainted with his Father's mind, doth assure us, saying, "If ye," saith he, "being evil, suffer not your children to crave in vain, but grant their requests, how much more shall your heavenly Father, who is self goodness and liberality, be bountiful to you?" But Christ, as is aforesaid, bringeth us all this confidence. For God doth not adopt us, or acknowledge us to be his children, who by nature are the children of wrath, but by Christ.

Ma. What else doth the name of Father teach us?

Scho. That we come to prayer with that love, reverence, and obedience, which is due to the heavenly Father from his children, and that we have such mind as becometh the children of God.

Ma. Why dost thou call God *our Father* in common, rather than severally thine own Father?

Scho. Every godly man may, I grant, lawfully call God his own; but such ought to be the community and fellowship of Christian men together, and such dear love and good will ought every one to bear to all, that no one of them, neglecting the rest, care for himself alone, but have regard to the public profit of all. And therefore in all this prayer nothing is privately asked, but all the petitions are made in the common name of all. Moreover, when they that be of smallest wealth and basest state do call upon their common heavenly Father, as well as the wealthy and such as have attained degrees of highest dignity, we are taught not to disdain them to be our brethren that are accepted with God to the honour of his children. On the other side, the most despised, and they that in this world are vilest, may

yet in the mean time ease and relieve themselves with this comfort, that in heaven they have all one most mighty and most loving Father. Furthermore, we that trust in God do rightly profess him to be our Father. For the wicked and unbelieving, howsoever they dread God's power and justice, yet can they not have trust in his fatherly goodness toward them.

Ma. Why dost thou say that God is in heaven?

Scho. As heaven with round and endless circuit containeth all things, compasseth the earth, hemmeth in the seas, neither is there any thing or place that is not environed and enclosed with the roominess of heaven; and it is on every side wide and open, and alway so present to all things, that all things universally are placed, as it were, in sight thereof: so we thereby understand that God, possessing the tower of heaven, therewith also holdeth the governance of all things, is each-where present, seeth, heareth, and ruleth all things.

Ma. Go forward.

Scho. God is also therefore said to be in heaven, because that same highest and heavenly region doth most royally shine, and is garnished with his divine and excellent works. Moreover, by God reigning in heaven is declared that he is in eternal and highest felicity, while we as yet in earth, expulsed from our country, like children disherited from their fathers' goods, live miserably and wretchedly in banishment. It is as much therefore to say, that God is in heaven, as if I should call him heavenly and altogether divine; that is to say, incomprehensible, most high, most mighty, most blessed, most good, most great.

Ma. What profit takest thou of these things?

Scho. These things do pull out of our hearts base and corrupt opinions concerning God, and do instruct our minds to conceive a far other thinking of

our heavenly Father, than we use to have of earthly parents; to use most great reverence toward his holy majesty, and in worshipping manner to look up to it, and have it in admiration, and certainly to believe that he doth hearken to and hear our prayers and desires; to put our whole trust in him, that is both governor and keeper of heaven and earth. And therewith also we are by these words admonished not to ask any thing unmeet for God; but, as speaking to our heavenly Father, to have our hearts raised from earth, high and looking upward, despising earthly things, thinking upon things above and heavenly, and continually to aspire to that most blessed felicity of our Father, and to heaven as our inheritance by our Father.

Ma. This then so happy a beginning and entry of prayer being now opened unto us, go to rehearse the first petition.

Scho. First we pray that God's name be hallowed.

Ma. What meaneth that?

Scho. Nothing else but that his glory be every where magnified.

Ma. Why do we ask this first?

Scho. Because it is most meet that the children should principally desire and wish the glory of their father, the servants of their master, and the creatures of the Creator, to be increased.

Ma. Can God's glory be any thing increased or decreased?

Scho. The glory of God, forasmuch as it is continually most ample, cannot indeed in itself be made either greater by increase, or lesser by decrease. For it is not changed with any addition or diminishing, as our earthly things be. But our prayer is, that the name of God be made renowned and known to mortal men, and his praise and glory be celebrated here in earth, as it is meet to be. And as the infinite power,

wisdom, righteousness and goodness of God, and all his divine works, do truly set forth the glory and majesty of God, so we wish that they may appear noble and glorious to us, that the magnificence of the Author of them, as it is in itself most large, so it may also in some sorts shine honourable and excellent among us, and be both privately and publicly praised and honoured.

Ma. Go forward.

Scho. Moreover, we pray that the holy name of God be not evil spoken of for our faults, and, as it were, dishonoured thereby; but rather that his glory be, by our godliness toward God, and goodness toward men, every where magnified. Finally, we wish that the names of all other that in heaven, earth, sea, or elsewhere, have attained the names and honours of gods, and be worshipped in temples in sundry forms and with sundry ceremonies, or to whom men, filled with error and false fond opinions, have dedicated their hearts, as it were churches; the names, I say, of all those imagined and feigned gods, once utterly destroyed, and drowned and defaced with eternal forgetfulness, the only divine name and majesty of God the heavenly Father be great and glorious, and that all men in all countries may acknowledge it, honourably and holily worship and reverence it, and with pure desires and hearts pray to it, call upon it, and crave help of it.

Ma. Thou hast said well. I pray thee go forward.

Scho. Secondly, we pray that *God's kingdom may come*; that is, that he suffer not the divine truth of his word, which also Christ calleth the Gospel of the kingdom, to be hidden in darkness, but that he daily more and more bring it abroad, and with his succour maintain and defend it against the devices, craft, and policy of Satan and of wicked men, and against their feigned treasons, that labour to darken the truth,

and to defame it, or spot it with lies; and against the violence and cruelty of tyrants, that travail by all means to extinguish and oppress the truth, and utterly to root it up; so as it may be made manifest and well known to all men, that there is nothing able to resist the invincible strength of God's truth.

Ma. Say on more of the kingdom of God.

Scho. We pray him to bring very many out of darkness into the light, instructed in the doctrine of this holy word, and led by truth; and that, winning them to his number and holy company, that is to say, his church, in the which he reigneth specially, he will continually govern them with his Spirit, and strengthen them with his aid as his soldiers, always earnestly fighting with their enemies, the band of sin and the army of Satan; that having strength and steadfastness by his divine power, restraining corrupt and crooked affections, subduing and taming lusts, conquering, vanquishing, putting to flight, and chasing away all vices, they may increase and enlarge the heavenly commonweal and kingdom, God in the mean time reigning and ruling imperially in their hearts by his Spirit.

Ma. This we see daily done.

Scho. These things are indeed daily done, so as we sufficiently perceive that God hath an eye both to the godly and the wicked, and so as the kingdom of God may seem to be fair begun in this world; yet we pray that with continual increasing it may grow so far, that all the reprobate that by the motion of Satan stubbornly and obstinately resist and strive against God's truth, and defiling themselves with all vices and heinous sins, refuse to submit themselves to the kingdom and dominion of God, being once subdued and destroyed, and the tyranny of Satan himself utterly rooted out, and all the enemies slain, oppressed, and trodden down, so as nothing may once breathe

against the beck and power of God, he alone may every where gloriously reign, imperially rule, and triumph. And as, while God reigneth by his Spirit in us, men have a certain community with God in this world, so we pray and wish that he will also by Christ communicate with us in heaven the joy of the most blessed kingdom, and the glory that in everlasting ages of worlds shall never be changed; that we may be not only children but also heirs of our heavenly Father; which desire also we verily nothing distrust or doubt, that our heavenly Father will one day grant us to enjoy.

Ma. What followeth next?

Scho. That *God's will be done.* For it is the duty of children to frame their life according to the will of their fathers; and not, contrariwise, the parents to conform themselves to the will of their children.

Ma. Dost thou then think that men are able to do any thing against the will of God?

Scho. Surely it is evident and plainly known among all, that many sins and foul deeds are daily done and committed by mortal men, to the grievous offending of his will, yet so as God cannot by any force or necessity be compelled, but that he can most easily bring to effect whatsoever he hath purposed to do. We do therefore pray, not only that that may come to pass which he hath decreed, which must needs come to pass, because the will of God doth ever carry with it a necessity of performing; but forasmuch as our minds, burning with lusts, are commonly carried to desire and to do those things that most displease God, we pray that he will, with the moving of his holy Spirit, so change and fashion all the wills of us all to the meaning and will of his majesty, that we may will or wish nothing, much less do any thing, that his divine will misliketh, and that whatsoever we perceive to betide by his will, we may

receive and suffer it, not only with contented but also with gladsome hearts.

Ma. Whereto dost thou add, that God's will be done "*in earth as it is in heaven?*"

Scho. Forsooth, that we be in all things serviceable and obedient to God's majesty, after the example of those heavenly spirits whom we call angels: and as in heaven there is no rebellion, so in earth also there be none any where found that will or dare resist and strive against the holy will of God. Yea, and when we behold the sun and moon, and other stars which we see in the heavens, to be carried with continual motion and perpetual stirring, and with their beams to lighten the earth by the will of God, we behold an example of obedience set forth for us to follow. Moreover, whereas God hath in the holy Scriptures expressly declared his will, which he hath plainly notified by giving them the name of his testament or last will, they that vary from the meaning of the Scriptures, surely they do manifestly depart from the will of God.

Ma. Now I think thou hast sufficiently spoken of the first part of the Lord's Prayer, which part containeth these three points that belong only to the glory of God. Now it is good time for us to go forward to the second part, which properly concerneth things profitable for us, and meet for our commodities.

Scho. The first point of the second part is, *Give us this day our daily bread.*

Ma. What dost thou mean by the name of daily bread?

Scho. Not only those things that minister to us food and apparel, but also all other things universally that are needful to the maintaining and preserving of our life, and leading it in quietness without fear.

Ma. Is there any thing else whereof this word Bread doth admonish us?

Scho. That we seek not to gather together curiously dainty things for banquetting, or precious apparel, or sumptuous household stuff, for pleasure, but that we, despising delicacies and excess, and contented with little, be satisfied with temperate and healthful diet, and with mean and necessary apparel.

Ma. How dost thou call bread thine, which thou prayest to have given thee of God?

Scho. By God's gift it becometh ours, when he liberally giveth it us for our daily uses, though by right it be not due to us.

Ma. Is there any other cause why thou callest it thy bread?

Scho. By this word we are put in mind that we must get our living with our labour, or by other lawful mean, that, being therewith contented, we do never by courtesy or fraud sack any thing of other men's.

Ma. Seeing God biddeth us get our living by our own labour, why dost thou ask bread of him?

Scho. It is God alone that giveth fruitfulness to the ground, that maketh the land plentiful, and to bear fruit abundantly; and therefore it is certain that in vain we shall waste and spend out all the course of our life in toil of body and travail of mind, unless it please God to prosper our endeavours. It is meet therefore that we daily crave in prayer things necessary for our food and life, at the hands of Almighty God, which, according to the divine saying of David, as he created all things, so doth he also feed and preserve them, and that with thankful hearts we receive the same, as it were, given and reached to us by God, and delivered by his own hand into our hands.

Ma. Thinkest thou that rich men also, which have flowing plenty and store of all things, must daily crave bread of God?

Scho. In vain shall we heap together and lay up

plenty, yea, such as may for many years suffice eith
our vain-glory, or our daily expenses, or necessa
use, unless God of his grace do make the use
them healthful to us for our life. Yea, in vain sha
we cram meat into our stomach, unless God's powe
by which we are rather fed and sustained, than b
nourishments of meat, do give both to the me
power to nourish, and to the stomach, ability to d
gest it. For which cause, even after supper, w
pray to have the daily meat which we have alread
received, to be given us of God, that is to say, t
be made lifeful and healthful to us.

Ma. Why be added these words, *daily*, and *th day?*

Scho. To pull out of our hearts the stings of car for to-morrow, that we be not day and night to mented with them in vain, and that, the unsatiabl covetise, and, as it were, raging hunger of exce sive wealth, being driven from our minds, we dil gently doing our duty, should daily crave of o most liberal Father that which he is ready daily t give.

Ma. Go forward to the rest.

Scho. Now followeth the fifth petition, where we pray our Father *to forgive us our trespasses.*

Ma. What fruit shall we get by this forgivenes

Scho. Most large fruit. For where God hat mercy on humble suitors, we shall be in like pla and all favour with him as if we were innocent, hol and upright in all parts of our life.

Ma. Is this asking of forgiveness necessary f all men?

Scho. Yea; forasmuch as there liveth no mort man that doth not oft slip in doing his duty, a that doth not oft and grievously offend God; yea, a as the Scripture beareth witness against us, he th offendeth in any one point is holden manifestly guil

of all, and that he who laboureth to purge himself of one sin to God, shall be convicted of a thousand heinous offences: that we may therefore obtain forgiveness of sins, one only hope remaineth, one only refuge for all men, the goodness and mercy of God through Christ. As for them that do not confess that they have sinned, nor do crave pardon of their defaults, but with that Pharisee do glory in their innocency and righteousness before God, or rather against God, they exclude themselves from the fellowship of the faithful, to whom this form of prayer is appointed for them to follow, and from the haven and refuge of safety. For this is it that Christ saith, "That he came into this world, not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."

Ma. Dost thou affirm that God doth freely forgive our sins?

Scho. Yea, altogether; for else it could not seem forgiveness but amends: but to make sufficient amends for one, yea, the very least fault, we are not by any power of ours in any wise able. We cannot, therefore, with our works, as it were with a certain price, redeem both the offence past and the peace of God, and make recompense of like for like, but ought with all lowly prayers to crave of God pardon both of our fault and punishment, which pardon is not possible to be obtained but by only Christ, and most humbly to beseech him to forgive us.

Ma. But this and the condition which is by and by after limited unto us, seem scant to agree fitly together. For we pray that God so forgive us as we forgive our debtors, or them *that trespass against us.*

Scho. Surely God doth offer us forgiveness upon a most reasonable condition, which yet is not so to be taken as if in forgiving men we should so deserve pardon of God, that the same should be as a certain

recompense made to us by God. For then should no God's forgiveness be freely given, neither had Chris alone, as the Scriptures teach us, and as we hav before declared, upon the cross fully paid the pain of our sins due to us. But then unless other d find us ready to forgive them, and unless we in fol lowing the mercifulness and lenity of God our Fa ther, do shew ourselves to be his children, he plainl warneth us to look for nothing else at his hand bu extreme severity of punishment. He hath, there fore, appointed our easiness to forgive, not as cause to deserve pardon of God, but to be a pledg to confirm our hearts with sure confidence of God' mercy.

Ma. Is there then no place of forgiveness witl God left for them that shew themselves to other no intreatable to forgive and to lay away displeasures and such as will not be appeased?

Scho. No place at all. Which both is confirme and manifest by many other places of the holy Scrip ture, and namely, by that parable in the Gospel, o the servant, which owing his lord ten thousand ta lents, refused at the same time to forgive his fellow servant one hundred pence that he had lent him, h notably warneth us. For according to the same rule o rigour, and the same example, shall justice withou mercy be done unto him that cannot find in his hear to shew lenity and mercy to others.

Ma. Thinkest thou that suits in law about righ and wrong are here condemned?

Scho. A wreakful mind and revengeful of injurie the word of God doth surely condemn. Let con tenders at law, therefore, look well to it with wha mind they sue any man. But the laws and ordi nances of common right, and their lawful use, tha is to say, such use as is directed by the rule of jus tice and charity, are not taken away or condemne

by the Gospel of Christ. But in this part of the Lord's Prayer, our minds are bound to follow the rule of Christian lenity and love, that we suffer not ourselves to be overcome of evil, that is to say, to be drawn so far by other men's offence, as to have will to render evil for evil, but rather that we overcome evil with good, that is, recompense evil deeds with good deeds, and bear and keep good will towards our foes, yea, our cruel and deadly enemies.

Ma. Now go forward to the sixth petition.

Scho. Therein we pray that he *lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.* For as we before do ask forgiveness of sins past, so now we pray that we sin no more. A thousand fears are set before us; a thousand evils threatened us; a thousand snares provided and laid for us. And we on our part are so feeble by nature, so unaware to foresee them, so weak to resist them, that with most small force and occasions we are shoved down, and carried headlong into deceit.

Ma. Go forward.

Scho. Since, therefore, we be most sharply and continually assaulted both by crafty and violent men, and by concupiscence and our own lust, by the enticements of the flesh, this world and all means of corruption, but especially by that subtle, guileful, and old wily serpent the devil, which, like a ravening lion, seeking whom he may devour, together with infinite other malicious spirits, armed with a thousand crafty means to hurt us, is ever ready to destroy us, and thereby, as our weakness is, we must needs by and by fall down and be utterly undone, we flee to the faithful protection of our almighty most loving Father, and pray to him in these distresses and perils not to forsake us and leave us destitute, but so to arm us with his strength that we may be able not only to resist and fight against the lusts of our

the Lord vehemently and earnestly commandeth ther that be his to eschew.

Ma. Then after entreating of prayer, shall we fitl and in good time add somewhat of the praises of Go and thanksgiving?

Scho. Surely most fitly. For not only in the la end of the Lord's Prayer, God's glory is mentione but also the very first entry of it beginneth with th glory and praises of God. For when we pray th God's name be hallowed, what pray we else than th of all his works his glory be established, that is, that h be judged in forgiving sinners, merciful; in punishin the wicked, righteous; in performing his promise true; in keeping daily benefits upon the unworth most good and liberal: that whatsoever of his wor we see or understand, we be thereby stirred to a vance his glory with praises. So was it God's will have his glory most nearly joined with prayer to hir For meet it is that as when we are touched and tro bled with distresses, we flee as humble petitioners God's help and mercy, so we unfeignedly acknow ledge that by him we obtain deliverance from all evi and griefs, and that he is to us the only author all good things. For of whom we crave pardon an all good things, to him, when he giveth them, not i heart and speech to render thanks were surely mo great unkindness. We ought therefore continual with mindful hearts and due honours to yield d served thanks to the everliving God.

Ma. Go forward.

Scho. Moreover, to praise and magnify God goodness, justice, wisdom, and power, and to gi him thanks in our own name and in the name of mankind, is parcel of the worshipping of God, b longing as properly to his majesty as prayer, wher with if we do not rightly worship him, surely w shall not only be unworthy of his so many and

great benefits as unthankful persons, but also shall be most worthy of eternal punishments, as wicked against God.

Ma. Sith we also receive benefits of men, shall it not also be lawful to give them thanks?

Scho. Whatsoever benefits men do to us, we ought to account them received of God, because he alone indeed doth give us them by the ministry of men. For which cause also, though men ought not to be beneficial and liberal of intent to get thanks, but to set forth the glory of God, yet to give thanks to them, that, moved by kindness, grant us any thing beneficially and friendly, why should it not be lawful, sith both equity requireth it, and by law of natural kindness we are bound unto it? yea, and God himself by this mean binding us unto them, willeth us to acknowledge the same.

Ma. Dost thou then allow a thankful mind to men also?

Scho. Yea. Sith our thankfulness to men redoundeth to God himself, because from the springhead of his divine liberality, as it were by certain guiding of watercourses, God conveyeth his benefits to us by the hands of men. Therefore if we shew not ourselves thankful to men, we shall be also unthankful to God himself. Only this let us look well to, that his full glory return and redound to God alone, as to the author and fountain of all good things.

Ma. Is there any rule and prescribed form for us certainly to follow when we glorify and honour God, or give him thanks?

Scho. Innumerable praises of God are commonly to be seen set out in his word, from the rule whereof if we vary not, we shall alway have a good pattern to follow, in giving to God his glory and honour, and in yielding him thanks. Finally, in a sum, seeing

indirectly to deny Christ? And he that vouchsafetl not to profess himself a Christian, is not worthy t be counted in the number of Christians. Again, the that would refuse the use of sacraments, as if they ha no need of them, I think were worthy to be con demned, not only of most high presumption, but als of unkind wickedness against God, forasmuch a they do despise not only the helps of their own weak ness, but also God himself, the author of them, re fuse his grace, and (as much as in them lieth) ex tinguish his Spirit.

Ma. Thou conceivest well the right understandin concerning the visible signs and outward use of th sacraments. But whereas, secondly, as thou givest t the sacraments the strength and efficacy to seal an confirm God's promises in our hearts, thou seemes to assign to them the proper offices of the Hol Ghost.

Scho. To lighten and give bright clearness t men's minds and souls, and to make their consciences quiet and in security, as they be indeed, so ought they to be accounted the proper work of the Holy Ghost alone, and to be imputed to him, and this praise not to be transferred to any other. But this is no impediment but that God may give to his mysteries the second place in quieting and stablishing our minds and consciences, but yet so that nothing be abated from the virtue of his Spirit: wherefore we must determine that the outward element hath neither of itself nor in itself inclosed the force and efficacy of the sacrament, but that the same wholly floweth from the Spirit of God, as out of a springhead, and is by the divine mysteries, which are ordained by the Lord for this end, conveyed unto us.

Ma. How many sacraments hath God ordained in his church?

Scho. Two.

Ma. Which be they?

Scho. Baptism and the holy supper, which are commonly used among all the faithful. For by the one we are born again, and by the other we are nourished to everlasting life.

Ma. Then tell me first what thou thinkest of baptism?

Scho. Whereas by nature we are the children of wrath, that is, strangers from the church, which is God's household, baptism is, as it were, a certain entry, by which we are received into the church, whereof we also receive a most substantial testimony, that we are now in the number of the household, and also of the children of God; yea, and that we are joined and grafted into the body of Christ, and become his members, and so grow into one body with him.

Ma. Thou saidest before that a sacrament consisteth of two parts, the outward sign and inward grace. What is the outward sign in baptism?

Scho. Water, wherein the person baptized is dipped or sprinkled with it *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

Ma. What is the secret and spiritual grace?

Scho. It is of two sorts: that is, forgiveness of sins, and regeneration, both of which in the same outward sign have their full and express resemblance.

Ma. How so?

Scho. First, as the uncleannesses of the body are washed away with water, so the spots of the soul are washed away by forgiveness of sins. Secondly, the beginning of regeneration, that is, the mortifying of our nature, is expressed by dipping in the water, or by sprinkling of it. Finally, when we by and by rise up again out of the water, under which we be for a short time, the new life, which is the other part,

and the end of our regeneration, is thereby represented.

Ma. Thou seemest to make the water but a certain figure of divine things.

Scho. It is a figure indeed, but not empty or deceitful, but such as hath the truth of the things themselves joined and knit unto it. For as in baptism God truly delivereth us forgiveness of sins and newness of life, so do we certainly receive them. For God forbid that we should think that God mocketh and deceiveth us with vain figures.

Ma. Do we not then obtain forgiveness of sins by the outward washing or sprinkling of water?

Scho. No. For only Christ hath with his blood washed and clean washed away the spots of our souls. This honour therefore it is unlawful to give to the outward element. But the Holy Ghost, as it were, sprinkling our consciences with that holy blood, wiping away all the spots of sin, maketh us clean before God. Of this cleansing of our sins we have a seal and pledge in the sacrament.

Ma. But whence have we regeneration?

Scho. None other ways but from the death and resurrection of Christ. For by the force of Christ's death our old man is, after a certain manner, crucified and mortified, and the corruptness of our nature is, as it were, buried, that it no more live and be strong in us. And by the beneficial mean of his resurrection he giveth us grace to be newly formed unto a new life, to obey the righteousness of God.

Ma. Do all generally, and without difference, receive this grace?

Scho. The only faithful receive this fruit; but the unbelieving, in refusing the promises offered them by God, shut up the entry against themselves, and go away empty. Yet do they not thereby make that the sacraments lose their force and nature.

Ma. Tell me then briefly in what things the use of baptism consisteth?

Scho. In faith and repentance. For first we must with assured confidence hold it determined in our hearts, that we are cleansed by the blood of Christ from all filthiness of sin, and so be acceptable to God, and that his Spirit dwelleth within us. And then we must continually, with all our power and endeavour, travail in mortifying our flesh, and obeying the righteousness of God, and must by godly life declare to all men that we have in baptism, as it were, put on Christ, and have his Spirit given us.

Ma. Sith infants cannot by age perform those things that thou speakest of, why are they baptized?

Scho. That faith and repentance go before baptism is required only in persons so grown in years, that by age they are capable of both. But to infants the promise made to the church by Christ, in whose faith they are baptized, shall for the present time be sufficient; and then afterward, when they are grown to years, they must need themselves acknowledge the truth of their baptism, and have the force thereof to be lively in their souls, and to be represented in their life and behaviour.

Ma. How shall we know that infants ought not to be kept from baptism?

Scho. Seeing God, which never swerveth from truth, nor in any thing strayeth from the right way, did not exclude infants in the Jewish church from circumcision, neither ought our infants to be put back from baptism.

Ma. Thinkest thou these so like, and that they both have one cause and order?

Scho. Altogether. For as Moses and all the Prophets do testify that circumcision was a sign of repentance, so doth St. Paul teach us that it was a sacrament of faith. Yet the Jews' children, being not

yet by age capable of faith and repentance, were nevertheless circumcised, by which visible sign God shewed himself in the Old Testament to be the Father of young children and of the seed of his people. Now sith it is certain that the grace of God is both more plentifully poured, and more clearly declared in the Gospel by Christ, than at any time it was in the Old Testament by Moses, it were a great indignity if the same grace should now be thought to be either obscurer, or in any part abated.

Ma. Go forward.

Scho. Sith it is certain that our infants have the force, and, as it were, the substance of baptism common with us, they should have wrong done them if the sign, which is inferior to the truth itself, should be denied them; and the same, which greatly availeth to testifying of the mercy of God and confirming his promises, being taken away, Christians should be defrauded of a singular comfort which they who were in old time enjoyed, and so should our infants be more hardly dealt with in the New Testament under Christ, than was dealt with the Jews' infants in the Old Testament under Moses. Therefore most great reason it is that by baptism, as by the print of a seal, it be assured to our infants that they be heirs of God's grace, and of the salvation promised to the seed of the faithful.

Ma. Is there any more that thou wilt say of this matter?

Scho. Sith the Lord Christ calleth infants unto him, and commandeth that no man forbid them to come, embraceth them when they come to him, and testifieth that to them the kingdom of heaven belongeth, whom God vouchsafeth to be in the heavenly palace, it seemeth a great wrong that men should forbid them the first entry and door thereof, and

after a certain manner to shut them out of the Christian commonweal.

Ma. It is so. But whereas thou didst say before that children, after they were grown more in years, ought to acknowledge the truth of their baptism, I would thou shouldest now speak somewhat more plainly thereof.

Scho. Parents and schoolmasters did in old time diligently instruct their children, as soon as by age they were able to perceive and understand, in the first principles of Christian religion, that they might suck in godliness almost together with the nurse's milk, and straightways after their cradle might be nourished with the tender food of virtue towards that blessed life. For the which purpose also little short books, which we name catechisms, were written, wherein the same, or very like matters as we now are in hand with, were entreated upon. And after that the children seemed to be sufficiently trained in the principles of our religion, they brought and offered them unto the bishop.

Ma. For what purpose did they so?

Scho. That children might after baptism do the same which such as were older, who were also called *catechumeni*, that is, scholars of religion, did in old time before, or rather, at baptism itself. For the bishop did require and the children did render reason and account of their religion and faith: and such children as the bishop judged to have sufficiently profited in the understanding of religion he allowed, and laying his hands upon them, and blessing them, let them depart. This allowance and blessing of the bishop our men do call confirmation.

Ma. But there was another confirmation used of late?

Scho. Instead of this most profitable and ancient

confirmation, they conveyed a device of their own, that is, that the bishop should not examine children whether they were skilled in the precepts of religion or no, but that they should anoint young infants unable yet to speak, much less to give any account of their faith; adjoining also other ceremonies unknown unto the holy Scripture and the primitive church. This invention of theirs they would needs have to be a sacrament, and accounted it in manner equal in dignity with baptism; yea, some of them preferred it also before baptism. By all means they would that this their confirmation should be taken for a certain supplying of baptism, that it should thereby be finished and brought to perfection, as though baptism else were imperfect, and as though children who in baptism had put upon them Christ with his benefits, without their confirmation were but half Christians; than which injury no greater could be done against the divine sacrament, and against God himself, and Christ our Saviour, the author and founder of the holy sacrament of baptism.

Ma. It were to be wished therefore that the ancient manner and usage of examining children were restored again.

Scho. Very much to be wished surely. For so should parents be brought to the satisfying of their duty in the godly bringing up of their children, which they now for the most part do leave undone, and quick reject them; which part of their duty if parents or schoolmasters would at this time take in hand, do, and thoroughly perform, there would be a marvellous consent and agreement in religion and faith, which is now in miserable sort torn asunder; surely all should not either lie so shadowed and overwhelmed with the darkness of ignorance, or with dissensions of divers and contrary opinions be so dis-

turbed, dissolved, and dissipated, as it is at this day: the more pity it is, and most to be sorrowed by all good men for so miserable a case.

Ma. It is very true that thou sayest. Now tell me the order of the Lord's supper.

Scho. It is even the same which the Lord Christ did institute, who in the same night that he was betrayed, *took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many, for remission of sins. Do this as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me. For so oft as ye shall eat this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death till he come.* This is the form and order of the Lord's supper, which we ought to hold, and holily to keep, till he come.

Ma. For what use?

Scho. To celebrate and retain continually a thankful remembrance of the Lord's death, and of that most singular benefit which we have received thereby; and that as in baptism we were once born again, so with the Lord's supper we be always fed and sustained to spiritual and everlasting life.

Ma. Thou sayest then that it is enough to be once baptized, as to be once born; but thou affirmest that the Lord's supper, like as food, must be often used.

Scho. Yea forsooth, master.

Ma. Dost thou say that there are two parts in this sacrament also, as in baptism?

Scho. Yea. The one part, the bread and wine, the outward signs, which are seen with our eyes, handled with our hands, and felt with our taste; the

other part, Christ himself, with whom our souls, as with their proper food, are inwardly nourished.

Ma. And dost thou say that all ought alike to receive both parts of the sacrament?

Scho. Yea verily, master. For sith the Lord hath expressly so commanded, it were a most high offence in any part to abridge his commandment.

Ma. Why would the Lord have here two signs to be used?

Scho. First he severally gave the signs both of his body and blood, that it might be the more plain express image of his death which he suffered, his body being torn, his side pierced, and all his blood shed, and that the memory thereof so printed in our hearts should strike the deeper. And moreover, that the Lord might so provide for and help our weakness, and thereby manifestly declare, that as the bread for nourishment of our bodies, so his body hath most singular force and efficacy spiritually to feed our souls: and as with wine men's hearts are cheered, and their strength confirmed, so with his blood our souls are relieved and refreshed; that certainly assuring ourselves that he is not only our meat, but also our drink, we do not any where else but in him alone seek any part of our spiritual nourishment and eternal life.

Ma. Is there then not an only figure, but the truth itself, of the benefits that thou hast rehearsed, delivered in the supper?

Scho. What else? For sith Christ is the truth itself, it is no doubt but that the thing which he testifieth in words, and representeth in signs, he performeth also in deed, and delivereth it unto us; and that he as surely maketh them that believe in him, partakers of his body and blood, as they surely know that they have received the bread and wine with their mouth and stomach.

Ma. Sith we be in the earth, and Christ's body in heaven, how can that be that thou sayest?

Scho. We must lift our souls and hearts from earth, and raise them up by faith to heaven, where Christ is.

Ma. Sayest thou then the mean to receive the body and blood of Christ standeth upon faith?

Scho. Yea. For when we believe that Christ died to deliver us from death, and that he rose again to procure us life, we are partakers of the redemption purchased by his death, and of his life, and all other his good things; and with the same conjoining wherewith the head and members are knit together, he coupleth us to himself by secret and marvellous virtue of his Spirit, even so that we be members of his body, and be of his flesh and bones, and do grow into one body with him.

Ma. Dost thou then, that this conjoining may be made, imagine the bread and wine to be changed into the substance of the flesh and body of Christ?

Scho. There is no need to invent any such change. For both the holy Scriptures, and the best and most ancient expositors, do teach that by baptism we are likewise the members of Christ, and are of his flesh and bones, and do grow into one body with him, when yet there is no such change made in the water.

Ma. Go on.

Scho. In both the sacraments the substances of the outward things not changed, but the word of God and heavenly grace coming to them, there is such efficacy, that as by baptism we are once regenerate in Christ, and are first, as it were, joined and grafted into his body; so, when we rightly receive the Lord's supper, with the very divine nourishment of his body and blood, most full of health and immortality, given to us by the work of the Holy Ghost, and received by us by faith, as the mouth of our soul, we

are continually fed and sustained to eternal life, growing together in them both into one body with Christ.

Ma. Then Christ doth also otherwise than by his supper only give himself unto us, and knitteth us to himself with most strait conjoining.

Scho. Christ did then principally give himself to us to be the author of our salvation, when he gave himself to death for us, that we should not perish with deserved death. By the Gospel also he giveth himself to the faithful, and plainly teacheth that he is that lively bread that came down from heaven to nourish their souls that believe in him. And also in baptism, as is before said, Christ gave himself to us effectually, for that he then made us Christians.

Ma. And sayest thou that there be no less strait bands of conjoining in the supper?

Scho. In the Lord's supper, both that communicating which I spake of, is confirmed unto us, and is also increased, for that each man is both by the words and mysteries of God ascertained that the same belongeth to himself, and that Christ is by a certain peculiar manner given to him, that he may most fully and with most near conjunction enjoy him, insomuch that not only our souls are nourished with his holy body and blood as with their proper food; but also our bodies, for that they partake of the sacraments of eternal life, have, as it were by a pledge given them, a certain hope assured them of resurrection and immortality, that at length Christ abiding in us, and we again abiding in Christ, we also by Christ abiding in us, may obtain not only everlasting life, but also the glory which his Father gave him. In a sum I say thus: as I imagine not any gross joining, so I affirm that same secret and marvellous communicating of Christ's body in his supper to be most near and strait, most assured, most true and altogether most high and perfect.

Ma. Of this thou hast said of the Lord's supper, meseems I may gather, that the same was not ordained to this end, that Christ's body should be offered in sacrifice to God the Father for sins.

Scho. It is not so offered. For he, when he did institute his supper, commanded us to eat his body, not to offer it. As for the prerogative of offering for sins, it pertaineth to Christ alone, as to him which is the eternal Priest, which also when he died upon the cross, once made that only and everlasting sacrifice for our salvation, and fully performed the same for ever. For us there is nothing left to do, but to take the use and benefit of that eternal sacrifice bequeathed us by the Lord himself, which we chiefly do in the Lord's supper.

Ma. Then I perceive the holy supper sendeth us to the death of Christ, and to his sacrifice once done upon the cross, by which alone God is appeased toward us.

Scho. It is most true. For by bread and wine, the signs, is assured unto us, that as the body of Christ was once offered a sacrifice for us to reconcile us to favour with God, and his blood once shed, to wash away the spots of our sins, so now also in his holy supper both are given to the faithful, that we surely know that the reconciliation of favour pertaineth to us, and may take and receive the fruit of the redemption purchased by his death.

Ma. Are then the only faithful fed with Christ's body and blood?

Scho. They only. For to whom he communicateth his body, to them, as I said, he communicateth also everlasting life.

Ma. Why dost thou not grant that the body and blood of Christ are included in the bread and cup, or that the bread and wine are changed into the substance of his body and blood?

Scho. Because that were to bring in doubt the truth of Christ's body, to do dishonour to Christ himself, and to fill them with abhorring that receive the sacrament, if we should imagine his body either to be enclosed in so narrow a room, or to be in many places at once, or his flesh to be chewed in our mouth with our teeth, and to be bitten small, and eaten as other meat.

Ma. Why then is the communicating of the sacrament damnable to the wicked, if there be no such change made?

Scho. Because they come to the holy and divine mysteries with hypocrisy and counterfeiting, and do wickedly profane them, to the great injury and dishonour of the Lord himself that ordained them.

Ma. Declare then what is our duty, that we may come rightly to the Lord's supper.

Scho. Even the same that we are taught in the holy Scriptures, namely, to examine ourselves, whether we be true members of Christ.

Ma. By what marks and tokens shall we manifestly find it?

Scho. First, if we heartily repent us of our sins, which drove Christ to death, whose mysteries are now delivered us: next, if we stay ourselves, and rest upon a sure hope of God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of our redemption purchased by his death. Moreover, if we conceive an earnest mind and determined purpose to lead our life godlily hereafter. Finally, if seeing in the Lord's supper is contained also a tokening of friendship and love among men, we bear brotherly love to our neighbours, that is, to all men without any evil will or hatred.

Ma. Is any man able fully and perfectly to perform all these things that thou speakest of?

Scho. Full perfection in all points, wherein no-

thing may be lacking, cannot be found in man so long as he abideth in this world. Yet ought not the imperfection that holdeth us keep us back from coming to the Lord's supper, which the Lord willed to be a help to our imperfection and weakness. Yea, if we were perfect, there should be no more need of any use of the Lord's supper among us. But hereto these things that I have spoken of do tend, that every man bring with him to the supper, repentance, faith, and charity, so near as possibly may be, sincere and unfeigned.

Ma. But when thou saidest afore that the sacraments avail to confirmation of faith, how dost thou now say that we must bring faith to them?

Scho. These sayings do not disagree. For there must be faith begun in us, to the nourishing and strengthening whereof the Lord hath ordained the sacraments, which bring great effectual helps to the confirming, and, as it were, sealing the promises of God in our hearts.

Ma. There remaineth yet for thee to tell to whom the ministration of the sacraments properly belongeth.

Scho. Sith the duties and offices of feeding the Lord's flock with God's word, and the ministering of sacraments, are most nearly joined together, there is no doubt that the ministration thereof properly belongeth to them to whom the office of public teaching is committed. For as the Lord himself at his supper, exercising the office of the public minister, did set forth his own example to be followed, so did he commit the offices of baptizing and teaching peculiarly to the Apostles.

Ma. Ought the pastors to receive all indifferently without choice to the sacraments?

Scho. In old time when men, grown and of full years, came to our religion, they were not admitted so much as to baptism, unless there were first assu-

rance had of their faith in the chief articles of Chri tian religion. Now because only infants are ba tized, there can be no choice made. Otherwise it of the Lord's supper, whereunto sith none come b they that are grown in years, if any be openly know to be unworthy, the pastor ought not to admit hi to the supper, because it cannot be done witho profane abuse of the sacrament.

Ma. Why did the Lord then not exclude t traitor Judas from communicating of his supper?

Scho. Because his wickedness, howsoever it w known to the Lord, was not yet at that time open known.

Ma. May not ministers then put back hypocrite

Scho. Not so long as their wickedness is secret.

Ma. Sith then both good and bad do indifferent and in common use the sacraments, what sure a steadfast trust of consciences can be in them, whic thou even now didst affirm?

Scho. Though the ungodly, so much as concerne themselves, do not receive the gifts of God offere in the sacraments, but do refuse and disappoi themselves; yet the godly, which by faith seek Chri and his grace in them, are never disappointed of defrauded of a most good conscience of mind, a most sweet comfort, by an assured hope of salvatio and of perfect felicity.

Ma. But if any pastor do either himself know, be privily informed that they be unworthy, may not exclude them from the communion?

Scho. Such he may both in public sermons adm nish, so he utter them not by name, or blot them wi stain or infamy, but pinch them and reprove the only with suspicion of their own conscience, a with conjecture; and he may also privately grievous threaten them; but put them back from the co

munion he may not, unless the lawful examination and judgment of the church be first had.

Ma. What remedy is then to be found and used for this mischief?

Scho. In churches well ordered and well mannered, there was, as I said before, ordained and kept a certain form and order of governance. There were chosen elders, that is, ecclesiastical magistrates, to hold and keep the discipline of the church. To these belonged the authority, looking to, and correction like censors. These calling to them also the pastor, if they knew any that either with false opinions, or troublesome errors, or vain superstitions, or with corrupt and wicked life, brought publicly any great offence to the church of God, and which might not come without profaning the Lord's supper, did put back such from the communion, and rejected them, and did not admit them again till they had with public penance satisfied the church.

Ma. What measure ought there to be of public penance?

Scho. Such as go about, with devices of false opinions, to hurt true godliness, and shake religion, or with corrupt and wicked life have raised grievous and public offences, it is meet that they make public satisfaction to the church whom they have so offended, that is, sincerely to acknowledge and confess their sin before the whole congregation, and openly to declare that they be heartily sorry that they have so grievously offended Almighty God, and, as much as in them lay, have dishonoured the Christian religion which they have professed, and the church wherein they were accepted, and that not by their sin only, but also by pernicious example they have hurt other; and therefore they crave and pray pardon first of God, and then of his church.

Ma. What shall then be done?

Scho. Then they must humbly require and pray that they may be again received into the church, which by their deserving they were cast out of, and to the holy mysteries thereof. In short sum, there must in public penance be such moderation used, that, neither by too much severity, he that hath sinned do despair, nor, on the other side, by too much softness the discipline of the church decay, and the authority thereof abated, and other be encouraged and boldened to attempt the like. But when by the judgment of the elders and the pastor, both the punishment of him that sinned, and the example of other is satisfied, then he who was excommunicate was wont to be received again to the communion of the church.

Ma. I see, my child, that thou well understandest the sum of Christian godliness. Now it resteth that thou so direct thy life by the rule of this godly knowledge, that thou seem not to have learned these things in vain. For not they that only hear and understand God's word, but they that follow God's will, and obey his commandments, shall be blessed. Yea, that servant that knoweth his master's will, and followeth it not, shall be more grievously beaten. So little profiteth the understanding of godliness and true religion, unless there be joined to it uprightness of life, innocency, and holiness. Go to therefore, my child, bend all thy care and thought thereunto, that thou fail not in thy duty, or swerve at any time from this rule and prescribed form of godly life.

Scho. I will do my diligence, worshipful master, and omit nothing, so much as I am able to do, and with all my strength and power will endeavour that I may answer the profession and name of a Christian. And also I will humbly, with all prayers and desires, alway crave of Almighty God, that he suffer not the seed of his doctrine to perish in my heart,

as sown in a dry and barren soil, but that he will, with the divine dew of his grace, so water and make fruitful the dryness and barrenness of my heart, that I may bring forth plentiful fruits of godliness, to be stowed and laid up in the barn and granary of the kingdom of heaven.

Ma. Do so, my child; and doubt not, but as thou hast, by God's guiding, conceived this mind and will, so thou shalt find and have the issue and end of this thy godly study and endeavour, such as thou desirest and lookest for, that is, most good and happy.

THE

PREFACES

TO THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT,

WRITTEN BY

MATTHEW PARKER,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

AND PREFIXED TO THAT TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE WHICH WAS PUBLISHED BY HIM IN THE YEAR 1572,

AND WAS USUALLY CALLED

THE BISHOPS' BIBLE.

ARCHBISHOP PARKER'S

PREFACE TO THE BIBLE.

Of all the sentences pronounced by our Saviour Christ in his whole doctrine, none is more serious or more worthy to be borne in remembrance, than that which he spake openly in his Gospel, saying, "Scrutamini Scripturas, quia vos putatis in ipsis vitam æternam habere; et illæ sunt, quæ testimonium perhibent de me."—"Search ye the Scriptures; for in them ye think to have eternal life, and those they be which bear witness of me."

These words were first spoken unto the Jews by our Saviour, but by him in his doctrine meant to all; for they concern all, of what nation, of what tongue, of what profession soever any man be; for to all belongeth it to be called unto eternal life, so many as by the witness of the Scriptures desire to find eternal life. No man, woman, or child, is excluded from this salvation; and therefore to every of them is this spoken, proportionally yet, and in their degrees and ages, and as the reason and congruity of their vocation may ask.

For not so lieth in charge to the worldly artificer to search, or to any other private man so exquisitely to study, as it lieth to the charge of the public teacher to search in the Scriptures, to be the more able to walk in the house of God (which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth), to the establishing of the true doctrine of the same, and to the impugning of the false. And though whatsoever difference there may be betwixt the preacher in office, and the auditor, in his vocation, yet in both it is said, "Seach ye the Scriptures," [illegible]

ye may find eternal life, and gather witnesses of that salvation, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

For although the Prophet of God, Moses, biddeth the king, when he is once set in the throne of his kingdom, to describe before his eyes the volume of God's law, according to the example which he should receive of the priests, of the Levitical tribe, to have it with him, and to read in it all the days of his life, to the end that he might learn to fear the Lord his God, and to observe his laws, that his heart be not advanced in pride over his brethren, nor to swerve either on the right hand or on the left; yet the reason of this precept, for that it concerneth all men, may reasonably be thought to be commanded to all men, and all men may take it to be spoken to themselves in their degree.

Though Almighty God himself spake to his captain Joshua in precise words, "Non recedat volumen legis hujus ab ore tuo, sed meditaberis in eo diebus ac noctibus, &c."—"Let not the volume of this book depart from thy mouth, but muse therein both days and nights, that thou mayest keep and perform all things which be written in it, that thou mayest direct well thy way, and understand the same:" yet as well spake Almighty God this precept to all his people in the direction of their ways to himward, as he meant it to Joshua. For that he hath care of all, he acceptetl no man's person; his will is, that all men should be saved; his will is, that all men should come to the way of truth.

How could this be more conveniently declared by God to man, than when Christ, his well-beloved Son, our most loving Saviour, the way, the truth and the life of us all, did bid us openly "search the Scriptures," assuring us herein to find eternal life to find full testification of all his graces and benefit towards us, in the treasure thereof.

Therefore it is most convenient that we should all suppose, that Christ spake to us all in this precept of searching the Scriptures. If this celestial Doctor (so authorized by the Father of heaven, and commanded, as his only Son, to be heard of us all) biddeth us busily to "search the Scriptures," of what spirit can it proceed, to forbid the reading and studying of the Scriptures? If the gross Jews used to read them, as some men think, that our Saviour Christ did shew, by such kind of speaking, their usage, with their opinion they had therein to find eternal life, and were not of Christ rebuked or disproved either for their searching or their opinion they had: how superstitiously or superficially soever some of them used to expound the Scriptures, how much more unadvisedly do such as boast themselves to be either Christ's vicars, or be of his guard, to loath Christian men from reading, by their covert slanderous reproaches of the Scriptures, or in their authority by law or statute to contract this liberty of studying the word of eternal salvation?

Christ calleth them not only to the single reading of the Scriptures (saith Chrysostom), but sendeth them to the exquisite searching of them, for in them is eternal life to be found, and they be (saith himself) the witness of me; for they declare out his office, they commend his benevolence towards us, they record his whole works wrought for us to our salvation.

Antichrist therefore he must be, that, under whatsoever colour, would give contrary precept or counsel, to that which Christ did give unto us. Very little do they resemble Christ's loving Spirit, moving us to search for our comfort, that will discourage us from such searching, or that would wish ignorance and forgetfulness of his benefit, to reign in us, so that

they might by our ignorance reign the more frankly in our consciences, to the danger of our salvation.

Who can take the light from us in this miserable vale of blindness, and mean not to have us stumble in the paths of perdition, to the ruin of our souls? Who will envy us this bread of life, prepared and set on the table for our eternal sustenance, and mean not to famish us, or instead thereof, with their corrupt traditions and doctrines of man, to infect us? "All the whole Scriptures," saith the holy Apostle St. Paul, inspired from God above, "is profitable to teach, to reprove, to reform, to instruct in righteousness, that the man of God may be sound and perfect, instructed to every good work."

Search therefore, good reader (on God's name), as Christ biddeth thee, the holy Scripture, wherein thou mayest find thy salvation. Let not the volume of this book (by God's own warrant) depart from thee, but occupy thyself therein in the whole journey of this thy worldly pilgrimage, to understand thy way how to walk rightly before him all the days of thy life. Remember that the Prophet David pronounceth him the blessed man, which will muse in the law of God both day and night. Remember that he calleth him blessed, which walketh in the way of the Lord, which will search diligently his testimonies, and will in his whole heart seek the same.

Let not the covert suspicious insinuations of the adversaries drive thee from the search of the holy Scriptures, either for the obscurity which they say is in them, or for the inscrutable hidden mysteries they talk to be comprised in them, or for the strangeness and homeliness of the phrases they would charge God's book with. Christ exhorteth thee therefore the rather for the difficulty of the same to search them diligently. St. Paul willeth thee to have thy

senses exercised in them, and not to be a child in thy senses, but in malice.

Though many things may be difficult to thee to understand, impute it rather to thy dull hearing and reading, than to think that the Scriptures be insuperable to them which with diligent searching labour to discern the evil from the good. Only search with an humble spirit, ask in continual prayer, seek with purity of life, knock with perpetual perseverance, and cry to that good Spirit of Christ the Comforter; and surely to every such asker it will be given, such searchers must needs find, to them it will be opened.

Christ himself will open the sense of the Scriptures, not to the proud, or to the wise of the world, but to the lowly and contrite in heart; for he hath the key of David, who openeth, and no man shutteth; who shutteth, and no man openeth. For as this Spirit is a benign and liberal Spirit, and will be easily found of them which will early in carefulness rise to seek him, and as he promiseth he will be the Comforter from above to teach us, and to lead us into all the ways of truth, if that in humility we bow unto him, denying our own natural senses, our carnal wits and reasons; so he is the Spirit of purity and cleanness, and will recede from him whose conscience is subject to filthiness of life. Into such a soul this heavenly wisdom will not enter; for all perverse cogitations will separate us from God. And then how busily soever we search this holy table of the Scripture, yet will it then be a table to such to their own snare, a trap, a stumbling-block, and a recompense to themselves.

We ought therefore to search to find out the truth, not to oppress it; we ought to seek Christ, not as Herod did, under the pretence of worshipping to destroy him; or as the Pharisees searched the Scriptures to disprove Christ, and to discredit him, and

not to follow him, but to embrace the salvation which we may learn by them.

Nor yet is it enough so to acknowledge the Scriptures, as some of the Jews did, of the holiest of them, who used such diligence, that they could number precisely, not only every verse, but every word and syllable, how oft every letter of the alphabet was repeated in the whole Scriptures. They had some of them such reverence to that book, that they would not suffer, in a great heap of books, any other to lie over it; they would not suffer the book to fall to the ground, as nigh as they could; they would costly bind the books of holy Scriptures, and cause them to be exquisitely and ornately written; which devotion, though it were not to be discommended, yet was it not for that intent, why Christ commended the Scriptures, nor they thereof allowed before God.

For they did not call upon God in a true faith, they were not charitable to their neighbours, but in the midst of all this devotion, they did steal; they were adulterers, they were slanderers, and backbiters; even much like many of our Christian men and women now-a-days, who glory much that they read the Scriptures, that they search them, and love them, that they frequent the public sermons in an outward show of all honesty and perfection; yea, they can pick out of the Scriptures virtuous sentences and godly precepts to lay before other men.

And though these manner of men do not much err from such searching and studying, yet they see not the scope and principal state of the Scriptures which is, as Christ declareth it, to find Christ as their Saviour, to cleave to his salvation and merits to be brought to the low repentance of their lives and to amend themselves, to raise up their faith to our Saviour Christ, so to think of him, as the Scrip

tures do testify of him. These be the principal causes why Christ did send the Jews to search the Scriptures. "For to this end were they written," saith St. John. "Hæc scripta sunt ut credatis, et ut credentes vitam habeatis æternam."—"These were written to this intent, that ye should believe, and that through your belief ye should have everlasting life."

And here, good reader, great cause we have to extol the wonderous wisdom of God, and with great thanks to praise his providence, considering how he hath preserved and renewed from age to age, by special miracle, the incomparable treasure of his church. "For first he did inspire Moses," as John Chrysostom doth testify, "to write the stony tables, and kept him in the mountains forty days, to give him his law. After him he sent the Prophets; but they suffered many thousand adversities; for battles did follow, all were slain, all were destroyed, books were burnt up. He then inspired again another man, to repair these miraculous Scriptures; Esdras, I mean, who of their leavings set them again together. After that, he provided that the seventy interpreters should take them in hand. At the last came Christ himself. The Apostles did receive them, and spread them throughout all nations. Christ wrought his miracles and wonders; and what followed? After these great volumes, the Apostles also did write, as St. Paul doth say, 'These be written to the instruction of us, 'that be come into the end of the world.' And Christ doth say, 'Ye therefore do err, because ye know 'not the Scripture, nor the power of God.' And Paul did say, 'Let the word of Christ be plentiful 'among you.' And again saith David, 'Oh! how 'sweet be thy words to my throat' (he saith not, to my hearing, but, to my throat), 'above the honey 'or the honeycomb to my mouth.' Yea, Moses

saith, 'Thou shalt meditate in them evermore; 'when thou risest, and when thou sittest down, when 'thou goest to sleep, continue in them,' he saith, and a thousand places more. And yet after so many testimonies thus spoken, there be some persons that do not yet so much as know what the Scriptures be; whereupon nothing is in good state amongst us, nothing worthily is done amongst us. In this which pertains to this life, we make very great haste, but of spiritual goods we have no regard." Thus far John Chrysostom.

It must needs signify some great thing to our understanding, that Almighty God hath had such care to prescribe these books thus unto us; I say, not prescribe them only, but to maintain them, and defend them against the malignity of the devil and his ministers, who alway went about to destroy them. And yet would these never be so destroyed, but that he would have them continue whole and perfect unto this day, to our singular comfort and instruction, where other books of mortal wise men have perished in great numbers.

It is recorded, that Ptolomæus Philadelphus, king of Egypt, had gathered together in one library at Alexandria, by his great cost and diligence, seven hundred thousand books, whereof the principal were the books of Moses, which, reserved not much more than by the space of two hundred years, were all burnt and consumed in that battle, when Cæsar restored Cleopatra again after her expulsion. At Constantinople perished, under Zenon, by one common fire, a hundred and twenty thousand books.

At Rome, when Lucius Aurelius Antoninus did reign, his notable library, by a lightning from heaven, was quite consumed. Yea, it is recorded, that Gregory the First did cause a library of Rome, containing only certain painims' works, to be burned, to the intent the Scriptures of God should be more read and

studied. What other great libraries have there been consumed but of late days? And what libraries have of old throughout this realm, almost in every abbey of the same, been destroyed at sundry ages, besides the loss of other men's private studies, it were too long to rehearse.

Whereupon, seeing Almighty God by his divine providence hath preserved these books of the Scriptures safe and sound, and that in their native languages they were first written in, the great ignorance that reigned in these tongues, and, contrary to all other casualties, chanced upon all other books, in maugre of all worldly wits, who would so fain have had them destroyed, and yet he by his mighty hand would have them extant as witnesses and interpreters of his will toward mankind; we may soon see cause most reverently to embrace these divine testimonies of his will, to study them, and to search them, to instruct our blind nature, so sore corrupted and fallen from the knowledge in which first we were created; yet having occasion given somewhat to recover our fall, and to return again to that divine nature wherein we were once made, and at the last to be inheritors in the celestial habitation with God Almighty, after the end of our mortality here, brought to his dust again.

These books, I say, being of such estimation and authority, so much reverenced of them who had any mean taste of them, could never be put out of the way neither by the spite of any tyrant, as that tyrant Maximian destroyed all the holy Scriptures, wheresoever they could be found, and burnt them in the midst of the market; neither the hatred of any Porphyrian philosopher or rhetorician, neither by the envy of the Romanists, and of such hypocrites who from time to time did ever bark against them, some of them not in open sort of condemnation, but more

evangelical Scriptures. Some say that our faith must needs stagger, if it be not grounded upon the authority of Scripture. Some testify that Christ and his church ought to be avouched out of the Scriptures, and do contend in disputation that the true church cannot be known, but only by the holy Scriptures. For all other things, saith the same author, may be found among the heretics. Some affirm it to be a sinful tradition, that is obtruded without the Scriptures: some plainly pronounce that not to know the Scriptures, is not to know Christ.

Wherefore let men extol out the church practices as highly as they can, and let them set out their traditions and customs, their decisions in synods and councils, with vaunting the presence of the Holy Ghost among them really, as some do affirm it in their writing; let their grounds and their demonstrations, their foundations, be as stable and as strong as they blaze them out, yet will we be bold to say with St. Peter, "Habemus nos firmiorem sermonem propheticum."—"We have for our part a more stable ground, the prophetical words (of the Scriptures), and doubt not to be commended therefore of the same." St. Peter with these words, "Cui dum attenditis, seu lucernæ apparenti in obscuro loco recte facitis, donec dies illucescat, &c."—"Whereunto," saith he, "while ye do attend as to a light shining in a dark place, ye do well, until the daylight appear, and till the bright star do arise in our hearts."

For this we know, that all the prophetical Scripture standeth not in any private interpretation of vain names, of several churches and catholic and universal sees, of singular and wilful heads, which will challenge by custom all decisions to pertain to them only; who by working so much for their vain superiority, that they be not ashamed now to be of that number,

"Qui dixerunt, Linguam nostram magnificabimus, labia nostra nobis sunt, quis noster dominus est?" —"Which have said, With our tongue we will prevail, we are they that ought to speak, who is lord over us?" And while they shall thus contend for their strange claimed authority, we will proceed in the reformation begun, and doubt no more, by the help of Christ's grace, of the true unity to Christ's catholic church, and of the uprightness of our faith in this province, than the Spanish clergy once gathered together in council (only by the commandment of their king, before which time the pope was not so acknowledged in his authority which he now claimeth); I say as surely dare we trust, as they did trust of their faith and unity.

Yea, no less confidence have we to profess that which the fathers of the universal council at Carthage in Africa, as they write themselves, did profess in their epistle writ to Pope Celestin, laying before his face the foul corruption of himself (as two other of his predecessors did the like error), in falsifying the canons of the Nicene council, for his wrong challenge of his new-claimed authority; thus writing: "Prudentissime enim justissimeque providerunt (Nicena et Africana decreta), quæcunque negotia in suis locis (ubi orta sunt) finienda; nec unicuique provinciæ gratiam Sancti Spiritus defecturam, quæ æquitas à Christi sacerdotibus et prudenter videatur et constantissime teneatur; maxime quia unicuique concessum est, si judicio offensus fuerit cognitorum, ad concilia meæ provinciæ, vel etiam universale provocare." —"That (the Nicene and African decrees) have most prudently and justly provided for all manner of matters to be ended in their territories, where they had their beginning. And they trusted, that not to any one province should want the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby both the truth or equity might pru-

dently be seen of the Christian prelates of Christ, and might be also by them most constantly defended, especially, for that it is granted to every man, if he be grieved, the judgment of the cause once known, to appeal to the councils of his own province, or else to the universal." Except there be any man which may believe that our Lord God would inspire the righteousness of examination to any one singular person, and to deny the same to priests gathered together in council without number, &c. And there they do require the bishop of Rome to send none of his clerks to execute such provincial causes, lest else, say they, might be brought in the vain pride of the world unto the church of Christ.

In this antiquity may we, in this Christian catholic church of England, repose ourselves, knowing by our own annals of ancient record, that King Lucius, whose conscience was much touched with the miracles which the servants of Christ wrought in divers nations, thereupon being in great love with the true faith, sent unto Eleutherius, then bishop of Rome, requiring of him the Christian religion. But Eleutherius did readily give over that care to King Lucius, in his epistle. "For that the king," as he writeth, "is the vicar of God in his own kingdom, and for that he had received the faith of Christ, and for that he had also both Testaments in his realm, he willed him to draw out of them by the grace of God, and by the counsel of his wise men, his laws, and by that law of God to govern his realm of Britain, and not so much to desire the Roman and Emperor's laws, in the which some default might be found," saith he, "but in the laws of God nothing at all."

With which answer the King's legates, Eluanus and Medwinus, sent as messengers by the King to the Pope, returned to Britain again, Eluanus being made a bishop, and Medwine allowed a public

teacher; who, for the eloquence and knowledge they had in the holy Scriptures, repaired home again to King Lucius, and by their holy preachings, Lucius and the noblemen of the whole Britain received their baptism, &c. Thus far in the story.

And yet may it be true, that William of Malmsbury writeth, that Phaganus and Deraveanus were sent after, as coadjutors, with these learned men, to the preaching of the Gospel, which was never extinguished in Britain, from Joseph of Arimathea's time, as to St. Austin, the first bishop of Canterbury, they do openly avouch.

Now therefore knowing and believing with St. Paul, "Quod quæcunque, præscripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam præscripta sunt, ut per patientiam et consolationem Scripturaram spem habeamus"—"Whatsoever is afore written, is written for our instruction, that we, through the patience and comfort of Scriptures, might have hope;" the only surety to our faith and conscience is to stick to the Scriptures. Whereupon, while this eternal word of God be our rock and anchor to stick to, we will have patience with all the vain inventions of men, who labour so highly to magnify their tongues, to exalt themselves above all that is God.

We will take comfort by the holy Scriptures against the maledictions of the adversaries, and doubt not to nourish our hope continually therewith, so to live and die in this comfortable hope, and doubt not to pertain to the elect number of Christ's church, how far soever we be excommunicated out of the synagogue of such who suppose themselves to be the universal lords of all the world, lords of our faith and consciences at pleasure.

Finally, to commend further unto thee, good reader, the cause in part before entreated, it shall be the less needful, having so nigh followed that

learned preface, which some time was set out by the diligence of that godly father, Thomas Cranmer, late bishop in the see of Canterbury, which he caused to be prefixed before the translation of the Bible that was then set out. And for that the copies thereof be so wasted, that very many churches do want their convenient Bibles, it was thought good to some well-disposed men to recognise the same Bible again into this form, as it is now come out, with some further diligence in the printing, and with some more light added partly in the translation, and partly in the order of the text, as not condemning the former translation, which was followed mostly of any other translation, excepting the original text, from which as little variance was made, as was thought meet to such as took pains therein.

Desiring thee, good reader, if aught be escaped, either by such as had the expending of the books, or by oversight of the printer, to correct the same in the spirit of charity, calling to remembrance what diversity hath been seen in men's judgments in the translation of these books before these days, though all directed their labours to the glory of God, to the edification of the church, to the comfort of their Christian brethren.

And always as God did further open unto them, so evermore desirous they were to reform their human oversights, rather than in a stubborn wilfulness to resist the gift of the Holy Ghost, who from time to time is resident, as that heavenly teacher, and leader into all truth, by whose direction the church is ruled and governed.

And let all men remember in themselves how error and ignorance is created with our nature. Let frail man confess with that great wise man, that the cogitations and inventions of mortal men be very weak, and our opinions soon deceived. For the body, so

subject to corruption, doth oppress the soul, that it cannot aspire so high as of duty it ought. Men we be all; and that which we know, is not the thousandth part of that we know not.

Whereupon saith St. Austin, "Otherwise to judge than the truth is, this temptation riseth of the frailty of man. A man so to love and stick to his own judgment, or to envy his brother's, to the peril of dissolving the Christian communion, or to the peril of schism and of heresy, this is diabolical presumption. But so to judge in every matter, as the truth is, this belongeth only to the angelical perfection."

Notwithstanding, good reader, thou mayest be well assured nothing to be done in this translation, either of malice, or wilful meaning in altering the text, either by putting more or less to the same, as of purpose to bring in any private judgment by falsification of the words, as some certain men have been overbold so to do, little regarding the majesty of God's Scripture, but so to make it serve to their corrupt error. As in alleging the sentence of St. Paul to the Romans, the sixth, one certain writer, to prove his satisfaction, was bold to turn the word of sanctificationem into the word of satisfactionem. Thus, "Sicut exhibeamus antea membra nostra servire immunditiæ et iniquitate ad iniquitatem; ita deinceps exhibeamus membra nostra servire justitiam et satisfactionem."—That is, "As we have given our members to uncleanness, from iniquity to iniquity; even so from henceforth let us give our members to serve righteousness into satisfaction." Where the true word is "into sanctification."

Even so likewise for the advantage of his cause, to prove that men may have in their prayer faith upon saints, corruptly allegeth St. Paul's text Ad Philemonem thus: "Fidem quam habes in Domino Jesu, et in omnes sanctos," leaving out the word

"charitatem," which would have rightly been distri
buted unto "Omnes sanctos," as "Fidem," unt
"in Domino Jesu," where the text is, "Audier
charitatem tuam, et in fidem quam habes in Domin
Jesu et in omnes sanctos," &c.

It were too long to bring in many examples
may be openly found in some men's writings in the
days, who would be counted the chief pillars of th
catholic faith, or to note how corruptly they of pu
pose abuse the text, to the commodity of their caus

What manner of translation may men think
look for at their hands, if they should translate th
Scriptures to the comfort of God's elect, whic
they never did, nor be like to purpose it; but
rather studious only to seek quarrels in other men
well-doings, to pick fault where none is; and whe
any is escaped through human negligence, there
cry out with their tragical exclamations, but in
wise to amend by the spirit of charity and lenit
that which might be more aptly set.

Whereupon, for frail man (compassed hims
with infirmity) it is most reasonable, not to be seve
in condemning his brother's knowledge or diligenc
where he doth err, not of malice, but of simplicit
and especially in handling these so divine books,
profound in sense, so far passing our natural unde
standing. And with charity it standeth the read
not to be offended with the diversity of translator
nor with the ambiguity of translations.

For as St. Austin doth witness, "By God's pr
vidence it is brought about, that the holy Scripture
which be the salves for every man's sore, though
the first they came from one language, and there
might have been spread to the whole world, now
diversity of many languages, the translators shou
spread the salvation, that is contained in them,
all nations, by such words of utterance as the read

might perceive the mind of the translator, and so consequently to come to the knowledge of God's will and pleasure: and though many rash readers be deceived in the obscurities and ambiguities of their translations, while they take one thing for another, and while they use much labour to extricate themselves out of the obscurities of the same; yet I think," saith he, "this is not wrought without the providence of God, both to tame the proud arrogancy of man by his such labour of searching, and also to keep his mind from loathsomeness as contempt, where, if the Scriptures universally were too easy, he would less regard them. And though," saith he, "in the primitive church the late interpreters, which did translate the Scriptures, be innumerable, yet wrought this rather an help, than an impediment to the readers, if they be not too negligent. For," saith he, "divers translations have made many times the harder and darker sentences the more open and plain."

So that of congruence no offence can justly be taken for this new labour, nothing prejudicing any other man's judgment by this doing, nor yet hereby professing this to be so absolute a translation as that hereafter might follow, no other that might see that, which as yet was not understood. In this point it is convenient to consider the judgment that John, once Bishop of Rochester, was in, who thus wrote:

"It is not unknown, but that many things have been more diligently discussed, and more clearly understood by the wits of these latter days, as well concerning the Gospels, as other Scriptures, than in old time they were. The cause whereof is," saith he, "for that to the old men the ice was not broken, or for that their age was not sufficient exquisitely to expand the whole main sea of the Scriptures, or else for that in this large field of the Scriptures a man may

gather some ears untouched after the harvest-men, how diligent soever they were. For there be," saith he, "in the Gospel very many dark places, which, without all doubt, to the posterity shall be made much more open. For why should we despair herein, seeing the Gospel," writeth he, "was delivered to this intent, that it might be utterly understood by us, yea, to the very inch? Wherefore, forasmuch as Christ sheweth no less love to his church now, than hitherto he hath done, the authority whereof is as yet no whit diminished; and forasmuch as that holy Spirit, the perpetual keeper and guardian of the same church, whose gifts and graces do flow as continually and abundantly as from the beginning; who can doubt but that such things as remain yet unknown in the Gospel, shall be hereafter made open to the later wits of our posterity, to their clear understanding?" Thus far this writer.

Only, good readers, let us oft call upon the holy Spirit of God, our heavenly Father, by the mediation of our Lord and Saviour, with the words of the octonary Psalm of David, who did so importunately crave of God to have the understanding of his laws and testament. Let us humbly on our knees pray to Almighty God, with that wise King Solomon in his very words, saying thus:

"O God of my fathers and Lord of mercies, thou that hast made all things with thy word, and didst ordain man through thy wisdom, that he should have dominion over thy creatures which thou hast made, and that he should order the world according to holiness and righteousness, and that he should execute judgment with a true heart, give me wisdom, which is ever about thy seat, and put me not out from among thy children; for I thy servant, and son of thine handmaiden, am a feeble person of a short time, and too weak to the understanding

of thy judgment and laws; and though a man be never so perfect among the children of men, yet if thy wisdom be not with him, he shall be of no value. Oh! send her out therefore from thy holy heavens, and from the throne of thy majesty, that she may be with me, and labour with me, that I may know what is acceptable in thy sight. For she knoweth and understandeth all things, and she shall lead me soberly in my works, and preserve me in her power; so shall my works be acceptable by Christ our Lord: To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen." (Wisd. ix.)

ARCHBISHOP PARKER'S

PREFACE BEFORE THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The New Testament, so called, containing the writings of the Evangelists, with the Epistles of Christ's Apostles, and with other such divine books, declare plainly unto us the sum and effect of all the Scriptures expressed in the Old Testament. That which was in figure and in obscurity, involved by the patriarchs and prophets in their prophetical volumes, written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, is in this book more plainly and evidently set out, uttered also in the self-same spirit by the children of the Prophets, the holy Apostles. Indeed the law was given by Moses, but grace and verity came by Jesus Christ, which grace this book of the New Testament doth most evidently commend and set out.

In this is discoursed the whole mystery of our salvation and redemption, purchased by our Saviour Christ. Here is his holy conception described, his

nativity, his circumcision, his whole life and conversation, his godly doctrine, his divine miracles. In this book of the New Testament is set out his death, his resurrection, his ascension, his sending of the Holy Spirit, his session in our flesh on the right hand of his Father, making continual intercession to him for us. In this book is contained the form and order of his last judgment, after the general resurrection of our bodies. These be the mysteries of our faith; these be the grounds of our salvation; these be thus written, that we should believe them, and by our belief should enjoy life everlasting.

Once and in times past God diversly and many ways spake unto the fathers by the Prophets; but in these last days he hath spoken unto us (upon whom the ends of the world be come) by his own Son, whom he hath made heir of all things; whose dignity is such that he is the brightness of his Father's glory, and the very image of his substance, ruling all things by the word of his power. This heavenly Doctor, so endued with glory and majesty, we ought most reverently to believe, as commended unto us from the authority of the heavenly Father, to be heard as his most well-beloved Son, in whom is his whole delight, by whom he will be pleased and pacified. It will else come to pass, saith the Prophet Moses, that whosoever shall not hear and obey that Prophet in the words that he shall speak in his Father's name, I will be, saith the Father, a revenger of him. This is the last Prophet to be looked for to speak unto us. In him be universally enclosed the riches and treasures of the wisdom and knowledge of God his Father: by him he hath decreed finally to judge the whole world, the living and the dead; by him hath he decreed to give to his elect the life everlasting, and to the reprobate, who hath contemned his life and doctrine, death everlasting.

Let us therefore seriously hear and obey this our heavenly Teacher, submit ourselves to this our Judge and Rewarder; let us esteem his doctrine and conversation, as a full, perfect, and sufficient pattern of all holiness and virtue; let us esteem the doctrine of this book as a most inflexible rule, to lead us to all truth and newness of life.

Here may we behold the eternal legacies of the New Testament bequeathed from God the Father, in Christ his Son, to all his elect; I say, the legacies lively renewed unto us, not of deliverance from Pharaoh's servitude, but from the bondage and thraldom of that perpetual adversary of ours, the devil. Here may we behold our inheritance not of the temporal land of Canaan, or of the translation of us to the place of worldly paradise; but here we may see the full restitution of us, both in body and soul, to the celestial paradise, the heavenly city of Jerusalem above, there to reign with God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, for ever.

Which legacies of his New Testament, promised and bequeathed, were notwithstanding recorded in the books of the Old Testament to our ancient fathers, which in hope believed in Christ to come, who was painted before them in figures and shadows, and signified in their old sacraments ordained for that time, but now more evidently renewed and exhibited unto us, not in figure, but in deed; not in promise, but in open sight, in feeling and handling, and touching of this eternal life, most manifestly confirmed unto us in Christ's blood, in this his New Testament, continued and revived, yet in new sacraments, the better to bear in our remembrance this his eternal Testament of all joyful felicities.

Let us now therefore, good Christian people, rejoice in these glad tidings expressed unto us by the name of the Gospel of our Saviour Christ, and let

it never fall out of our remembrance, that we were sometime overwhelmed in darkness, and sat in the shadow of death. Let us consider, that we were sometime, by our natural birth, the children of God's wrath, and wholly estranged from the household of God. Let us bear in mind, that we were sometime no people of God, nor his beloved, that we were by nature branches of the wild olive, and now by mere mercy grafted into the right and natural olive-tree. Whereupon let us the rather repose our life in fear and reverence. If we be now the children of light, let us walk in this our light in all holiness and godliness of life, approving that which is pleasing to the Lord. Let us have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, and let us henceforth be no more children wavering and carried about with every wind of doctrine, and by the deceit and craftiness of men, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but let us follow the truth in love and charity, and in all things grow up into Him which is the Head, that is, Christ our Saviour.

If we be now the children of grace, and made lively members of his body, though sometime strangers and foreigners far off, and made near by the blood of Christ, and made citizens with the saints and of the household of God, let us direct our hearts thither, whither our Head is, delighting ourselves in all heavenly cogitations, walking in all spiritual works and fruits of the Spirit, as God's dear elect. God grant that Christ may so dwell in our hearts by faith, that we may be able to comprehend with all saints the unspeakable love of Christ, which passeth all man's knowledge. Unto Him therefore, which is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we can ask or think, be praise in the church, by Christ Jesus, throughout all generations for ever. Amen.

And here yet once again, let the reader be admo-

nished charitably to examine this translation of the New Testament following, and be not offended with diversity of interpretation, though he find it not to agree to his wonted text, or yet to disagree from the common translation; remembering what Santes Pagninus testifieth of that ancient interpreter, St. Jerome, that in many places of his commentaries he doth read and expound otherwise than is found in the common translation: yea, saith Santes, Jerome doth retract very many places, and doth plainly confess that himself was deceived by the haste of his translation, in the doubtful signification of the words; and therefore saith the same Jerome thus: "I think it better to rebuke mine own error, than, while I am ashamed to confess my lack of skill, to persist in an error. For who was ever," saith he, "so well learned, that hath not somewhere been deceived?" Thus far St. Jerome.

Whereupon, good reader, I exhort thee, read advisedly, expend learnedly, and correct charitably. And be not offended, good English reader, to see the holy Scriptures in thine own language as a matter newly seen, seeing that our own countryman, that venerable priest, Bede, many years ago, did translate St. John's Gospel into the vulgar tongue, "ad utilitatem ecclesiæ," *i. e.* "to the profit of the church," saith Cuthbert. And Durham's story, who reporteth Bede's own saying: "Nolo ut discipuli mei mendacium legant," *i. e.* "I would not that my disciples should read any lie, or spend their labour after my departure without fruit."

Which thing also the ancient life of Bede doth testify of him: "In his diebus etiam Evangelium Joannis in Anglicam transtulit linguam, juxta Apostolum, Sapientibus et insipientibus debitor sum, et omnibus omnia factus."—"In these days (of his sickness) he did translate the Gospel of St. John into

the English tongue, saying with the Apostle, I am debtor to the learned and unlearned, I am made all to all." The rather he so did, saith William Malmsbury, "Quia hoc Evangelium difficultate sui mentes legentium exercet."—"Because this Gospel, by the difficulty that is in it, doth so much exercise the wits of the readers." Therefore he did interpret it into the English tongue. And so did condescend, saith he, to them, which were not skilful in the Latin tongue. God grant that all readers may take so much profit thereby, as the good translators meant unto them. Amen.

PREFACE TO THE BIBLE

OF THE

GENEVA EDITION.

To the most virtuous and noble Lady Elizabeth, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, &c. grace and peace from God the Father, through Christ Jesus our Lord.

How hard a thing it is, and what great impediments let, to enterprise any worthy act, not only daily experience sufficiently sheweth (most noble and virtuous Queen), but also that notable proverb doth confirm the same, which admonisheth us, that all things are hard which are fair and excellent. And what enterprise can there be of greater importance, and more acceptable unto God, or more worthy of singular commendation, than the building of the Lord's temple, the house of God, the church of Christ, whereof the Son of God is the head and perfection?

When Zerubbabel went about to build the material temple, according to the commandment of the Lord, what difficulties and stays daily arose to hinder his worthy endeavours, the books of Ezra and Esdras plainly witness: how that not only he and the people of God were sore molested with foreign adversaries, whereof some maliciously warred against them, and corrupted the king's officers: mystical enemies, as false prophets, crafty worldlings, faint-hearted soldiers, and oppressors of their brethren, who as well by false doctrine and lies, as by subtle counsel, cowardice, and extortion, discouraged the hearts almost of all: so that the Lord's work was not only interrupted and left off for a long time, but scarcely at the length with great labour and danger after a sort brought to pass.

Which thing when we weigh aright, and consider earnestly how much greater charge God hath laid upon you in making you a builder of his spiritual temple, we cannot but partly fear, knowing the craft and force of Satan our spiritual enemy, and the weakness and unability of this our nature; and partly be fervent in our prayers toward God, that he would bring to perfection this noble work which he hath begun by you: and therefore we endeavour ourselves by all means to aid, and to bestow our whole force under your Grace's standard, whom God hath made as our Zerubbabel for the erecting of this most excellent temple, and to plant and maintain his holy word, to the advancement of his glory, for your own honour and salvation of your soul, and for the singular comfort of that great flock which Christ Jesus, the great Shepherd, hath bought with his precious blood, and committed unto your charge, to be fed both in body and soul.

Considering therefore how many enemies there are, which by one means or other, as the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin went about to stay the building of that temple, so labour to hinder the course of this building (whereof some are Papists, who, under pretence of favouring God's word, traitorously seek to erect idolatry, and to destroy your Majesty: some are worldlings, who, as Demas, have forsaken Christ for the love of this world: others are ambitious prelates, who, as Amaziah and Diotrephes, can abide none but themselves; and as Demetrius, many practise sedition to maintain their errors): we persuade ourselves that there was no way so expedient and necessary for the preservation of the one, and destruction of the other, as to present unto your Majesty the holy Scriptures, faithfully and plainly translated according to the languages wherein they were first written by the Holy Ghost. For the word

of God is an evident token of God's love and our assurance of his defence, wheresoever it is obediently received: it is the trial of the spirits: and as the Prophet saith, it is as a fire and hammer to break the stony hearts of them that resist God's mercies offered by the preaching of the same: yea, it is sharper than any two-edged sword to examine the very thoughts, and to judge the affections of the heart, and to discover whatsoever lieth hid under hypocrisy, and would be secret from the face of God and his church. So that this must be the first foundation and groundwork according whereunto the good stones of this building must be framed, and the evil tried out and rejected.

Now as he that goeth about to lay a foundation surely, first taketh away such impediments as might justly either hurt, let, or deform the work; so it is necessary that your Grace's zeal appear herein, that neither the crafty persuasion of man, neither worldly policy, or natural fear, dissuade you to root out, cut down, and destroy these weeds and impediments which do not only deface your building, but utterly endeavour, yea, and threaten the ruin thereof. For when the noble Josias enterprised the like kind of work, among other notable and many things, he destroyed not only with utter confusion the idols with their appurtenances, but also burnt (in sign of detestation) the idolatrous priests' bones upon their altars, put to death the false prophets and sorcerers, to perform the words of the law of God, and therefore the Lord gave him good success, and blessed him wonderfully, so long as he made God's word his line and rule to follow, and enterprised nothing before he had inquired at the mouth of the Lord.

And if these zealous beginnings seem dangerous, and to breed disquietness in your dominions, yet by the story of king Asa it is manifest, that the quietness

and peace of kingdoms standeth in the utter abolishi of idolatry, and in advancing of true religion: for his days Judah lived in rest and quietness for t space of five-and-thirty years, till at length he beg to be cold in the zeal of the Lord, feared the power man, imprisoned the Prophet of God, and oppress the people; then the Lord sent him wars, and length took him away by death.

Wherefore great wisdom, not worldly but he venly, is here required, which your Grace must ea nestly crave of the Lord, as did Solomon, to who God gave an understanding heart to judge his peop aright, and to discern between good and bad. F if God, for the furnishing of the old temple, ga the spirit of wisdom and understanding to them th should be the workmen thereof, as to Bezaleel, Ah liab, and Hiram, how much more will he endue yo Grace and other godly princes and chief governo with a principal spirit, that you may procure an command things necessary for this most holy templ foresee and take heed of things that might hi der it, and abolish and destroy whatsoever might im pair and overthrow the same.

Moreover, the marvellous diligence and zeal Jehosaphat, Josiah, and Hezekiah, are by the sin gular providence of God left as an example to a godly rulers, to reform their countries, and to est blish the word of God with all speed, lest the wrat of God fall upon them for the neglecting thereo For these excellent kings did not only embrace th word promptly and joyfully, but also procured ea nestly, and commanded the same to be taught, preach ed, and maintained through all their countries an dominions, binding them and all their subjects, bot great and small, with solemn protestations and cove nants before God, to obey the word, and to wal after the ways of the Lord: yea, and in the days

Asa it was enacted, that whosoever would not
:he Lord God of Israel, should be slain, whe-
ıe were small or great, man or woman. And
e establishing hereof, and performance of this
n oath, as well priests as judges were ap-
:d and placed through all the cities of Judah,
truct the people in the true knowledge and fear
d, and to minister justice according to the
knowing that, except God by his word did
in the hearts and souls, all man's diligence and
vours were of none effect: for without this
we cannot discern between justice and injury,
ction and oppression, wisdom and foolishness,
ledge and ignorance, good and evil. There-
the Lord, who is the chief governor of his
:h, willeth that nothing be attempted before
ıve inquired thereof at his mouth. For seeing
our God, of duty we must give him this pre-
ence, that of ourselves we enterprise nothing,
hat which he hath appointed, who only knoweth
iings, and governeth them as may best serve to
lory and our salvation; we ought not therefore
event him, or do any thing without his word,
s soon as he hath revealed his will, immediately
ıt it in execution.

ow as concerning the manner of this building, it
t according to man, nor after the wisdom of the
, but of the Spirit, and according to the word
od, whose ways are diverse from man's ways.
if it was not lawful for Moses to build the ma-
tabernacle after any other sort than God had
ed him by a pattern, neither to prescribe any
ceremonies and laws than such as the Lord had
ssly commanded, how can it be lawful to pro-
in this spiritual building any other ways, than
Christ, the Son of God, who is both the
dation, head, and chief corner-stone thereof,

hath commanded by his word? And forasmuch a he hath established and left an order in his church fo the building up of his body, appointing some to b apostles, some prophets, other evangelists, som pastors and teachers, he signifieth that every one according as he is placed in his body, which is th church, ought to inquire of his ministers concernin the will of God, which is revealed in his word. Fo they are(saith Jeremiah) as the mouth of the Lord yea, he promiseth to be with their mouth, that the lips shall keep knowledge, and that the truth, th law, shall be in their mouth. For it is their offic chiefly to understand the Scriptures, and teach them For this cause the people of Israel, in matters o difficulty, used to ask the Lord either by the pro phets, or by the means of the high priest, who bar urim and thummim, which were tokens of light an knowledge, of holiness and perfection, which shoul be in the high priest: therefore when Jehosaph took this order in the church of Israel, he appointe Amaziah to be the chief concerning the word of God because he was most expert in the law of the Lord, and could give counsel, and govern according unt the same. Else there is no degree or office which may have that authority and privilege to decide concerning God's word, except withal he had the Spirit of God, and sufficient knowledge and judgment to define according thereunto. And as every one is endued of God with greater gifts, so ought he to be herein chiefly heard, or at least that without the express word none be heard; for he that hath not the word, speaketh not by the mouth of the Lord. Again, what danger it is to do any thing, seem it never so godly and necessary, without consulting with God's mouth, the examples of the Israelites, deceived hereby through the Gibeonites; and of Saul, whose intention seemed good and necessary; and of

Josiah also, who for great consideration was moved for some defence of his religion and his people, to fight against Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, may sufficiently admonish us.

Last of all (most gracious queen), for the advancement of this building, and rearing up of this work, two things are necessary: first, that we have a lively and steadfast faith in Christ Jesus, who must dwell in our hearts, as the only means and assurance of our salvation; for he is the ladder that reacheth from the earth to heaven; he lifteth up his church, and setteth it in the heavenly places; he maketh us lively stones, and buildeth us upon himself; he joineth us to himself as the members and bodies to the head; yea, he maketh himself and his church one Christ. The next is, that our faith bring forth good fruits, so that our godly conversation may serve us as a witness to confirm our election, and be an example to all others to walk as appertaineth to the vocation whereunto they are called, lest the word of God be evil spoken of, and this building be stayed to grow up to a just height, which cannot be without the great provocation of God's just vengeance, and discouraging of many thousands through all the world, if they should see that our life were not holy, and agreeable to our profession. For the eyes of all that fear God in all places behold your countries as an example to all that believe, and the prayers of all the godly at all times are directed to God, for the preservation of your Majesty. For considering God's wonderful mercies toward you at all seasons, who hath pulled you out of the mouth of the lions, and how that from your youth you have been brought up in the holy Scriptures, the hope of all men is so increased, that they cannot but look that God should bring to pass some wonderful work by your grace, to the universal comfort of his church. Therefore even above strength

you must shew yourself strong and bold in God's matters; and though Satan lay all his power and craft together to hurt and hinder the Lord's building, yet be you assured that God will fight from heaven against this great dragon, the ancient serpent, which is called the devil and Satan, till he have accomplished the whole work, and made his church glorious to himself, without spot or wrinkle. For albeit all other kingdoms and monarchies, as the Babylonians, Persians, Grecians, and Romans, have fallen and taken end, yet the church of Christ, even under the cross, hath from the beginning of the world been victorious, and shall be everlastingly. Truth it is, that sometimes it seemeth to be shadowed with a cloud, or driven with a stormy persecution, yet suddenly the beams of Christ, the Sun of justice, shine and bring it to light and liberty. If for a time it be covered with ashes, yet it is quickly kindled again by the wind of God's Spirit: though it seem drowned in the sea, or parched and pined in the wilderness, yet God giveth ever good success. For he punisheth the enemies, and delivereth his, nourisheth them, and still preserveth them under his wings. This Lord of lords and King of kings, who hath ever defended his, strengthen, comfort, and preserve your Majesty, that you may be able to build up the ruins of God's house to his glory, the discharge of your conscience, and to the comfort of all them that love the coming of Christ Jesus our Lord.

(The foregoing is copied from the folio edition of 1578.)

Prayers, published at the End of the Book of Common Prayer, as prefixed to a Quarto Edition of the Geneva Bible of the Date of 1582.

A Prayer, containing the Duty of every true Christian.

O most mighty God, merciful and loving Father, I a wretched sinner come unto thee, in the name of thy dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ, my only Saviour and Redeemer, and most humbly beseech thee, for his sake, to be merciful unto me, and to cast all my sins out of thy sight and remembrance, through the merits of his bloody death and passion.

Pour upon me, O Lord, thy holy Spirit of wisdom and grace; govern and lead me by thy holy word, that it may be a lantern unto my feet and a light unto my steps; shew thy mercy upon me, and so lighten the natural blindness and darkness of my heart through thy grace, that I may daily be renewed by the same Spirit and grace; by the which, O Lord, purge the grossness of my hearing and understanding, that I may profitably read, hear, and understand thy heavenly will, believe and practise the same in my life and conversation, and evermore hold fast that blessed hope of everlasting life. Mortify and kill all vice in me, that my life may express my faith in thee. Mercifully hear the humble suit of thy servant, and grant me thy peace all my days: graciously pardon mine infirmities, and defend me in all dangers of body, goods, and name; but most chiefly, my soul against all assaults, temptations, accusations, subtile baits and sleights of that old enemy of mankind, Satan, that roaring lion, ever seeking whom he may devour.

And here, O Lord, I prostrate, with most humble

mind crave of thy divine majesty, to be merciful unto the universal church of thy Son Christ, and especially, according to my bounden duty, beseech thee for his sake to bless, save, and defend the principal member thereof, thy servant, our most dear and sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth; increase in her royal heart true faith, godly zeal, and love of the same; and grant her victory over all her enemies, a long, prosperous, and honourable life upon earth, a blessed end, and life everlasting.

Moreover, O Lord, grant unto her Majesty's most honourable councillors, and every other member of this thy church of England, that they and we, in our several callings, may truly and godly serve thee: plant in our hearts true fear and honour of thy name, obedience to our prince, and love to our neighbours: increase in us true faith and religion, replenish our minds with all godliness, and of thy great mercies keep us in the same till the end of our lives: give unto us a godly zeal in prayer, true humility in prosperity, perfect patience in adversity, and continual joy in the Holy Ghost.

And lastly, I commend unto thy fatherly protection, all that thou hast given me, as wife, children, and servants: make me, O Lord, that I may govern, nourish, and bring them up in thy fear and service. And forasmuch as in this world I must always be at war and strife, not with one sort of enemies, but with an infinite number, not only with flesh and blood, but with the devil, which is the prince of darkness, and with wicked men, executors of his most damnable will; grant me therefore thy grace, that, being armed with thy defence, I may stand in this battle with an invincible conscience against all corruption, which I am compassed with on every side, until such time as I, having ended the combat, which during this life I must sustain, in the end I

may attain to thy heavenly rest, which is prepared for me and all thine elect, through Christ our Lord and only Saviour. Amen.

Certain godly Prayers for sundry Days.

MONDAY.

ALMIGHTY God, and Father of mercy, and God of all comfort, which only forgiveth sin, forgive unto us our sins, good Lord, forgive unto us our sins, that by the multitude of thy mercies they may be covered, and not imputed unto us; and by the operation of the Holy Ghost, we may have power and strength hereafter to resist sin, by our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

TUESDAY.

O Lord God, which despisest not a contrite heart, and forgettest the sins and wickedness of a sinner, in what hour soever he doth mourn and lament his old manner of living, grant unto us, O Lord, true contrition of heart, that we may vehemently despise our sinful life past, and wholly be converted unto thee, by our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

WEDNESDAY.

O merciful Father, by whose power and strength we may overcome our enemies both bodily and ghostly, grant unto us, O Lord, that, according to our promise made in our baptism, we may overcome the chief enemies of our soul, that is, the desires of the world, the pleasures of the flesh, and the suggestions of the wicked spirit; and so after lead our lives in holiness and righteousness, that we may serve thee in spirit and truth, and that by our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

THURSDAY.

O Almighty and everlasting God, which not only givest every good and perfect gift, but also increasest those gifts that thou hast given, we most humbly beseech thee, merciful God, to increase in us the gift of faith, that we may truly believe in thee, and in thy promise made unto us; and that neither by our negligence, nor infirmity of the flesh, nor by grievousness of temptation, neither by the subtile crafts and assaults of the devil, we be driven from faith in the blood of our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

FRIDAY.

Grant unto us, O merciful God, we most heartily beseech thee, knowledge and true understanding of thy word, that, all ignorance expelled, we may know what thy will and pleasure is in all things, and how to do our duties, and truly to walk in our vocation; and that also we may express in our living those things that we do know, that we be not only knowers of thy word, good Lord, but also be workers of the same, by our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

SATURDAY.

O Almighty God, which hast prepared everlasting life to all those that be thy faithful servants, grant unto us, Lord, sure hope of the life everlasting, that we, being in this miserable world, may have some taste and feeling of it in our hearts; and that not by our deserving, but by the merits and deserving of our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

O most merciful God, our only aid, succour, and strength at all times, grant unto us, O Lord, that in the time of prosperity we be not proud, and so forget thee, but that with our whole heart and strength

we may cleave unto thee, and in the time of adversity that we fall not into infidelity and desperation, but that always with a constant faith we may call for help unto thee: grant this, O Lord, for our Advocate's sake and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

SUNDAY.

O Almighty and merciful Lord, which givest unto thy elect people the Holy Ghost, as a sure pledge of thy heavenly kingdom, grant unto us, O Lord, thy holy Spirit, that he may bear witness with our spirit, that we be thy children, and heirs of thy kingdom; and that by the operation of this Spirit we may kill all carnal lusts, unlawful pleasures, concupiscence, evil affections, contrary unto thy will, by our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

A Prayer for Trust in God.

The beginning of the fall of man was trust in himself. The beginning of the restoring of man was distrust in himself, and trust in God. O most gracious and most wise Guide, our Saviour Christ, which dost lead them the right way to immortal blessedness, which, truly and unfeignedly trusting in thee, commit themselves to thee, grant us, that, like as we be blind and feeble indeed, so we may take and repute ourselves, that we presume not of ourselves to see to ourselves, but so far to see, that alway we may have thee before our eyes, to follow thee, being our guide, to be ready at thy call most obediently, and to commit ourselves wholly unto thee, that thou, which only knowest the way, mayest lead us the same way unto our heavenly desires: to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be glory for ever. Amen.

Certain godly Prayers to be used for sundry Purposes.

A general Confession of Sins, to be said every Morning.

O ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, I confess and acknowledge, that I am a miserable and a wretched sinner, and have manifold ways most grievously transgressed thy most godly commandments, through wicked thoughts, ungodly lusts, sinful words and deeds, committed all my whole life. In sin am I born and conceived, and there is no goodness in me, inasmuch as if thou shouldest enter into thy narrow judgment with me, judging me according unto the same, I were never able to suffer and abide it, but must needs perish and be damned for ever: so little help, comfort, or succour is there in me, or in any other creature. Only this is my comfort, O heavenly Father, that thou didst not spare thy only dear beloved Son, but didst give him up unto the most bitter and most vile and slanderous death of the cross for me, that he might so pay the ransom for my sins, satisfy thy judgment, still and pacify thy wrath, reconcile me again unto thee, and purchase me thy grace and favour, and everlasting life. Wherefore, through the merits of his most bitter death and passion, and through his innocent blood-shedding, I beseech thee, O heavenly Father, that thou wilt vouchsafe to be gracious and merciful unto me, to forgive and pardon me of all my sins, to lighten my heart with thy holy Spirit, to renew, confirm, and strengthen me with a right and a perfect faith, and to inflame me in love toward thee and my neighbour, that I may henceforth, with a willing and glad heart, walk as it becometh me in thy most godly commandments, and so glorify and praise thee everlastingly. And also that I may, with a free conscience and quiet heart, in all manner of temptations, afflictions, or necessities, and even in the very pangs of death,

ery boldly and merrily unto thee, and say, "I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ, &c." But, O Lord God, heavenly Father, to comfort myself in affliction and temptation with these articles of the Christian faith, it is not in my power, for faith is thy gift; and forasmuch as thou wilt be prayed unto, and called upon for it, I come unto thee, to pray and beseech thee, both for that and for all other my necessities, even as thy dear beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ himself, hath taught us; and from the very bottom of my heart I cry and say, "Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, &c."

Prayers to be said in the Morning.

O MERCIFUL Lord God, heavenly Father, I render most high lauds, praise, and thanks unto thee, that thou hast preserved me both this night, and all the times and days of my life hitherto, under thy protection, and hast suffered me to live until this present hour; and I beseech thee heartily, that thou wilt vouchsafe to receive me this day, and the residue of my whole life, from henceforth into thy tuition, ruling and governing me with thy holy Spirit, that all manner of darkness, of misbelief, infidelity, and of carnal lusts and affections, may be utterly chased and driven out of my heart, and that I may be justified and saved, both body and soul, through a right and perfect faith, and so walk in the light of thy most godly truth, to thy glory and praise, and to the profit and furtherance of my neighbour, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

All possible thanks that we are able, we render unto thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, for that thou hast willed this night past to be prosperous unto us: and we beseech thee likewise to prosper all this same day unto us, for thy glory, and for the health of our

souls, and that thou, which art the true light, no knowing any going down, and which art the sun eternal, giving life, food, and gladness unto all things, vouchsafe to shine into our minds, that we may not any where stumble or fall into any sin, but may, through thy guiding and conducting, come to the life everlasting. Amen.

O Lord Jesus Christ, which art the true sun of the world, evermore arising, and never going down, which by thy most wholesome appearing and sight dost bring forth, preserve, nourish, and refresh all things, as well that are in heaven, as also that are on earth, we beseech thee mercifully and favourably to shine into our hearts, that the night and darkness of sins, and the mists of errors on every side driven away, thou brightly shining within our hearts, we may all our life's space go without any stumbling or offence, and may decently and seemly walk (as in the daytime), being pure and clean from the works of darkness, and abounding in all good works which God hath prepared for us to walk in, which with the Father and with the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

O God and Lord Jesus Christ, thou knowest, yea, and hast also taught us, how great the infirmity and weakness of man is, and how certain a thing it is that it can nothing do without thy godly help. If man trust to himself, it cannot be avoided, but that he must headlong run and fall into a thousand undoings and mischiefs. O our Father, have thou pity and compassion upon the weakness of us thy children; be thou present and ready to help us, always shewing thy mercy upon us, and prospering whatsoever we godly go about; so that thou giving us light, we may see what things are truly good indeed; thou encouraging us, we may have an earnest desire to the same; and thou being our guide, we may come

where to obtain them; for we having nothing but mistrust in ourselves, do yield and commit ourselves full and whole unto thee alone, which workest all things in all creatures to thy honour and glory. So be it.

A Prayer against Temptation.

O Lord Jesus Christ, the only stay and fence of our mortal state, our only hope, our only salvation, our glory, and our triumph, who in the flesh (which thou hadst for our only cause taken upon thee) didst suffer thyself to be tempted of Satan, and who only and alone of all men didst utterly overcome and vanquish sin, death, the world, the devil, and all the kingdom of hell, and whatsoever thou hast so overcome for our behalf it is that thou hast overcome it; neither hath it been thy will to have any of thy servants to keep battle, or fight with any of the foresaid evils, but of purpose to reward us with a crown of the more glory for it. And to the intent that thou mightest likewise overthrow Satan in thy members, as thou hadst afore done in thy own person, give thou, we beseech thee, unto us thy soldiers (O Lion most victorious of the tribe of Judah) strength against the roaring lion, which continually wandereth to and fro, seeking whom he may devour. Thou being that same serpent, the true giver of health and life, that was nailed on high upon a tree, give unto us, thy silly ones, wiliness against the deceitful awaiting of the most subtile serpent. Thou, being a Lamb as white as snow, the vanquisher of Satan's tyranny, give unto us, thy little sheep, the strength and virtue of thy Spirit, that, being in our own selves weak and feeble, and in thee strong and valiant, we may withstand and overcome all assaults of the devil, so that our ghostly enemy may not glory on us, but being conquered through thee, we may give thanks

to thy mercy, which never leavest them destitute that put their trust in thee, who livest and reignest God for ever without end. Amen.

A Prayer for the obtaining of Wisdom.

O God of our fathers, and Lord of mercy, thou that hast made all things with thy word, and ordained man through thy wisdom, that he should have dominion over the creatures which thou hast made, that he should order the world according to equity and righteousness, and execute judgment with a true heart, give me wisdom, which is ever about thy seat, and put me not out from among thy children; for I thy servant, and son of thy handmaid, am a feeble person, of a short time, and too young to the understanding of thy judgment and laws; yea, though a man be never so perfect among the children of men, yet if thy wisdom be not with him, he shall be nothing worth. O send thy wisdom out of thy holy heavens, and from the throne of thy majesty, that she may be with me, and labour with me, yea, I may know what is acceptable in thy sight; for she knoweth and understandeth all things, and she shall conduct me right soberly in thy works, and preserve me in thy power; so shall my works be acceptable. Amen.

A Prayer against worldly Carefulness.

O most dear and tender Father, our Defender and Nourisher, endue us with thy grace, that we may cast off the great blindness of our minds, and carefulness of worldly things, and may put our whole study and care in keeping of thy holy law, and that we may labour and travail for our necessities in this life, like the birds of the air and lilies of the field, without care; for thou hast promised to be

careful for us, and hast commanded, that upon thee we should cast all our care, which liveth and reigneth world without end. Amen.

A Prayer necessary for all Persons.

O MERCIFUL God, I, a wretched sinner, acknowledge myself bound to keep thy holy commandments, but yet unable to perform them and to be accepted for just, without the righteousness of Jesus Christ, thy only Son, who hath perfectly fulfilled thy law, to justify all men that believe and trust in him. Therefore grant me grace, I beseech thee, to be occupied in doing of good works, which thou commandest in holy Scripture, all the days of my life, to thy glory, and yet to trust only in thy mercy, and in Christ's merits, to be purged from my sins, and not in my good works, be they never so many. Give me grace to love thy holy word fervently, to search the Scriptures diligently, to read them humbly, to understand them truly, to live after them effectually.

Order my life so, O Lord, that it may be alway acceptable unto thee. Give me grace not to rejoice in any thing that displeaseth thee, but evermore to delight in those things that please thee, be they never so contrary to my desires. Teach me so to pray, that my petitions may be graciously heard of thee; keep me upright among diversities of opinions and judgments in the world, that I never swerve from thy truth taught in the holy Scripture. In prosperity, O Lord, save me, that I wax not proud; in adversity help me, that I never despair nor blaspheme thy holy name; but taking it patiently, to give thee thanks, and trust to be delivered after thy pleasure. When I happen to fall into sin through frailty, I beseech thee to work true repentance in my heart, that I may be sorry without desperation,

trust in thy mercy without presumption, that I may amend my life, and become truly religious without hypocrisy, lowly in heart without feigning, faithful and trusty without deceit, merry without lightness, sad without mistrust, sober without slothfulness, content with my own without covetousness, to tell my neighbour his faults charitably without dissimulation, to instruct my household in thy laws truly, to obey our queen and all governors under her unfeignedly, to receive all laws and common ordinances (which disagree not from thy holy word) obediently, to pay every man that which I owe unto him truly, to backbite no man, nor slander my neighbour secretly, and to abhor all vice, loving all goodness earnestly. O Lord, grant me thus to do, for the glory of thy holy name. Amen.

A Prayer for Patience in Trouble.

How hast thou, O Lord, humbled and plucked me down! I dare now scarce make my prayers unto thee, for thou art angry with me, but not without my deserving. Certainly I have sinned; Lord, I confess it, I will not deny it: but, O my God, pardon my trespasses, release my debts, render now thy grace again unto me, stop my wounds, for I am also plagued and beaten; yet, Lord, notwithstanding, I abide patiently, and give mine attendance on thee, continually waiting for relief at thy hand, and that not without skill; for I have received a token of thy favour and grace towards me, I mean, thy word of promise concerning Christ, who for me was offered on the cross for a ransom, a sacrifice, and price for my sins; therefore, according to that thy promise, defend me, Lord, by thy right hand, and give a gracious ear to my requests, for all man's stays are but vain. Beat down therefore mine enemies thine own self with thy power, which art mine only aider and protector, O Lord God Almighty. Amen.

A Prayer to be said at Night going to Bed.

O MERCIFUL Lord God, heavenly Father, whether we sleep or wake, live or die, we are always thine. Wherefore, I beseech thee heartily, that thou wilt vouchsafe to take care and charge of me, and not to suffer me to perish in the works of darkness, but to kindle the light of thy countenance in my heart, that thy godly knowledge may daily increase in me, through a right and pure faith, and that I may always be found to walk and live after thy will and pleasure, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

A Prayer to be said at the Hour of Death.

O LORD Jesus, which art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in faith, I, a wretched sinner, give and submit myself wholly unto thy most blessed will; and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this frail and wicked flesh, in hope of the resurrection, which in better wise shall restore it to me again. I beseech thee, most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt by thy grace make strong my soul against all temptation, and that thou wilt cover and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the devil. I see and acknowledge, that there is in myself no help of salvation, but all my confidence, hope, and trust, is in thy most merciful goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may allege before thee. Of sins and evil works, alas! I see a great heap; but through thy mercy I trust to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their sins, but take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou, merciful Lord, wast born for my sake; thou

didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my sake; tho didst preach and teach, thou didst pray and fast fc my sake; thou didst all good works and deeds fc my sake; thou sufferedst most grievous pains and to ments for my sake; and finally, thou gavest thy mo precious body to die, and thy blood to be shed o the cross for my sake. Now, most merciful Sa viour, let all these things profit me, which tho freely hast given me, that hast given thyself for me Let thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots an foulness of my sins; let thy righteousness hide an cover mine unrighteousness; let the merits of th passion and blood be the satisfaction for my sin Give me, Lord, thy grace, that my faith and salva tion in thy blood waver not in me, but be ever firr and constant; that the hope of thy mercy and li everlasting never decay in me, that charity wax nc cold in me; finally, that the weakness of my flea be not overcome with the fear of death. Grant me merciful Saviour, that when death hath shut up th eyes of my body, yet that the eyes of my soul ma still behold and look upon thee, that when death hat taken away the use of my tongue and speech, yet the my heart may cry and say unto thee, "O Lord into thy hands I give and commit my soul. Lor Jesus, receive my soul unto thee." Amen.

Of the incomparable Treasure of the Holy Scripture, with a Prayer for the true Use of the same.

[N.B. This and the following Tracts are taken from that edition of the Bible which follows the Liturgy as above.]

HERE is the spring where waters flow,
To quench our heat of sin:
Here is the tree where truth doth grow,
To lead our lives therein.

Also they give us to understand, that in the mean season, while those fathers the Israelites looked for the salvation and deliverance promised (for that the nature of man is such, so proud, and so corrupt, that those would not willingly acknowledge themselves to be sinners, which had need of the Saviour promised), God the Creator gave by Moses his law, written in two tables of stone; that, by it, sin and the malice of man's heart being known, men might more vehemently thirst for the coming of Jesus Christ, who should redeem and deliver them from sin: which thing, neither the law, nor yet the sacrifices and oblations of the law, did perform. For they were shadows and figures of the true oblation of the body of Christ, by which oblation all sin should be blotted out, and quite put away.

By the books of the New Testament we be taught, that Christ so afore promised (which is God above all things most blessed for ever), even he, I say, was shadowed in the books of the Old Testament, and in sacrifices figured, that he was sent at the last from the Father, the self-same time which the Father did constitute within himself: I say, at that time, when all wickedness abounded in the world, then he was sent: and this Jesus our Saviour, being born in the flesh, suffered death, and rose again from the dead. Which acts of his were not done by him in respect of the good works of any man (for we were all sinners), but that this God our Father should appear true, in exhibiting the abundant riches of his grace which he promised, and that through his mercy he might bring us to salvation.

Whereupon it is evidently shewn in the New Testament, that Jesus Christ, being the true Lamb, the true sacrifice of the world, putting away the sins of men, came into this world to purchase grace and peace for us with the Father, washing us from our

sins in his own blood, and should deliver us fr
the bondage of the devil, whom by sin we did serv
and so we should be adopted by him to be the sc
of God, made heirs with him of that most excell
and everlasting kingdom.

Now that we should acknowledge this singular a
excellent benefit of God towards us, Almighty G
giveth us his holy Spirit; the fruit and effect
the which is faith in God, and in his Christ. I
without the Holy Ghost, by which we are instruct
and sealed, neither can we believe that God the F
ther sent Messias, nor yet that Jesus is Christ: f
no man (saith Paul) can say that Jesus is the Lo
but by the Holy Ghost. The same Spirit witness
to our spirit, that we are the children of God, a
poureth into our bowels that charity which Paul c
scribeth to the Corinthians. Furthermore, that h
Spirit doth give us hope, which is a sure looking f
eternal life, whereof he himself is the certain tok
and pledge. Also he giveth us other spiritual gif
of the which Paul writeth to the Galatians. The
fore the benefit of faith is not yet to be despised,
little to be set by. For by the means of this trust a
faith in Christ, which worketh by charity, and shewe
itself forth by the works of charity, moving m
thereto, we are justified and sanctified; that is
say, God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Chr
(which is made our Father also by him, being o
brother) doth account us to be just and holy throu
his grace, and through the merit of his Son Je
Christ, not imputing our sins to us, so far fort
that we should suffer the pains of hell for them.

Finally, Christ himself came into the wor
to the intent that we through him being sanctifi
and cleansed from our sins, following his will in go
works, should deny the things pertaining to the fle
and freely serve him in righteousness and holiness

the days of our life; and that by good works (which God hath prepared for us to walk in) we should shew ourselves to be called to his grace and gift of faith; which good works whoso hath not, doth shew himself not to have such a faith in Christ as is required in us.

To Christ must we come, and follow him with a cheerful mind, that he may teach us: for he is our Master, lowly and humble of heart: he is to us an example, whereby we must learn the rule to live well.

Moreover, he is our bishop and our high-priest, which did himself offer up for us his own blood, being the only mediator between God and men, who now sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, being made our advocate, making prayer and intercession for us; who doubtless shall obtain for us whatsoever we shall desire, either of him, or else of his Father in his name, if so be that we, thus desiring, shall believe that he will so do; for thus hath he promised. Therefore let us not doubt, if we sin at any time, to come with repentance (to the which he doth invite and stir us at the very beginning of his preaching) and with sure trust to the throne of his grace, with this belief, that we shall obtain mercy. For therefore came he into the world, that he might save sinners by his grace.

This is verily Christ Jesus, which shall come at a certain time appointed by his Father, and shall sit in great majesty to judge all men, and to render to every man the works of his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil. And he shall say to them which shall be on the right side, which in this world did look for the good things to come (that is to say, life everlasting), "Come, ye blessed of my Father, enjoy the kingdom that hath been prepared for you from the beginning of the world." But to them which shall be on the left side he shall say, "De-

part from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, pr pared for the devil and his angels." And then sh the end be, when Christ, having utterly vanquish all manner of enemies, shall deliver up the kingdc to God the Father.

To the intent that we might understand these thing the sacred books of the Bible were delivered to by the goodness of God through his holy Spirit, wi the preaching of that doctrine which is contained them, and with his sacraments, by which the tru of his doctrine is sealed up to us; that we mig understand, I say, and believe that there is one or true God, and one Saviour Jesus Christ, whom (he had promised) he hath sent, and that we, belie ing, might have in his name life everlasting.

Beside this foundation no man can lay any oth in the church of Christ; and upon this foundati the church doth stand sure and steadfast. And P willeth him to be accursed which shall preach a other faith and salvation than by Jesus Christ, y although he were an angel from heaven.

For of him, through him, and for him, are things: to whom, with the Father and the H Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without en Amen.

Certain Questions and Answers touching the Doctr of Predestination, the Use of God's Word a Sacraments.

Question. WHY do men so much vary in matt of religion?

Answer. Because all have not the like measure knowledge, neither do all believe the Gospel Christ.

Q. What is the reason thereof?

A. Because they only believe the Gospel and d trine of Christ, which are ordained unto eternal l

Q. Are not all ordained unto eternal life?

A. Some are vessels of wrath ordained unto destruction, as others are vessels of mercy prepared to glory.

Q. How standeth it with God's justice, that some are appointed unto damnation?

A. Very well: because all men have in themselves sin, which deserveth no less; and therefore the mercy of God is wonderful, in that he vouchsafeth to save some of that sinful race, and to bring them to the knowledge of the truth.

Q. If God's ordinance and determination must of necessity take effect, then what need any man to care? for he that liveth well, must needs be damned, if he be thereunto ordained; and he that liveth ill, must needs be saved, if he be thereunto appointed.

A. Not so: for it is not possible, that either the elect should always be without care to do well, or that the reprobate should have any will thereunto. For to have either good will or good work, is a testimony of the Spirit of God, which is given to the elect only, whereby faith is so wrought in them, that, being graft in Christ, they grow in holiness to that glory whereunto they are appointed. Neither are they so vain as once to think that they may do as they list themselves, because they are predestinate unto salvation; but rather they endeavour to walk in such good works as God in Christ Jesus hath ordained them unto, and prepared for them to be occupied in, to their own comfort, stay, and assurance, and to his glory.

Q. But how shall I know myself to be one of those whom God hath ordained to life eternal?

A. By the motions of spiritual life, which belongeth only to the children of God: by the which that life is perceived, even as the life of this body is discerned by the sense and motions thereof.

Q. What mean you by the motions of spiritual life?

A. I mean remorse of conscience, joined with the loathing of sin, and love of righteousness; the hand of faith reaching unto life eternal in Christ; the conscience comforted in distress, and raised up to confidence in God by the work of the Spirit; a thankful remembrance of God's benefits received; and the using of all adversities as occasion of amendment sent from God.

Q. Cannot such perish as at some time or other feel these motions within themselves?

A. It is not possible that they should; for as God's purpose is not changeable, so he repenteth not the gifts and graces of his adoption; neither doth he cast off those whom he hath once received.

Q. Why then should we pray by the example of David, that he cast us not from his face, and that he take not his holy Spirit from us?

A. In so praying we make protestation of the weakness of flesh, which moveth us to doubt: yet should not we have courage to ask, if we were not assured that God will give, according to his purpose and promise, that which we require.

Q. Do the children of God feel the motions aforesaid always alike?

A. No truly: for God sometime, to prove his, seemeth to leave them in such sort, that the flesh overmatcheth the Spirit, whereof ariseth trouble of conscience for the time: yet the spirit of adoption is never taken from them that have once received it; else might they perish. But as in many diseases of the body the powers of bodily life are letted, so in some assaults these motions of spiritual life are not perceived, because they lie hidden in our manifold infirmities, as the fire covered with ashes: yet as after sickness cometh health, and after clouds the sun shineth clear, so the powers of spiritual life will

more or less be felt and perceived in the children of God.

Q. What if I never feel these motions in myself, shall I despair and think myself a castaway?

A. God forbid: for God calleth his at what time he seeth good; and the instruments whereby he usually calleth, have not the like effect at all times; yet it is not good to neglect the means whereby God hath determined to work the salvation of his. For as wax is not melted without heat, nor clay hardened but by means thereof; so God useth means both to draw those unto himself, whom he hath appointed unto salvation, and also to bewray the wickedness of them whom he justly condemneth.

Q. By what means useth God to draw men to himself, that they may be saved?

A. By the preaching of his word and the ministering of his sacraments thereunto annexed.

Q. What mean you by the word of God?

A. I mean the doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles which they received of the Spirit of God, and have left written in that book which we commonly call the Old and New Testament.

Q. How may I be assured, that it is the word of God which that book containeth?

A. By the majesty of God appearing in that plain and simple doctrine: by the pureness, uprightness, and holiness thereof: by the certainty of every thing therein affirmed: by the success of all things according to it: by perpetual consent which is to be seen in every part thereof: by the excellency of the matters uttered, but especially by the testimony of God's Spirit, whereby it was written, who moveth the hearts of those in whom it resteth, to consent unto the word, and reverently to embrace it.

Q. How doth this word of God serve to draw men unto him?

A. When it is so preached and heard, that me may understand and learn what God teacheth, accep and receive thankfully that which is thereby given promised, and assured; and be moved with desir and diligence to do that which it commandeth.

Q. Do the sacraments also serve to this end?

A. Yea verily; that by sight, taste, and feeling, a well as by hearing, we might be instructed, assured and brought to obedience.

Q. How doth our baptism serve hereunto?

A. It teacheth us to put on Christ, that with hi righteousness our sinfulness may be hidden; it as sureth us, that we are so graft into Christ, that all ou sins by him are washed away; it chargeth us to di to sin, to continue in the profession of Christ, and t love each other.

Q. Hath the Lord's supper also this use?

A. Yea doubtless; for it teacheth, that the bod and blood of Christ crucified is the only food of th new-born children of God; it assureth that Christ i wholly theirs to give and to continue life spiritual an heavenly to body and soul, to nourish, strengthen refresh, and to make cheerful the hearts of th elect; it requireth thankful remembrance of the death of Christ, unity among those that do profess him, with a free confesssion of his truth.

Q. Why is not this use of the sacraments commonly known?

A. Because they are abused for form, for fashion, for custom, and company, without regard unto the word, whereunto they are so annexed, that they ought not upon any necessity by any person be severed from it, which teacheth the right use of every thing.

Q. I perceive that nothing is more necessary than the word of God; therefore, I pray you, shew me

how I may attain to some knowledge and profit thereby.

A. By diligent hearing of such as preach it, by continual and orderly exercise of reading and praying.

Q. What orderly exercise think you most convenient to be used herein?

A. That as every day, twice at the least, we most commonly receive food, to the nourishment of this corporal life, so no day be let pass without some reading in such sort, that occasion thereby may be taken to speak again unto God by prayer, as he in his word speaketh unto us; so that at the least two chapters would be orderly and advisedly read every day, all other business, impediments, and lets set apart.

Q. This seemeth very easy to be done; what think you else requisite?

A. That some especial places of Scripture be so committed to memory, that the mind may ever be furnished with some good matter against all temptations. To which end I note these Scriptures unto you, whereunto you may join other at your own choice: Psalms cxxxix. xxxvii. l. Isa. liii. John, xvii. Rom. viii. 1 Tim. iv.

Q. But the Scriptures are hard and not easy to understand.

A. Discourage not yourself herewith, for God maketh them easy to such as in humility seek him; and that hardness that you find serveth to move you to the more diligence, and to make inquiry of such as have knowledge, when any doubt ariseth. That which you perceive not at one time, God shall reveal at another; so that you shall have your growing in grace, knowledge, and godliness, to God's glory and your own comfort in Christ, whose name for ever be praised. Amen.

A Form of Prayer to be used in private Houses every Morning and Evening.

Morning Prayer.

ALMIGHTY God and most merciful Father, we do not present ourselves here before thy Majesty, trusting in our own merits or worthiness, but in thy manifold mercies, who hast promised to hear our prayers, and grant our requests, which we shall make to thee in the name of thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, who hath also commanded us to assemble ourselves together in his name, with full assurance, that he will not only be amongst us, but also be our Mediator and Advocate towards thy Majesty, that we may obtain all things which shall seem expedient to thy blessed will, for our necessities. Therefore we beseech thee, most merciful Father, to turn thy loving countenance towards us, and impute not unto us our manifold sins and offences, whereby we justly deserve thy wrath and sharp punishment, but rather receive us to thy mercy for Jesus Christ's sake, accepting his death and passion as a just recompense for all our offences, in whom only thou art well pleased, and through whom thou canst not be offended with us. And seeing that of thy great mercy we have quietly passed this night, grant, O heavenly Father, that we may bestow this day wholly in thy service; so that all our thoughts, words, and deeds may redound to the glory of thy name, and good ensample to all men, who, seeing our good works, may glorify thee, our heavenly Father.

And forasmuch as of thy mere favour and love thou hast not only created us to thine own similitude

and likeness, but also hast chosen us to be heirs with thy dear Son Jesus Christ of that immortal kingdom which thou preparedst for us, before the beginning of the world; we beseech thee to increase our faith and knowledge, and so enlighten our hearts with thy Holy Spirit, that we may in the mean time live in godly conversation and integrity of life, knowing that idolaters, adulterers, covetous men, contentious persons, drunkards, gluttons, and such-like, shall not inherit the kingdom of God.

And because thou hast commanded us to pray one for another, we do not only make request, O Lord, for ourselves, and for them thou hast already called to the true understanding of thy heavenly will, but for all people and nations of the world, who as they know by thy most wonderful works that thou art God over all, so they may be instructed by thy holy Spirit to believe in thee their only Saviour and Redeemer. But forasmuch as they cannot believe except they hear, and cannot hear but by preaching, and none can preach except they be sent, therefore, O Lord, raise up faithful distributers of thy mysteries, who, setting apart all worldly respects, may both in their life and doctrine only, seek thy glory. Contrarily, confound Satan and antichrist, with all hirelings, whom thou hast always cast off into a reprobate sense, that they may not by sects, schisms, heresies, and errors, disquiet thy little flock. And because, O Lord, we be fallen into the latter days and dangerous times, wherein ignorance hath gotten the upper hand, and Satan by his ministers seeks by all means to quench the light of thy Gospel, we beseech thee to maintain thy cause against all those ravening wolves, and strengthen all thy servants whom they keep in prison and bondage. Let not thy long suffering be an occasion either to increase their tyranny, or to discourage thy children; neither

yet let our sins and wickedness be an hinderance to thy mercies; but with speed, O Lord, consider these great miseries. For thy people Israel many times by their sins provoked thine anger, and thou punishedst them by thy just judgment; yet though their sins were never so grievous, if they once returned from their iniquity, thou receivedest them to mercy. We, therefore, wretched sinners, bewail our manifold sins, and earnestly repent us of our former wickedness, and ungodly behaviour towards thee; and whereas we cannot of ourselves purchase thy pardon, yet we humbly beseech thee, for Jesus Christ's sake, to shew thy mercy upon us, and receive us again to thy favour. Grant us, dear Father, these our requests, and all other things necessary for us and thy whole church, according to thy promise in Jesus Christ our Lord; in whose name we beseech thee, as he hath taught us, saying, "Our Father, &c."

Evening Prayer.

O Lord God, Father everlasting and full of pity, we acknowledge and confess that we are not worthy to lift up our eyes to heaven, much less to present ourselves before thy Majesty, with confidence that thou wilt hear our prayers, and grant our requests, if we consider our own deservings; for our consciences do accuse us, and our sins do witness against us; and we know that thou art an upright Judge, which dost not justify the sinners and wicked men, but punishest the faults of all such as transgress thy commandments: yet, most merciful Father, since it hath pleased thee to command us to call on thee in all our troubles and adversities, promising even then to help us when we feel ourselves (as it were) swallowed up of death and desperation, we utterly

ace all worldly confidence, and fly to thy so-
n bounty, as our only stay and refuge; be-
ing thee not to call to remembrance our mani-
ions and wickedness, whereby we continually
ke thy wrath and indignation against us; nei-
our negligence and unkindness, which have
r worthily esteemed, nor in our lives suffi-
y expressed the sweet comfort of thy Gospel
ed unto us; but rather to accept the obedience
eath of thy Son Jesus Christ, who by offering
y body a sacrifice once for all, hath made a
ent recompense for all our sins. Have
, therefore, upon us, O Lord, and forgive
r offences. Teach us, O Lord, by thy holy
, that we may rightly weigh them, and ear-
y repent for the same. And so much the rather,
ord, because that the reprobate, and such as
hast forsaken, cannot praise thee nor call upon
name; but the repenting heart, the sorrowful
l, the conscience oppressed, hungering and
ting for thy grace, shall ever set forth thy
e and glory.

nd albeit we be but worms and dust, yet thou
ur Creator, and we be the work of thy hands;
thou art our Father, and we thy children; thou
our Shepherd, and we thy flock; thou art our
eemer, and we thy people, whom thou hast
ght; thou art our God, and we thine inherit-
.

orrect us not, therefore, in thine anger, O
l; neither according to our deserts punish us;
mercifully chastise us with a fatherly affection,
all the world may know, that at what time
er a sinner doth repent him of his sins from
bottom of his heart, thou wilt put away his
edness out of thy remembrance, as thou hast
mised by thy holy Prophet. Finally, forasmuch

as it hath pleased thee to make the night for man to rest in, as thou hast ordained him the day to travail in, grant, O dear Father, that we may so take our bodily rest, that our souls may continually watch for the time that our Lord Jesus Christ shall appear for our deliverance out of this mortal life; and in the mean season, that we be not overcome by any fantasies, dreams, or other temptations, may fully set our minds upon thee, love thee, fear thee, and rest in thee. Furthermore, that our sleep be not excessive or overmuch, after the insatiable desires of the flesh, but only sufficient to content our weak nature, that we may be the better disposed to live in all godly conversation, to the glory of thy holy name, and the profit of our brethren. So be it.

A godly Prayer to be said at all Times.

Honour and praise be given to thee, O Lord God Almighty, most dear Father of heaven, for all thy mercies and loving kindness shewed unto us, in that it hath pleased thy gracious goodness, freely and of thine own accord, to elect and choose us to salvation before the beginning of the world; and even like continual thanks be given to thee for creating us after thine own image, for redeeming us with the precious blood of thy dear Son, when we were utterly lost, for sanctifying us with thy holy Spirit in the revelation and knowledge of thy holy word; for helping and succouring us in all our needs and necessities, for saving us from all dangers of soul and body, for comforting us so fatherly in all our tribulations and persecutions, for sparing us so long, and giving us so large a time of repentance. These benefits, O most merciful Father, like as we acknowledge to have received them of thy only

goodness, even so we beseech thee for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake to grant us always thy holy Spirit, that we may continually grow in thankfulness towards thee, to be led into all truth, and comforted in all our adversities. O Lord, strengthen our faith, kindle it more in ferventness and love towards thee and our neighbours, for thy sake. Suffer us not, most dear Father, to receive thy word any more in vain, but grant us always the assistance of thy grace and holy Spirit, that in heart, word, and deed, we may sanctify and do worship to thy name, help to amplify and increase thy kingdom; and whatsoever thou sendest, we may be heartily well content with thy good pleasure and will. Let us not lack the thing, O Father, without the which we cannot serve thee; but bless thou also the works of our hands, that we may have sufficient, and not to be chargeable, but rather helpful unto others. Be merciful, O Lord, to our offences; and seeing our debt is great which thou hast forgiven us in Jesus Christ, make us to love thee and our neighbours so much the more. Be thou our Father, our Captain, and Defender in all temptation; hold thou us by thy merciful hand, that we may be delivered from all inconveniences, and end our lives in the sanctifying and honour of thy holy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour. Let thy mighty hand and outstretched arm, O Lord, be still our defence; thy mercy and loving kindness in Jesus Christ, thy dear Son, our salvation; thy grace and holy Spirit our comfort and consolation unto the end, and in the end. So be it.

A Confession for all Estates and Times.

O ETERNAL God, and most merciful Father, we confess and acknowledge here before thy divine ma-

jesty, that we are miserable sinners, conceived and born in sin and iniquity, so that in us there is no goodness: for the flesh evermore rebelleth against the spirit, whereby we continually transgress thy holy precepts and commandments, and so purchase to ourselves through thy just judgment death and damnation. Notwithstanding, O heavenly Father, forasmuch as we are displeased with ourselves for the sins that we have committed against thee, and do unfeignedly repent us of the same, we most humbly beseech thee for Jesus Christ's sake to shew thy mercy upon us, to forgive us all our sins, and increase thy holy Spirit in us, that, acknowledging from the bottom of our hearts our own unrighteousness, we may from henceforth not only mortify our sinful lusts and affections, but also bring forth such fruits as may be agreeable to thy most blessed will, not for the worthiness thereof, but for the merits of thy dear beloved Son Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, whom thou hast already given an oblation and offering for our sins, and for whose sake we are certainly persuaded that thou wilt deny us nothing that we shall ask in his name according to thy will: for thy holy Spirit doth assure our consciences that thou art a merciful Father, and so lovest thy children through him, that nothing is able to remove thy heavenly grace and favour from us. To thee, therefore, O Father, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

A Prayer to be said before a Man begins his Work.

O Lord and merciful Father and Saviour, seeing it hath pleased thee to command us to travail, that we may relieve our need, we beseech thee of thy grace so to bless our labours, that thy blessings may extend unto us, without the which we are not able

to continue: and this great favour may be a witness unto us of thy bountifulness and assistance, so that thereby we may know the fatherly care that thou hast over us.

Moreover, O Lord, we beseech thee, that thou wouldest strengthen us with thy holy Spirit, that we may faithfully travail in our estate and vocation, without fraud or deceit, and that we may endeavour ourselves to follow thy holy ordinance, rather than to seek to satisfy our greedy affections, or desire to gain. And if it please thee, O Lord, to prosper our labour, and give us a mind also to help them that have need, according to that ability that thou of thy mercy shalt give us, and know that all good things come of thee; grant that we may humble ourselves to our neighbours, and not by any means lift up ourselves above them, which have not received so liberal a portion as thou of thy mercy hast given unto us: and if it please thee to try and exercise us by greater poverty and need than our flesh would desire, that thou wouldest yet, O Lord, grant us grace to know, that thou wilt nourish us continually through thy bountiful liberality, that we be not so tempted that we fall into distrust, but that we may patiently wait till thou fillest us, not only with corporal graces and benefits, but chiefly with thine heavenly and spiritual treasures, to the intent that we may always have more ample occasion to give thee thanks, and so wholly to rest upon thy mercies, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, Amen.

A Prayer for the whole Estate of Christ's Church.

ALMIGHTY God and most merciful Father, we humbly submit ourselves, and fall down before thy Majesty, beseeching thee from the bottom of our hearts, that this seed of thy word now sown among

us, may take such deep root, that neither the bur
ing heat of persecution cause it to wither, nor t
thorny cares of this life choke it; but that as se
sown in good ground, it may bring forth thirt
sixty, and an hundred fold, as thy heavenly wisdc
hath appointed. And because we have need co
tinually to crave many things at thy hand, we humb
beseech thee, O heavenly Father, to grant us t
holy Spirit to direct our petitions, that they may
agreeable to thy most blessed will; and seeing th
by infirmity we are able to do nothing without t
help, and that thou art not ignorant with how ma
and great temptations we poor wretches are on eve
side enclosed and compassed; let thy strength,
Lord, sustain our weakness, that we, being defend
with the force of thy grace, may be safely preserv
against all assaults of Satan, who goeth about co
tinually like a roaring lion, seeking to devour u
Increase our faith, O merciful Father, that we
not swerve at any time from thy heavenly word, b
augment in us hope and love, with a careful keepi
of all thy commandments, that no hardness of hea
hypocrisy, no concupiscence of the eyes, nor entic
ments of the world do draw us away from thy ob
dience. And seeing we live now in these most p
rilous times, let thy fatherly providence defend
against the violence of our enemies, which do se
by all means to oppress the truth. Furthermor
forasmuch as by thy holy Apostle we be taught
make our prayers and supplications for all men,
pray not only for ourselves here present, but besee
thee also to reduce all such as be yet ignorant, fro
the miserable captivity of blindness and errors,
the pure understanding and knowledge of thy trut
that we all with one consent, and unity of min
may worship thee our only God and Saviour. Ar
that all pastors, shepherds, and ministers, to who
thou hast committed the dispensation of thy ho

word, and charge of thy chosen people, may both by their life and doctrine be found faithful, setting only before their eyes thy glory, and that by them all poor sheep which wander and go astray, may be gathered and brought home to thy fold.

Moreover, because the hearts of rulers are in thy hand, we beseech thee to direct and govern the hearts of all kings, princes, and magistrates, to whom thou hast committed the sword; especially, O Lord, according to our bounden duty, we beseech thee to maintain and increase the honourable estate of the King's Majesty, and his most noble counsellors and magistrates, with all spiritual pastors and ministers, and the whole body of the common-weal. Let thy fatherly favour so preserve them, and thy holy Spirit to govern their hearts, that they may in such sort execute their office, that thy religion may be purely maintained, manners reformed, and sin punished, according to the precise rule of thy holy word. And for that we be all members of the mystical body of Jesus Christ, we make our requests unto thee, O heavenly Father, for all such as are afflicted with any kind of cross or tribulation, as war, plague, famine, sickness, poverty, imprisonment, persecution, banishment, or any other kind of thy rods, whether it be calamity of body, or vexation of mind, that it would please thee to give them patience and constancy, till thou send them full deliverance out of all their troubles. Root out from hence, O Lord, all ravening wolves, which to fill their bellies seek to destroy thy flock; and shew thy great mercies upon those our brethren in other countries, which are persecuted, cast in prison, and daily condemned for the testimony of thy truth. And although they be utterly destitute of all man's aid, yet let thy sweet comfort never depart from them, but so inflame their hearts with thy holy Spirit, that they may boldly and cheerfully abide such trial as thy heavenly wisdom

shall appoint: so that at length, as well by their death as by their life, the kingdom of thy Son Jesus Christ may increase, and shine through all the world. In whose name we make our humble petitions unto thee, as he hath taught us, saying, "Our Father, &c."

A Prayer against the Devil and his manifold Temptations, made by St. Augustine.

THERE wanted a tempter, and thou wast the cause that he was wanting: there wanted time and place, and thou wast the cause that they wanted. The tempter was present, and there wanted neither place nor time; but thou heldest me back that I should not consent. The tempter came full of darkness as he is; and thou didst hearten me, that I might despise him. The tempter came armed and strongly; but to the intent he should not overcome me, thou didst restrain him, and strengthen me. The tempter came transformed into an angel of light; and to the intent he should not deceive me, thou didst rebuke him; and to the intent I should know him, thou didst enlighten me; for he is the great red dragon, the old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which hath seven heads and ten horns; whom thou hast created to take his pleasure in this huge and broad sea, wherein there creep living wights innumerable, and beasts great and small, that is to say, divers sorts of fiends, which practise nothing else day nor night, but do go about seeking whom they may devour, except thou resist them, O Lord Jesus: for it is that old dragon which draweth down the third part of the stars of heaven with his tail, and casteth them to the ground, which with his venom poisoneth the waters of the earth, that as many men as drink of them may die; which trampleth on gold as if it were mire, and is of opinion that Jordan shall run into his mouth; who is made

h a mould, that he feareth no man. And who
save us from his chaps, O Lord Jesus? who
pluck us out of his mouth, saving thou, O
who hast broken the head of this great dra-
Help us, O Lord, that we may flee under
rom the face of this dragon that pursueth us,
ence thou us from his horns with thy shield:
is is his continual endeavour, this is his only
, to devour the souls which thou hast created;
therefore we cry unto thee, O Lord. Deliver
m our daily adversary, who, whether we sleep
ke, eat or drink, or whether we be doing any
else, presseth upon us by all kinds of means,
iting us day and night with trains and policies,
hooting his venomous arrows at us, sometimes
y, and sometimes privily, to slay our souls.
yet such is our great madness, Lord, in that
eas we see the dragon continually in a readiness
evour us with open mouth, we nevertheless do
and rejoice in our own slothfulness, as though
vere out of danger, who desireth nothing else
o destroy us. Our mischievous enemy, to the
t to kill us, watcheth continually, and never
eth: and will not we wake from sleep to save
souls? Behold, he hath pitched infinite snares
re our feet, and filled all our ways with sundry
s to catch our souls: and who can escape, O
l Jesu, so many and great dangers? He hath
snares for us in our riches, in our poverty, in
meat and drink, in our pleasure, in our sleep,
in our waking. He hath laid snares for us in
words and our works, and in all our life. But
, O Lord, deliver us from the net of the fowler,
from hard words, that we may give praise to
, saying, "Blessed be the Lord, who hath not
n us for a prey for their teeth: our soul is deli-
d as a sparrow out of the fowler's net; the net
roken, and we escaped."

The Confession of the Christian Faith.

I BELIEVE and confess my Lord God, eternal, i finite, unmeasurable, incomprehensible, and invisib one in substance, and three in person; Father, So and Holy Ghost; who, by his almighty power a wisdom, hath not only of nothing created heav and earth, and all things therein contained, and m after his own image, that he might in him be glo fied; but also by his fatherly providence governet maintaineth, and preserveth the same according the purpose of his will.

I believe, and also confess, Jesus Christ the o Saviour and Messias, who being equal with Gc made himself of no reputation, but took on him t shape of a servant, and became man, in all thin like unto us, except sin, to assure us of mercy a forgiveness: for when, through our father Adan transgression, we were become children of perditic there was no means to bring us from the yoke of s and damnation, but only Jesus Christ our Lord, w giving us that by grace which was his by natu made us, through faith, the children of God; wl when the fulness of time was come, was conceiv by the power of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virg Mary (according to the flesh), and preached in ea the Gospel of salvation; till at length, by the tyran of the priests, he was guiltless condemned unc Pontius Pilate, then president of Jewry, and m slanderously hanged on the cross between two thiev as a notorious trespasser, where, taking upon h the punishment of our sins, he delivered us fr the curse of the law.

And forasmuch as he being only God could r feel death; neither being only man could not ov come death; he joined both together; and suffe

his humanity to be punished with most cruel death: feeling in himself the anger and severe judgment of God, even as he had been in extreme torments of hell; and therefore cried with a loud voice, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Thus of his mercy, without compulsion, he offered up himself as the only sacrifice, to purge the sins of all the world; so that all other sacrifices for sin are blasphemous, and derogate from the sufficiency thereof: which death, albeit it did sufficiently reconcile us to God, yet the Scriptures commonly do attribute our regeneration to his resurrection; for as by rising again from the grave the third day he conquered death, even so the victory of our faith standeth in his resurrection; and therefore without the one we cannot feel the benefits of the other: for, as by his death sin was taken away, so our righteousness was restored by his resurrection. And because he would accomplish all things, and take possession for us in his kingdom, he ascended into heaven, to enlarge the same kingdom, by the abundant power of his Spirit: by whom we are most assured of his continual intercession towards God the Father for us.

And although he be in heaven, as touching his corporal presence, where the Father hath now set him at his right hand, committing unto him the administration of all things, as well in heaven above as in the earth beneath; yet is he present with us in his members, even to the end of the world, in preserving and governing us with his effectual power and grace, who, when all things are fulfilled which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his prophets since the world began, will come in the same visible form in the which he ascended, with unspeakable majesty, power, and company, to separate the lambs from the goats, the elect from the reprobate: so that none, whether he be alive then, or dead before, shall escape his judgment.

Moreover, I believe and confess the Holy Ghost God equal with the Father and the Son, who regenerateth and sanctifieth us, ruleth and guideth us unto all truth, persuaded most assuredly in our consciences that we be the children of God, brethren to Jesus Christ, and fellow-heirs with him of life everlasting; yet, notwithstanding, it is not sufficient to believe that God is omnipotent and merciful, that Christ hath made satisfaction, or that the Holy Ghost hath his power and effect, except we do apply the same benefits to us which are God's elect.

I believe, therefore, and confess one holy church, which, as members of Jesus Christ, the only head thereof, consent in faith, hope, and charity, using the gifts of God, whether they be temporal or spiritual, to the profit and furtherance of the same; which church is not seen to man's eye, but only known to God, who, of the lost sons of Adam, hath ordained some, as vessels of wrath, to damnation; and hath chosen others, as vessels of his mercy, to be saved; the which, in due time, he calleth to integrity of life and godly conversation, to make them a glorious church to himself.

But that church which is visible and seen, the eye hath three tokens and marks whereby it may be known.

First, the word of God, contained in the Old and New Testament, which, as it is above the authority of the same church, and only sufficient to instruct us in all things concerning salvation; so it is left for all degrees of men to read and understand: for without this word neither church, council, nor decree, can establish any point touching salvation.

The second is the Holy Ghost, to wit, of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; which sacraments Christ hath left unto us as holy signs and seals of God's promises: for as by baptism, once received, is

l, that we (as well infants as others of age
cretion), being strangers from God by ori-
ı, are received into his family and congrega-
ith full assurance, that, although this root
e hid in us, yet to the elect it shall not be
; so the Supper declareth that God, as a
ndent father, doth not only feed our bodies,
spiritually nourisheth our souls with the
nd benefits of Jesus Christ (which the Scrip-
eth eating of his flesh and drinking of his
neither must we, in the administration of
sacraments, follow man's fantasy, but as
himself hath ordained, so must they be mi-
, and by such as by ordinary vocation are
to called. Therefore, whosoever reserveth
rshippeth these sacraments, or contrariwise
ieth them in time and place, procureth to
damnation.

third mark of this church is ecclesiastical
e, which standeth in admonition and cor-
of faults: the final end whereof is excom-
ion, by the consent of the church determined,
fender be obstinate.

besides this ecclesiastical discipline, I ac-
lge to belong to his church a political ma-
who ministereth to every man justice,
ıg the good and punishing the evil: to whom
t render honour and obedience in all things
re not contrary to the word of God. And as
Hezekias, Josias, and other good rulers,
the church of God from superstition and
; so the defence of Christ's church apper-
into Christian magistrates against all idolaters
etics, as Anabaptists, and such-like limbs
hrist; to root up all doctrine of devils and
the mass, purgatory, limbus patrum, prayers
and for the dead, free-will, distinction of

The following Tract consists of the entire Second Book, or division, of the volume described in the subsequent Note beginning at the foot of the following page. The First Book, or division, is chiefly introductory to the Second, and is considerably less interesting in its matter than that which is here given.

PREFACE.

To the godly Reader, Walter Haddon sendeth greeting in our Lord Jesus Christ.*

A FEW years past a certain Portuguese, named Jerome Osorius, wrote a tedious Epistle to the Queen's Majesty (printed 1565), in the which he imagined many monstrous errors to be frequented in our church, and with reproachful railing most unreverently depraved the professors of the Gospel.

* "This year came forth a state-book, being a necessary quarrel of this church, and defence of this country, writ in answer to Jerome Osorius, a Portuguese, who the last year published a malicious libel against England, and the reformation of religion here, by way of letter to the Queen, intending to persuade her to return to the Roman Catholic faith, as hath been mentioned already. The answerer, who seems to be pitched upon for this work by Secretary Cecil, was Dr. Walter Haddon, Master of Requests to the Queen, a man of great abilities in learning, and experience of the state and affairs of this nation, and withal had an excellent Ciceronian style, to be even with the said Osorius, whose Latin was the only thing that recommended his book. But his treatment of the Queen, and her kingdom and people, was so rude and uncivil, and his arguments so weak and childish, that the said Haddon gave this short character of him: 'That he was a most perverse, overthwart brawler, who, besides a commendable facility in the Latin tongue, would profit the public nothing at all.'

"Haddon framed his answer in a letter to him, entituled, *Gual. Haddonus Hieronymo Osorio Lusitano S. D.* therein answering all the trite objections of Papists, then tost up and down against the late proceedings of England, and clearing the steps that were taken by the Queen and her council and parliament, and therefore very well worthy to have some account given of it in this place; having been drawn up by great deliberation, and overlooked by the Secretary and Sir Thomas Smith, and serving for a

This public quarrel against my native country troubled me not a little; to some particular points whereof I thought good to answer, although not to

public vindication of this nation, the like to which I know none as yet set forth, except *Bishop Jewel's Apology* last year.

"This notable responsory letter was sent by Secretary Cecil (as it seems) into France, to the learned Sir Thomas Smith, the Queen's ambassador, to peruse it, and then get it printed there, as Osorius's epistle had been, that such as had read that calumniatory writing, might also read this, that right and justice might be done to the English nation. The said ambassador accordingly applied himself to the Chancellor of Paris for liberty to print it, but he shifted it off, pretending that Osorius's epistle was printed by stealth, without any permission of theirs; nay, the original copy had like to have been quite lost; for it having been put into the hands of Henry Stevens to print it, by some wile it was got out of his hands, and great difficulty there was, and application to the Chancellor of Paris, by the said ambassador, before it could be retrieved again. In fine, at last it was printed, anno 1563, either in France or elsewhere.

"The censure which the foresaid ambassador gave of this book to Haddon himself, the author, was, 'That nothing could come from Haddon, which was not good Latin in the words; neat and smooth in the speech, and grave in the sentences; and that there was but one thing that he approved not of in that work, which was, that he had to do with an adversary that he so much overmatched, who brought nothing but a bare imitation of Cicero, and was ignorant of the matter he handled.'

"But Osorius, nettled with this answer of Dr. Haddon, not long after (being now become bishop of Sylva, or Arcoburge), gave a reply to it in three books, which was all nothing else but a further and more bitter invective against England, wherein he would seem to post over (as Haddon told him) his whole malice against Luther and his associates; yet he did notwithstanding indict and accuse England, by express words, rail on our bishops, with most foul and false accusations condemn the subjects in general of stiff-necked crookedness; our temples, our ceremonies, our laws, and our whole religion, with a shameless tongue, and most insolent invective, did deride, condemn, and slander.

"Here was work again for our learned apologist, who thought in honour he must not leave this cause of his country and the English church. But it is remarkable how he was dissuaded from it by some foreign Englishmen, and desperately threatened what danger and what work he would draw upon his own head, if he did not stop his pen, and let Osorius have the last word.

all in general; partly, because I wanted time thereunto, and partly because I supposed that Osorius was deluded by some malicious report of our adver-

"For (to continue our account of this controversy), in the year 1565, one Richard Shacklock, Master of Arts of Louvain, set forth in English this letter of Osorius with high commedations in the preface, preferring it as far above Haddon's answer (except that he vouchsafed to call him a man of handsome eloquence), as the light of the sun was before a link. It was printed at Antwerp, March the 27th, the said year, with the title of A Pearl for a Prince; which title the French translation had given it before; and it had the allowance of Cornelius Jansenius, Professor of Divinity of Louvain.

"And in the conclusion of this book is an address to Mr. Doctor Haddon, from Antwerp, trying to affright him from proceeding any further against Osorius. For they tell him, 'How Nazianzen witnessed, that Valens the emperor, poisoned with the Arian heresy, after he had written with his own hand many words concerning the banishment of St. Bazil, yet could not finish those writings, for so much as the pen did three times refuse to yield ink; however, being obstinate in his proposed malice, did not leave off to write that wicked decree, and to subscribe unto it, when it was written, till a great cramp or palsy came into his hand, which did strike such a fear and terror into his heart, that with his own hand he tore that which he had writ.'

"And then Mr. Dr. Haddon was bid, for the love of God, to remember this fearful example. And whereas he did not fear to write against Osorius at the first, because peradventure either he knew it not, or else had forgotten it, now seeing he did know it, and had it fresh brought to his memory, he was warned not to despise it. And that it should be a warning to him, whether he were moved of his own head, or pricked forward by the suggestions of others, whether he were in his own private parlour, or the public parliament house, to say nothing, write nothing, subscribe to nothing, pertaining to the defacing of the truth; lest such a cramp took him in the hand when he should write, or such a palsy come into his tongue when he should speak, and so become a spectacle to all men. Further, they bade him enter into an humble confession of his own imperfection; and that in humanity he could do very commendably, but, when he came to declaim in divinity, he could no more bestir himself than David in Saul's armour.

"But that if he would not cease, they assured him, 'That he should stir up so many adversaries against him, that whereas he was *Master of the Requests*, and for that cause ought always to

saries, and therefore I hoped the man would hav been somewhat satisfied with mine answer. Ther passed over one year or two, and I in the mean tim

hear petitions when suitors came to him; he should be fain t make them this answer—"I pray you trouble me not; I must g "answer Osorius in Portugal; I must answer Hosius in Polonia "such a man in such a country, &c." And that, if he would n make them such an answer, yet his brains should be busied wit so many books and letters from his betters, that his mind shoul not be upon his charge; and so he would be put out of his plac for negligence, or else sent from the court to Cambridge for pity that he might have more leisure to answer his adversaries, which he would not well like of."

"Wherefore they prayed him to follow their former counsel, to stay himself, and to recompense his troublesome eloquence with charitable and quiet silence. And because he was Master of Re quests, they prayed him to grant them this request, that he increased not his old fault with a new offence, nor made any new resistance against ancient verity. And that he might be the more afraid to abuse his hand in writing against Osorius, or any other Catholic, they prayed him to turn the book named *Symbola Heroica* into English, where, among many other pictures, he should find a shaking hand with a pen leaping out of it, and this poesy written over it, '*Ulterius ne tende odiis*,' *i. e.* Proceed no further in hatreds. And this heroical device, they trusted, would terrify him from the like vice.

"But notwithstanding all this counsel (childish enough), such was Haddon's zeal in answering the second and third malicious book of Osorius, that in the beginning of his answer he said resolutely, *He stood in the defence of his country, and would persist therein so long as breath was in his body.* And indeed in this quarrel he ended his life, for he died when he had not gone half way in his confutation. Whether he had any foul play I cannot tell, but by the warning given above, it may raise a suspicion; especially since he was at Bruges, in Flanders, anno 1566, the last year of his life.

"He treated his adversary now more smartly than he had done before, but yet used him like a scholar. But with what success he dealt with him, John Fox will tell us—'That he so handled his matters with arguments and reasons, as he seemed not only to have confuted Osorius, but also to have crushed him all to pieces.' Where he left off, the said Fox was thought the fittest for learning and divinity, as well as an excellent Latin style, to go on with the work; and so at length he finished it, by adding above three parts more than Haddon had writ to it; swelling to

appointed the Queen's Highness's agent in Flanders, was leger in Bruges; at which time one Emanuel Dalmada, a Portuguese born, bishop of Angreme, suddenly sprung up in Brussels. This worshipful prelate, undertaking the defence of his friend Jerome Osorius, did stuff a great volume full of slanders and brabbles, and in the end of his book caused certain ugly pictures to be portrayed, thereby to deface my personage as much as he might.

I perused this Apology (for so he entitled that confused lump). I never saw so foolish and unsavoury a writing, full of scoffs and absurdities, which two being taken away, there remained else nothing besides; whereupon I debated with myself awhile, whether I might answer the doltish ass; but at the last I determined to despise the silly wretched dotard, as one not only altogether unlettered, but also so dull and blockish by nature, and many times so void of common sense, that he became a jesting-stock among the wiser sort of his own fraternity.

About two years since, my familiar friend, Thomas Wilson, returning from Portugal into England, brought over from thence, at the request of Osorius, certain volumes of Osorius, framed into three books;

pretty large book. And at last it was turned into English by James Bell, and printed by John Day, anno 1581, in quarto. Wherein are fully answered the malicious slanders and misreports raised in those times against our religion, and what was done in the reforming of the church of England justified.

"And to every thing that was writ, I make no doubt Secretary Cecil was privy, and all went through his hand, and the writer had his directions; since the work was of such a public import, and he had concerned himself with this controversy from the beginning. Fox's style was sharp, and oftentimes witty (for so Osorius was to be dealt withal); but he shewed also a great deal of good learning and knowledge in ecclesiastical and other history. And thus much for this state-book of Haddon's, with the history of it."—*Strype's Annals of the Reformation*, p. 378.

whereof one he delivered severally unto me. I received it gladly, and perused the same over once or twice, trusting that Osorius, being now installed a bishop, would be much more modest than before. But the matter fell quite contrary; for, instead of a civil and sober person, I find him a most frivolous sophister; for a grave divine, a most childish counterfeit; and, for a discreet bishop, a most impudent railer.

Hereunto was added such store of vanity and proud haughtiness, that in respect of him Thraso might be well adjudged a very discreet person. I sorrow to speak so much, for it had been more acceptable to me, and more honest for him (according to the ordinary course of common conference), to have debated our matters friendly and quietly, rather than to combat together with such taunting and snatching. But since Osorius disputeth not as a bishop, neither will I argue to him as to a bishop: neither is it requisite that I should be mindful of Osorius' estate, since he forgetteth his own and mine also. And it standeth with good reason, that if he have taken any pleasure in evil speaking, he lose the same in evil hearing.

Hereof, gentle reader, I thought good to premonish thee; partly, that thou mayest perceive the course and process of our writing; partly, that if I shall seem sometimes somewhat too sharp in mine answer, thou mayest impute it to the enforcement of mine adversary, rather than to the bitterness of my nature. Now I will request two things of thee: the first is, that as I shall have briefly and thoroughly confuted the most foolish and spiteful brawls of Osorius, so thou wilt be content therewith, not requiring many words in matters of so small substance. For albeit Osorius can limit to himself no measure nor end of prattling, yet will I so temper my talk, that I neither abuse thy leisure nor my own. Not

because it is a hard thing, but a matter rather of no difficulty, to fill whole volumes with scribbling and toys; but that it is odious to be accused of the selfsame fault, whereof a man doth condemn another.

My last request is, that thou yield thine attentive mind void of partiality in opinions; which two if thou grant unto me, it shall easily appear (I trust), both that I have no less godly than necessarily entered into the honest defence of my country; and thou also as plainly perceive, how maliciously and wickedly England hath been accused and depraved by her cursed enemy Osorius. Farewell.

HADDON AGAINST OSORIUS.

The second Book of Haddon and Fox against Osorius.

I AM ashamed (you say) *to use so many words in the confutation of your book.* It is modestly done of you to confess your fault: but your unmeasurable brawling hath altogether wearied me; of the same opinion are all others also that have seen your writing, who with one consent do wonderfully condemn this your idle superfluity of tongue in an old man: yet can we see no amendment in you; for the further you proceed, so many the more fables you do utter; whereby all men may perceive, that you are not induced to writing of any judgment or discretion, but inflamed with excessive malice and violent outrage, with neither of the which your person and greyheaded years ought in any wise to be acquainted.

But whereas you report *that I seem to have taken*

wonderful pleasure in that my little book; herein you follow the example of wayward men, which esteeming other men's affections by their own, be of opinion that scarce any man else can be well disposed, because they be indiscreet themselves. You begin to quarrel at the overthrow of the sacraments, wherewith you say also that I do seem somewhat displeasant; and therefore you commend me with a scoff, no less unpleasant than unsavoury. But mock on, and spare not; you do travail with your contumelious words to bring this noble island, my dear beloved country, into obloquy with all men, and with an abominable lie do exclaim, that our divines have utterly subverted all sanctuaries, ceremonies, and sacraments.

This your infamous, shameless, and reproachful hyperbolical speech I have scattered abroad, crushed in pieces, and brought to nought, and have so deeply imprinted your flesh with an S, for a slanderer, to your perpetual shame, that neither you, nor any of all your sect shall ever be able to wipe it out again.

You do accuse Luther, Carolostadius, Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, and my Peter Martyr, as men that do unreverently rend asunder the Lord's supper. First of all, I have sundry times heretofore protested, that your controversy concerned us, and not them; for your quarrel was against our English divines, whom I undertook to defend; you slandered our England, I stood to the defence of the same. And therefore I might well have referred all this contention touching their doctrine to themselves; and so I do, yet I will presume to say this much by the way, that you deal very ungently herein to scold so importunately against the good name of them, which cannot now plead their own cause. I do add hereunto that the rest (except Carolostadius only, of whom I can say nothing, because I do not know him), all the rest, I mean, were men of such excellency,

not only in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal sciences, but also such singular divines, as that Jerome Osorius might have been scholar to the meanest of them. I say this withal, that you utter unskilfulness herein, to couple Luther and Zuinglius together in matter of the sacrament, whose opinions were somewhat discrepant in the same.

Lastly, touching the matter itself, I answer briefly, that those famous and worthy patrons of the Gospel and true religion (whose names you rehearse in reproach) did reverently and religiously treat of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, if they may be tried by the true touchstone of the Scriptures; in whom likewise you can find no just cause of reprehension concerning the other sacraments, unless you suppose, that with your naked clamorous affirmatives ye may expel them out of the church, as men are wont to drive common players from the stage with hissing and clapping of hands. But they cannot be so quelled, Osorius; they have obtained better footing, and deeper root in the hearts of men by their learning and virtue, than you can be able to remove with your pen, though it be never so cruel; whom the butcherly cruelty of your side, be it never so savage, cannot with fire and faggot consume out of the minds of the godly.

But this our new master dispatcheth all things in scoffs and petty questions. *He demandeth of us what is to be understood of those sacraments which we do retain?* First of all, if we do use any sacraments at all, you are taken tardy for a common liar against us especially; for you railed a little erst, that all sacraments were utterly abolished by our preachers, and that you have as many witnesses of this solemn lie, as England hath inhabitants.

But you proceed, and would know what sacraments &c. If you do know already and will dissemble, why

do you play the fool in so earnest a matter? but if you be ignorant hereof, what manner of divine will you be accounted, that know not the first principles of religion? *Nay* (say you), *I am not doubtful of the sacraments of schoolmen; but I know not your bare and naked images, by the which you deny the grace of God to be obtained.* How many faults, Osorius, in so few words? For first of all, who ever called sacraments by this name, images, but you alone? Indeed they are named signs and marks of holy things, many times seals of our salvation; many men call them tables, and so divers men give divers names. But yourself are the very first that ever gave this term of images to sacraments.

But as touching words, though you be oftentimes over-captious, we will be more tractable with you therein, and will prosecute the matter. *You say that our divines do place naked images instead of sacraments.* How naked, my lord, I pray you? We do agree with St. Augustine, that sacraments are signs of holy things: or thus; that sacraments are visible signs of invisible grace. I trust you will permit me the same liberty of words, which you use to take to yourself. We do grant, that we are by baptism regenerate to eternal life; we do also yield, that in the holy communion our Lord Jesus is truly received of the faithful in spirit by faith; whereby it appeareth, that our divines do not account the sacraments as bare naked signs, but for things most effectual, most holy, and things most necessarily appertaining to our comfort; they be sacred mysteries of our religion; they be assured pledges of heavenly grace: and yet God the Father, which made us of clay, is not tied to his workmanship, nor bound to his creatures; "but taketh mercy of whom he will have mercy, and forgiveth our sins for his own sake"

(Exod. xxxii. Rom. ix.), not for the sacrament's sake.

Lastly, "Life everlasting is the gift of God through Jesus Christ" (Rom. vi.), not through operation of the sacraments. And therefore we do refuse and detest such naked and falsely-forged images, as dreams of your own drowsy brains, and use the true sacraments as most sacred things, as pledges of our faith, and seals of our salvation; and yet we do not attribute so much unto them, as though by the means of them the grace of God must of necessity be poured out upon us, by the *works wrought*, as through conduit-pipes. This impiety we turn over to your schoolmen, the very first springs of this poison. "For inheritance is given of faith, according to grace." (Rom. iv.)

The sacraments are reverend signs of God's grace unto us, are excellent monuments of our religion, are most perfect witnesses of our salvation. If you cannot be satisfied with these commendations of the sacraments, heap you up more unto them at your choice, we shall be well pleased withal, so that you bind not the grace of God to the signs of very necessity. For we are not saved by the receiving of these sacraments: "but if we confess with our mouth our Lord Jesus Christ, and with our hearts believe that God raised him again from death" (Rom. x.), this confession only will save us.

Julian the emperor was baptized in the name of Jesus, yet died in manifest blasphemy. Judas Iscariot did feed upon the sacrament of the eucharist, yet immediately after supper he departed to the enemies of our Lord Jesu, and betrayed innocent blood. What needeth many words? Sacraments are most precious tokens of God's favour, but they do not obtain God's favour. Sacraments are excellent monuments of godliness, but they do not make god-

liness. "He that will glory, let him glory in the Lord, not in sacraments. For by God we are engrafted into Christ Jesu, which was made unto us by God, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." (1 Cor. i.)

And this much to your general objections framed against our order of administering the sacraments. Now I will come to those two principal points, which you seem specially to have culled out, that in them you might brave out the nimbleness of your wit and eloquence of tongue—*confession*, you name, and the *sacrament of the altar*, as you term it. Of confession you draw forth a tedious talk, and in the same endeavour to include the sacrament of repentance.

First of all, you cast your accounts amiss in your numbering, Osorius; for if you receive repentance in the name of a sacrament, either you must admit eight sacraments, contrary to the old custom of your church, or else you must turn one of your other seven sacraments out of the doors; wherein, unless you deal more circumspectly, you will have more fists about your ears than your own, even amongst your own fraternity.

But please them as well as you may, and us you shall easily win to wink at you, which do content ourselves with two sacraments only, to wit, *baptism* and *the supper of the Lord*; yet do we also exercise the rest withal, as matters singularly profitable, and so fast knit to the rule of true godliness, that Christian profession cannot want them. When I name the rest, I do not comprehend all, but confession; and yet not your hypocritical and school confession (whereof we will treat hereafter), but the pure and ancient confession authorized by the Scriptures, and practised by the Prophets and Apostles. I add hereunto amendment of life, ordination of ministers, celebra-

tion of matrimony, and prayer; although you pass by this last as a foreign stranger.

All these (I say) are in daily use with us, and had in great estimation, though they retain neither name nor nature of sacraments properly. There be some other also, whereof it is needless to make any mention at this present; for these are the chiefest, which though we do not usurp for sacraments, as you do, yet we do allow of them reverently and religiously, according to the ordinance of the Gospel of God; which I thought meet to touch briefly by the way, lest any person unacquainted with our orders, and giving too much credit to Osorius, may esteem so much the less of our religion.

Now I return to your confession, whispered into the ears of your priests, whom though you embrace as your sweet babe, and enrich with a great dower of words, and deck with gay copes of sentences; yet ye lose herein both your travail and cost. For you garnish but a school-harlot, a nurse of superstition, a drudge of covetousness, and the common shop of all abomination. And therefore you do well, that in the enshrining of so filthy an invention of man, you fly from all aid of Scriptures; and yet because ye produce some somewhat slyly, and according to your discretion apply them as wisely, though ye promise quite contrary, we will sift them a little by your leave, and see how they will help you in your journey.

I speak nothing here (you say), *how in the old law, in their sacrifices offered for cleansing of sins, a certain confession of impure living was brought to the priests.* But speak aloud rather, what confession was that you speak of? by what custom received? in what place, when, and with what circumstances was it frequented? Either you ought to have uttered one of these, or else we must plainly judge, that this

confession was a certain somewhat we know not what, whereof is no such thing in all the Scriptures, as you make it; or if any such were amongst the ordinances of the priests, the same is worn out of use, even as the old sacrifices are, and quite forgotten (Heb. ix. 10); and this you cannot deny, unless you be altogether ignorant in divinity. *No, nor that you think worthy to be noted* (you say), *that those which came to the baptism of John Baptist did of an earnest zeal confess their sins.* You do well, Osorius, that you do not note it; but you had done better, if you had never touched the place, For at that time were no massmongers, nor cowled jozels, into whose ears the wretched rude people might particularly whisper their offences, without whom this your goodly confession is of no value.

No, nor it pleaseth you (you say) *to rehearse the confessions that Christian men made to the Apostles of Christ, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.* If it pleased you not to rehearse it, why do you rehearse it then? nay, rather, why do you make a special note out of the Acts, of that which is not there? "The hearts of the Jews were pricked at the preaching of Peter;" whom also Peter doth exhort to amendment of life, Acts, ii. Here is no word of confession; and yet I doubt not, but they did confess their sins unto God. But I would not have you, Osorius, being a divine and a bishop, so unadvisedly to vouch any thing out of Scriptures whereof is no mention made there.

You say also, that you will pass over in silence the commandment which James gave concerning confession. Truly you ought to have made no mention thereof, because that commandment cannot be restrained to priests only, but extendeth itself to all persons indifferently, and belongeth no less to com-

mon prayer, than to mutual confession, as is evident by James's own words.

Lastly, you say, *that you will not use these words wherewith Christ did manifestly commit unto priests the jurisdiction of the soul.* You do very well truly, that you will not use those places. I would to God you would not abuse them; but you do corrupt them foully, Osorius; and that laudable and wholesome order of the Apostles in remitting offences, which they used with prayers openly spoken in the name of our Lord Jesus, you do deprave with a certain authority of your own, in blind corners either for lucre of some powling pence, or for some other worse matters.

In a strange tongue ye send away the people that come unto you, nothing amended, nay, rather oftentimes more apt to devise mischief; surely for the more part much more corrupted, rather than amended. I do not lie, Osorius, although you stomach my words: daily practice, and common experience, and the perpetual history of all ages, will witness the same to be true. And being here destitute of divinity, you hawk for other helps abroad, and you range to two virtues, very godly ones I promise you, yet such as they be, as far wide from your forged confession as heaven is distant from the earth.

You suppose it a goodly matter, that we do know ourselves. And so it is indeed: you commend humility much, and I agree with you therein; but from whence come these unto us? Out of friars' cowls, or priests' wide sleeves, or from the bosom of God the Father? from whom "every good and perfect gift is delivered unto us." (James, i.) Peruse you the Psalms of David xxii. xxx.; what shall you find in them but submission, humility, knowledge and abasing of a man's self? and yet that Prophet of God did not learn them of your priests, but of the

Creator of all things, God our most loving and
tiful Father; of that same great and mighty
(I say), who pronounceth of himself, saying,
hold therefore that I, even I, I say, am the
Lord, and that there is no God besides me; I d
and I make alive again; I do make the wounc
I will heal again, &c." (Deut. xxxii.) Wherefo
must obey James, who pronounceth in this ma
"Humble yourselves in the sight of the Lord
he will exalt you."

But wherefore bring you these things seve
The whole discourse and tenour of the Scriptures
teach humility and submission of minds; it bre
obstinacy, it abateth pride, and tameth arrog
And yet Osorius, a divine and a bishop, doth le
away from the Scriptures, and will thrust us
market confession, to gather precepts of goo
from massmongers and cowled friars. O blind
of the blind! It is no marvel truly, though yo
your sheep of Silvain fall both together int
ditch.

But at the length he bringeth forth an inv
argument, and doth testify of himself in e
and as it were with protestation, *That th
Ghost hath wrought all that goodness tha
him, by the mean of confession.* He doth
confess, that confession hath been his
mistress, and nurse of all his godliness, i
that he hath not one sparkle of the love
(for so he speaketh), besides that which l
revealed unto him by illumination of this
fession.

First of all, Master Doctor, I am easily
this to be true that you speak of yourself
I am ashamed, and weary of you, that
gether so hanged upon confession, tl
prayers, nor study, nor precepts of holy

have prevailed in any respect to induce your mind to godliness, being a grey-headed divine, a man of threescore years almost. Then also, I cannot but believe, that either you have been a very block-headed scholar, or that your masters of confession were very unlucky, which in so many years, after so much buzzing in their ears, after so many conferences of godly matters, could work nothing else in you than to shape a mad bishop of a senseless priest.

Epicurus, as you know, was accustomed to glory that he had never instructor in philosophy: I believe it, quoth Cicero; for if you had been taught any thing at all, you would never have written so absurdly. Even in like manner may I believe no man better than Osorius himself, that he never had any other schoolmasters besides confession; for of a wicked and corrupt schoolmaster is hatched a proud and haughty scholar, standing in his own light, a despiser of all others, an importunate brawler, a prattling sophister, a shameless railer, an unmeasurable slanderer, and a perverter of the holy Scriptures and true godliness.

How much better had it been for you, if you had had less conference with massmongers, and been more acquainted with St. Paul! He would have instructed you in all sobriety, modesty, justice, piety, faith, charity, patience, and meekness (1 Tim. vi.); whereof you seem to have learned no tittle in all your sweet confessions, nor so much as heard, whether any such matter be, or ever have been; so far and wide doth both your speech and your reason dissent and disagree, as altogether estranged from them. Yet ye proceed notwithstanding, in this desperate travail of confession, which being staggering and ready to fall, you do underprop with works, lest it fall to the ground; for thus ye write:

Yet, notwithstanding, we do not so content ourselves

with this confession of sins; but that we exact frui of repentance, which we use to name satisfactions, word that you scorn at most insolently.—Behold th fine scholar of confession, so well polished in th school of his massmongers, that he hath learne that Christians are required to bring forth frui worthy of repentance. O deep and profound doc trine! as though any cobler or carter did ever deny or were ignorant in this point. But you have couple hereunto another new companion, a mere strang to Christian ears.

For you say, *that the fruits of repentance a named of you by this name, satisfactions.* I do kno very well, that your massmongers, friars, and school men, have thrust into the church this new wicke name of satisfaction; but I know this also, that yo have done this to your great shame and reproach for it is a manifest untruth, contrary to all hol Scriptures, contrary to the doctrine of the sacred an apostolic church, and contrary to the judgments c the approved ancient fathers.

But we do hear John (say you) *exhorting the which had confessed their faults, to bring forth frui worthy of repentance*; and you add, *that the sam words were repeated by that great master of righteou ness, the Redeemer of mankind.* I do confess thi Osorius: what conclude you hereof? We must brin forth fruits worthy of repentance; *ergo*, fruits worth of repentance must be named satisfactions. Curse be your confessors, Osorius, that could instruct yo no better in logic. Osorius hath sucked out c confession the rules of a good life; *ergo*, he must d nothing else. A very like conclusion; a fit whelp c that school where you were trained up.

But let us see if your satisfactions be not utterl overthrown with the same Scriptures wherewith yo think to establish them? John, pointing unto Chri

with his finger, "Behold (quoth he) the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world." John, i. If Christ take away the sins of the world, how can works satisfy? But hearken unto Christ himself, whom you do worthily name the great schoolmaster of righteousness: "When you have done all (saith he) that are commanded you, say yet, We are unprofitable servants, we did no more than we ought to do." (Luke, xvii.) Behold, we are unprofitable servants in the chiefest perfection of our works; *ergo*, your satisfactions are cold and nothing worth.

That pure and chosen vessel of God, Paul, doth teach in this manner: "I am not guilty of any thing, yet am I not justified hereby." (1 Cor. iv.) If Paul's undefiled conscience, clear of all crimes, were not available to justification, then of very necessity, all your own, and the satisfactions of all your sect, are lame and crippled. But let us learn of the same Paul, from whence true Christians ought to fetch full satisfaction and absolute perfection. "Christ (saith he) hath by one only oblation made perfect for ever them which are sanctified." This one only sacrifice of Christ, offered up in the altar of the cross, is our satisfaction, our perfection, and our witnessing, and shall be for ever not ours only, but of all those also which shall be made perfect in time to come. We do believe Paul, we do believe John, and we do believe Christ. If you do not believe these, there be other companions fit for you to company withal, namely, the Pharisees, which scorned Christ's preaching, unto whom he said, "You be they, which justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts; for that which is glorious in the sight of men, is abomination before God." (Luke, xvi.)

Take heed, Osorius, take heed, I say, that you be not of the number of those Pharisees, lest God abhor

you, and turn his face from your glorious satisfa tions, shine they never so gloriously in the sight men. You cavil after your old manner, I cann tell what, against the vanity of me, and our divine wherein I will not brawl with you, lest I fill whc volumes with superfluous matters, as you do; but will meet with you in those things only, where seemeth some matter of controversy. You bring very fit and elegant cause surely, whereby you woul shew, why we should not confess to God alone, bt rather flee out to your confessors.

For that God (you say) *cannot be so easily per ceived of us, he hath appointed his vicars on the earth which should exercise his authority; so that who woul refuse them, would refuse God himself, &c.*

First of all ye deny, that God can be clearly perceiv ed, as though the sight of God were necessary to th damnation of sinners. This is too, too lumpish, Osorio more fit for that cowled ass, your companion, tha for you. "No man ever hath seen God," nor ca see him; and yet, "through Christ, we do offe unto God the Father, the sacrifice of thanksgivin and magnify his holy name." (1 Tim. vi. Heb. xiii This matter appertaineth not to the sight of the eye it appertaineth to the mind, and inward feeling the soul, which, climbing unto God in hearty so row and sighing, is never thrown down from the b holding of his infinite goodness. "I live, saith th Lord, and take no pleasure in the death of a sinner but rather that the wicked convert from his wicke way, and live. Be ye converted therefore, be y converted from your wicked ways: wherefore wi ye die, O ye house of Israel?" (Ezek. xxxiii.) Wit like gentleness doth our Saviour Jesus Christ call u unto him: "Come unto me all ye that are lader and I will refresh you. I will give to them that ar thirsty, of the well of life freely."

And yet Osorius believeth, that because of the absence of Christ, vicars must be substituted. Paul taught us far otherwise, saying, "The Lord is near unto all them that call upon his name." Christ teacheth far otherwise of himself: "Behold, I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice and open unto me the gate, I will enter unto him, and will sup with him, and he with me." (Rev. iii.) O sweet and most comfortable voice of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which, if once it may be thoroughly rooted in the inward parts of our soul, will easily raze out and abolish that privy blind buzzing in the ears of those massmongers and friars.

But Osorius sticketh fast to his substitution, and maintaineth earnestly, that the Apostles were assigned to be Christ's vicars on earth, which should supply his jurisdiction, and should interlace their own definitive sentences with his. These are both false. God is a jealous God, and will not give his honour to any other. He hath appointed no vicar, and the holy Scripture doth acknowledge no such word; neither was it his will that the Apostles should intermeddle with his jurisdiction: your surmise is false, quite contrary to his heavenly prerogative. "For Christ only hath the keys of hell and death; Christ only is the slain lamb, and the lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, which openeth the book, and loseth the seven seals thereof; neither was there any besides him in heaven, in earth, or under the earth, that could open the book and look into it." (Rev. i. v.) Our Lord Jesus being raised from death, and appearing unto his Apostles, spake unto them in this manner: "All power is given unto me in heaven and earth." (Matt. xxviii.) Of this power was never not impaired in any respect, and never shall be. What was the commission of the Apostles then? Christ himself doth open it in the self-same place: "Go ye

therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all those sayings which I have commanded you." This was the embassy of the Apostles; this was their commission and jurisdiction; or, to speak more plainly and bluntly, this was their function, this was their office; to this authority the keys of heaven, and remission of sins, and whatsoever else of the same kind, must be applied: St. Paul doth comprehend all these briefly in these words, "Let men so esteem us, as ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God." (2 Cor. iv.)

You be not vicars then, Osorius, you be ministers; ye be not judges to constitute laws (as you do wickedly take upon you), but ye be stewards to dispose the mysteries of God, or, at the least, you ought to be. But how belongeth this doctrine of Christ and his Apostles to your massmongers and confessors? They have another Romish doctrine, whereby they do deceive the silly rude people, running in heaps unto them, rehearsing their sins privily, and in some close corner, superstitiously; and when they have uttered what them listeth, they pronounce over them, of their own power, an absolution in a strange language; and, instead of satisfaction, they do enjoin them some fasting days, or some long pilgrimages; and to make an end of the play, they pick from them a few pence for their labour.

This is your usurped power of confessions, Osorius, which you affirm was given first to the Apostles, afterwards to you, by a certain title of succession. Tell me now, did you ever read that any thing was whispered into the Apostles' ears privily? or that sins were severally repeated? or the people absolved by their own absolute power? or any thing done in a language not understood? or any penance (as you

torn it) enjoined? or at the last, any reward taken? What unshamefacedness is this! what impiety is it to defend this close, superstitious, and mercenary ear-confession, under pretence of the authority of our Saviour Christ, and example of his Apostles? especially whenas none of these was ever instituted by Christ, or frequented of his Apostles. But your brains are so bewitched and intoxicated with ear-confessions, that ye shame not to allege other stuff, yet which is most absurd of all the rest. You say, *that it is dangerous for men to be left in their own liberty, when they should confess themselves to God. For if it were so, we would not willingly yield to that abasing and throwing down of ourselves which David named to be the most acceptable sacrifice to God.*

You do hear and acknowledge your own words, my lord, than the which I never heard any thing uttered more blockish. The matter shall be made manifest by the same example of David, which yourself do allege. David being a patriarch, a king, and a prophet, and a man according to God's heart (to use the words of the Scripture), was, notwithstanding, continually exercised in this kind of confession, which is betwixt God only and us, in whom there is such store of sorrowing, sighing, lamenting, weeping, afflicting, and bewailing, as the like hath never been in all your secret whisperings, no, not since the first whelping of the same. For what else is there in all that heavenly and golden Psalm of David's prayer, than a mournful and lamentable confession of sin, joined with hearty repentance, and sure hope of pardon? "Be merciful to me, O Lord (saith he), according to thy manifold mercies; wash me thoroughly from my wickedness, and cleanse me from my sins; for I do acknowledge my faults, and my sin is ever before me. Against thee only have I sinned and done wickedly in thy sight." (Psalm [illegible]

yet are they endued with such force and strength, that they may easily kill vipers, being haled out of the most inward entrails of the soul. Mark here, reader, this deep interpretation of this grave father, bishop, and divine. But what shall I reprehend in this old dotterel first? He resembleth confessors to suckling babes; by what reason? by what resemblance? by what likelihood?

Paul doth inform the ministers far otherwise; whom he requireth, amongst other things, "to hold fast the mystery of faith in a pure conscience;" then, "that a trial be had of them first, and after admitted to the ministry." (1 Tim. iii.) Both which are far beyond the age of childish simplicity; but the power to tread upon serpents and scorpions, was granted to the disciples of Christ as appertaining to their bodies, not to their souls, that they should be daily conversant among poison, without any impairing of their health; for even so doth our Lord Jesus promise them: "Behold, I give you power to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and upon all the force of the enemy; and nothing shall hurt you." (Luke, x.) So did Paul shake from his hand into the fire the viper, which by chance stuck fast upon him, being himself safe and whole, when all men did look that he should have swollen and burst in pieces. Wherefore this promise of Christ, whereby the health of the Apostles was preserved, that nothing might hurt them, cannot be so misturned, and wrested to the edifying of souls through confession; unless it be by you and your schoolmen, which in mid-day overspread all things with clouds, disguise all things licentiously at your own will, which change white black, and black white, that by such means the peevish and cold inventions of your commentaries may be imputed unto our charge.

In like manner, because God did place in the

firmament one great light, and another less, in the first creation of the world; ye will have this also to be almost an article of our faith, that hereof it came to pass, that the Pope is in degree above the Emperor. O passing wit! that can make of the sun a pope, and of the moon an emperor. But ye rout so soundly in these drowsy dreams, that you cannot be awakened out of them, and therefore I will leave you snorting in them, and will answer you of the true meaning of the prophecy, whereof you moved your question.

Isaiah the prophet doth in that place treat of the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and doth foreshew, that in that time shall peace and full tranquillity of all things be; which peace, after a prophetical manner, he doth beautify and make apparent, under allusions and variable figures, that by them we might be induced to have a better taste and feeling thereof.

And to express the same more plainly, I will recite that part of Isaiah from the beginning, which you have slightly run over. The prophecy is knit together in this phrase of words: "And there shall spring a branch out of the root of Jesse, and a blossom shall grow out of his roots, &c. upon whom the spirit of the Lord shall rest, &c." Then a little after: "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down by the kid." And again: "The bullocks, lions, and cattle, shall keep company together, so that a little child shall lead them. The cow and bear shall feed together, and their young ones shall lie together. The lion shall eat straw like the ox or the cow; the sucking babe shall have delight to the serpent's nest; and when he is weaned, he shall put his hand into the cockatrice den." (Isaiah, xi.) This much Isaiah, who did most eloquently describe unto us the coming of

Christ into the earth, flourishing to the great benefit of universal peace and public prosperity, by way of allusion to the concord and agreement of savage beasts accompanying together peaceably.

And because he would imprint the same more deeply into our inward senses, he is plentiful in comparisons and figures; among the which he bringeth in this comfortable similitude of the sucking babes desirous to play with the serpents; whereby he doth most manifestly express unto us, the happy estate of those days, and the wonderful clemency and innocency of Christ. All men may well know, that this was the true and unfeigned meaning of the prophecy, which will consider the purpose of the Prophet; and withal will know this also, that your fable thereof is very trifling, a meet lesson for your pelting school of confessors and schoolmen.

Now here is your goodly confession so gorgeously painted by you, which you affirm to be the queen of all Christian discipline, being in very deed (as you have set her out in stage) a most filthy handmaid of your schoolmen, and most pestilent bondslave of the Romish see.

Now come we to deal with you of the Supper of the Lord, which being of itself a most precious and sacred monument of our redemption, you have so defiled and corrupted with your traditions, that the true use thereof is almost utterly extinct; yet in the mean space, *you accuse us as violators of the majesty of this sacred sacrament, and that we have in the same I know not how heinously offended.* Which horrible accusation being inflamed with outrageous burning firebrands of sentences, if it be unfolded and thoroughly perused, will seem to savour of nothing at all, but of malicious smoke of your shameless railing.

You make a preface hereunto in some leaves, with

a great rabble of words, but altogether contrary to the matter, as, *that we do not conceive all the creatures of God by reason*; and a little after, you roll in your rhetoric, coming down to the fashioning of man's body, and the whole creation of the world; and herein because you will be accounted no small *Ciceronian*, you bestir yourself, and pack and stuff together a whole sample-full of Tully's own sentences; and, at length, with a long and laboursome talk, you conclude, that whereof no sensible man of our divines ever doubted, that is to say, that man's reason only must not be used to the conceiving of all the creatures of God, but that faith must be many times interlaced withal.

And last of all, you name our Lord Jesus Christ coming down unto us from heaven, and of his infinite mercy taking upon him our frail nature; the which you preach to exceed reason above measure. What say you, Osorius? What do you mean hereby? Who hath distempered you? You do suppose (I think) that ye write to stones and blocks, not to men. Who did ever doubt that there are as many things to be wondered at, as be creatures in nature? Let us behold all the works of God. Or what Christian person hath ever been found amongst us so blockish, and so void of perseverance, which doth not confess the coming down of Christ from heaven? and all the articles of our belief, to be unto us as secret and heavenly mysteries of our faith? Wherefore do you so wastefully lose your own and other men's time, in so evident, approved, and confessed matters? Why are you so mad in the introduction only of so great a matter, to make so long a discourse of maxims already manifest, and whereof our children cannot be ignorant?

Forsooth to this end I do it (you say), *herely to display your error, who do not comprehend the sa-*

crament of the eucharist by the mystery of faith, but esteem the same by reason only. That is false, my Lord, it is untrue; we do earnestly urge faith, we adjoin the Spirit, we do grant and defend it to be both a sacrament and a mystery also. You, on the other side, do pluck God out of heaven, contrary to the express article of our faith; and being plucked from thence (the Holy Ghost crying out against you in the Scriptures), you shut him up into bread, and being shut up therein, ye do transubstantiate him, and disguise him with your arguments and illusions of school-janglers chopt together, framed upon accidents, substances, quantities, and qualities; and to help your juggling, you borrow a point of Paul, clean contrary to the cause, viz. "He that hath not spared his own Son, but hath delivered him up for us all, how hath he not given us all things together with him?"

I would to God, Osorius, you did as firmly and sincerely believe this sentence of Paul, as we do; there would not then be such a swarm of ceremonies and superstitions in your church; there would not be such gadding on pilgrimages, and lying grovelling before images; neither should we see the vicar of God installed a lord over men's consciences, uttering his pardons of sins for a few pence; tossing and turmoiling the poor and wretched souls in the flames of purgatory; not enhancing market of the holy Scriptures, after his own pleasure. Lastly, your confessors and cowled generation of vipers would not esteem the worthiness of works, as a portion of our justification.

Yea, if you had believed Paul, you would never have admitted those poisoned monsters of religion, but would have confessed with us, that all things are given unto us, together with our Lord Jesus. But I pray you, what doth that sentence of Paul

avail to the exposition of the sacrament of the supper of the Lord? Truly nothing at all; yet this our goodly grave father turmoileth all things, confoundeth all things, not regarding what may be agreeable to the cause, but poureth out all things at hap-hazard, as they come into his vagrant quill.

Now followeth a decree of your own stamp, in these words: *I am of this opinion, that those persons which do profess the true faith, should consider nothing else herein, but how that thing that is decreed upon to be believed, may be agreeable to the goodness of God: that no man might doubt by any means the mystery of our redemption.* What speak you, Osorius? Shall we judge how agreeable any thing may be to the goodness of God? Who hath made us judges of the goodness of God, that we should determine what may be agreeable, and not agreeable to the same? But your tongue doth falter, for you would have said, the will of God; or you should have so said: as far forth as we can understand it; as far forth as the patriarchs, prophets, our Lord Jesus do, and his Apostles have revealed unto us by the sacred Scriptures; and if your decree tend to this effect, we will accept thereof. For we make no doubt of the power of God (although you falsely reproach us herein), but do grope after his divine will in his word, and do humbly apply all our actions thereunto, as far forth as the imbecility of our frail and weak nature will permit. And, therefore, teach you, I pray you, what thing God would have to be made in that sacrament, we will never inquire whether God be able to perform it; for when we are made assured of God's good will, we will acknowledge with all reverence and humbleness, his power, as meet is.

Next after your foolish and childish preface, enueth a very grievous accusation against Peter

Martyr; a meet hotch-pot for your confesso schoolmen, and friars; for if they had couched their noddles together, they could have vomit out scarcely half so much poison in so short a tim To make this matter somewhat plain of all par what manner of a thing it is, we will rip abroad l budget of tales, even as Osorius hath patched together.

These, therefore, are the words wherewi Osorius doth challenge the combat against the so of Peter Martyr: *O thou most wicked man, h came it into thy mind to handle that most sacred my tery?* I would to God my sweet Peter were al again, and did hear this frantic slander against hi Forsooth, he would easily suppress this brawli tongue with the chains of holy Scriptures, and ta your waywardness. Now, therefore, albeit G hath called him hence unto himself, let us imagi that he were alive, and in few words confuting yo accursed declamation after this manner:

First of all, how may I take this (reverend p late), that you being an old man, a divine, an bishop, at the first chop should call me most wick man? whereas I am not known unto you, nor h ever been seen of you, nor have deserved any e of you? Is this the brotherly love which Ch requireth of his disciples? Is this the mildness a modesty of a bishop, whereof Paul maketh mentio I have written (I confess it), and have spoken the common argument of religion as seemeth go unto me: I have not offended you in any thin neither have I had any disputation with you touc ing matters of religion; neither was any contenti betwixt us at any time.

Wherefore then do you storm against me so u civilly? why do ye call me most wicked, which ca not duly charge me with any wickedness at all? I

be it, that your manners are so naturally of an evil disposed inclination, that ye cannot choose but oppress your brother with infamous reproaches, whom of duty you ought gently have admonished being in error; why do ye heinously offend in the cause which you have undertaken, that you must needs stamp out so manifest a lie in the very beginning? for ye write, that the sacrament of eucharist is defaced, defiled, and perverted by me.

This is false, and you herein are injurious and slanderous. I call to witness mine own books; let them be brought forth and perused, and it shall evidently appear, that I have beautified this excellent sacrament with most honourable title, and have spoken thereof always with greatest reverence. But whereas you demand of me, and my masters, with what face we durst attempt so execrable a fact, contrary to so many former ages; and where you also demand if so many martyrs and so many religious men have strayed from the truth, and we only have seen the truth; truly I cannot conjecture what masters, what martyrs, and what religious men you do mean; neither do I presume any thing upon myself, nor do derogate from any other man; neither can I judge you to be sober enough, which in matter of nothing can gush out such a sea of idle words.

But you are come somewhat nearer the matter, and would be certified of me, *What great matter our Lord Jesus Christ did, if in his last supper he did leave nothing else unto us but a naked remembrance of his death?* In this question I turn you over to the Anabaptists, whose speeches are these: "A bare sign, bare bread, and bare remembrance;" which their nakedness of speech I do abhor and condemn as well as you. I do speak honourably, and judge most reverently, of the excellency of this godly sacrament. The sacrament is the most excellent

and effectual visible sign of invisible grace; the heavenly bread, mystical bread, the pledge and vessel of our redemption. Finally, it is the true body of our Lord Jesus Christ, even in the same manner as the true body of our Saviour may be present in a sacrament spiritually by faith and in a mystery.

Therefore away with those your bare signs, your bare remembrances. I call them yours, because they are your slanders, your manifest quarrels against me; for I do not acknowledge nor defend any such matter for mine. As often therefore as you do repeat the same (which you do very often), so often you do repeat not mine error, but your own lie. *You imagined in my writing very monstrous interpretations and absurd disputations.* Whereof I never thought of once so much as in my dream; all which come to this only effect, as if I had taught that nothing had been in the sacrament but a bare sign of Christ crucified for us; wherein you are very far wide, not only from the duty of a bishop and person of a divine, but also from the profession of a true Christian man; for you thrust unto me a bastard whelp as it were mine own; and the same also you toss topsy-turvy, from post to pillar, after your own will, as if it were mine. But this whelp is not mine; it is a bastard; I hate it and abhor it, and will forswear it also, if you will have me so do.

At the length you are come to the very bowels of the controversy, and do stoutly affirm, that the matter is most manifest, and prove the same with the words of Paul, "But let a man first prove himself, and so eat of that bread, and drink of that cup;" alleging also these words of our Lord Jesus, "This (saith he) is my body, do ye this in remembrance of me." *You will therefore that we should stand fast to these words, being so notable and evident, and accuse my wicked interpretation of Christ's words, and affirm*

that I do make none account of the meaning of Paul. Do I apply a wicked interpretation of Christ's most sacred words, Sir Jerome? Do I esteem the sense and mind of St. Paul of no value? Shew the place, recite the words, bring forth in the face of the world this heinous crime; that all men may abhor mine impudence, detest mine impiety, and spit at mine ignorance.

If you can discover nothing in so notorious an escape; if you exclaim against me without cause; if you be clamorous without reason; if none of all these be in me, but if it be your foul and unshamefaced slander; what manner of Christian, what divine, and what kind of bishop shall men surmise you to be? Now I will return to your allegations, whereby (to deal in plain and open terms with you), if upon those words you will have it concluded that Christ is truly delivered in the sacrament, to the true believers, in faith and spirit, I will not gainsay you; but if you mean to ground the foundation of your gross and idolatrous transubstantiation upon the same (whereof you make mention a little after), I must needs tell you, that I do utterly dissent from you and your masters the schoolmen herein; and do so nothing refuse to debate this controversy by the very self-same testimonies which you have alleged, that I do rather desire and most earnestly require the same.

This is therefore the sentence of Paul, "Let a man examine himself, and so eat of that bread and drink of that cup." (1 Cor. xi.) Which word "*bread*," Paul, through the whole discourse of that chapter, once, twice, yea many times doth inculcate, whereby it appeareth plainly, that when a man hath tried himself to the uttermost, when he hath done all that appertaineth to the due receiving of the sacrament, he must yet at the last eat *bread*. So that

after your consecrations, *bread* remaineth; and nevertheless the sacrament, yea *bread*, remaineth even to the last; wherefore the substance of the material *bread* cannot pass into an heavenly substance (as you do imagine), for *bread* cannot remain material *bread* without the substance of *bread*; no, nor be surmised by thought to be *bread*.

Paul doth sundry times call the sacrament *bread*. But natural *bread* is not the body of Christ. *Ergo*, the sacrament cannot be the natural body of Christ. I do speak here even of the consecrated *bread*, as you call it; or, as Paul calleth it, the *bread* which is blessed. Whereof Paul hath an infallible sentence in his Epistle to the Corinthians, i. 10: "The bread which we break, is it not the partaking of the body of Christ?" This sacramental *bread*, therefore, after blessing, when it is taken to be eaten, is even then *bread*, and broken as natural *bread*. *Ergo*, it loseth not its natural substance, nor is transubstantiated into the natural body of Christ, as you use to speak monstrously in a monstrous manner.

How then (say you) *doth Paul call bread the participation of the body of Christ?* Forsooth, in the same manner, in the which a little before he doth call Christ a spiritual rock. "They did all drink (saith Paul) of one spiritual rock which followed them, and the same rock was Christ;" and by and by after, is set down in the same chapter, "We many are one bread and one body." In both which we do acknowledge the most wholesome and familiar speech of the Holy Ghost, but cannot acknowledge your monstrous and newfangled transubstantiation. To this purpose are the words of our Saviour Christ to be applied: "This is my body which is delivered for you, do ye this in remembrance of me." For the latter part doth explain the first part of the sentence most expressly.

For if the transubstantiated bread should contain itself the very natural body of Christ, hanged upon e cross, and thrust into the side for us (as you do ám), what needed then so often a rehearsal to be ide unto us of the remembrance of his body; ecially the body itself being present and subject our senses, and daily handled in our hands? But asmuch as our Lord Jesus, in the sight of the ostles (and the angel declaring the same), did end up into the heavens, and sitteth there now the right hand of his Father; of his infinite rcy he hath left behind him this most fruitful d most healthful sacrament unto our use; by the eiving whereof we might be exceedingly comted, and should imprint deeply in our memory, d reserve inviolably the lively and effectual rememance of his most bitter death and passion apperining to the safety of our souls.

Now if any man doubt whether this be so or no, t him hear our Lord Jesus in the gospel of St. hn, so plain and perfect an interpreter of himself, at nothing can be added to make it appear more anifest. "My flesh (saith our Lord Jesus) is eat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed: he that teth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, the same velleth in me, and I in him." Many therefore of s disciples hearing this, said, "This is an hard sayg, who can abide it? But Jesus, knowing within mself that his disciples did murmur at this saying, id unto them, Doth this offend you? then what you shall see the Son of man ascending where he as before? It is the Spirit that giveth life; the flesh ofiteth nothing at all; my words are spirit and life." ohn, vi.) Your speech is a hard speech, Osorius: is a hard speech of transubstantiating the bread to the natural body of Christ. Touching the rnal and fleshly eating of Christ's body, your say-

ing is hard, yea as hard as iron; who can hear or abide it?

Let us here take our Lord Jesus to be the expositor of his own words, who doth so attemper and mollify this his speech, being in outward appearance most hard of all other, with a most sweet interpretation, as that nothing can be thought more mild and more apt for our consolation. Be not offended at my words, saith our loving Lord and most sweet Saviour Jesus; for I must ascend up unto my Father, from whence I did descend unto you at the first, and my body I must needs take up with me, which you may not from henceforth handle here on the earth; therefore, in this case, to wit, to conceive this mystical eating of my flesh, which I have commended unto you, behoveth of very necessity that you be endued with a spiritual understanding. "For it is the Spirit that doth quicken; the flesh profiteth nothing at all:" that is to say, the spiritual feeding upon my body which is given for you, shall nourish you to life everlasting; but that fleshly eating, which doth trouble you so much, profiteth nothing at all.

At the last our Lord Jesus concludeth this place wholly unto them in this wise: "The words that I do speak unto you are spirit and life." The words which Christ spake of the eating of his flesh are spiritual. The flesh profiteth nothing at all, if we may believe our Lord Jesus speaking of himself. Let us therefore take hold of that quickening Spirit which may make us partakers of everlasting life, being authorized hereunto by Christ himself; and since you cannot digest this sweet and comfortable food of the heavenly table, by faith and spirit, we will leave that other carnal and gross banquet of the transubstantiated bread to you and to your Capernaites.

You see now whereunto your testimonies, that

[illegible] so much, are come at the last; whose authority I do not refuse, but reverence them, and [illegible] that your transubstantiation is overthrown [illegible] utterly brought to nought by conferring these two sentences with the other process of the text. [illegible] I alone of this judgment in the interpretation of these places. For St. Augustine, writing [illegible] John, allegeth the same sentence in express [illegible] of speech. Tertullian also pronounceth the [illegible] most evidently, in his Treatise upon the Distribution of the sacramental Bread; which two have [illegible] always accounted learned and ancient authors.

You press me with a whole forest full of slanders, affirming, *that this sacrament is foully deformed by me, the body and blood of Christ is trodden under feet, the power and force of this wonderful sacrament is [illegible] and utterly extinct by me.* I demand of you again what my words be? where these botches do lurk in my books? what I have written? what I have done? where and by what means? I am ready either to repulse your error, or to confess mine own. If I have committed any such fault, I crave no pardon. But if there be no such matter, if it be rather all contrary, if mine innocency be blameless herein, I call to witness God and man, heaven and earth, against that most wicked tongue, which hath practised falsely to condemn the credit of your brother, with so grievous an accusation, and so horrible a crime.

Fie, fie, Osorius! what unbridled licentiousness of scorpion-like sting is this, to make guilty of the body and blood of Christ, your natural brother, that hath not offended you! as though he had written that which he never wrote; as though he had done that which he never did; as though you have affirmed that which you do not prove, nor can ever justify; nay, rather which you have not endeavoured

to prove; for what have you alleged of mine? what words, what sentences have you noted out of my writing? Lastly, what one thing have you explained, whereby you may not be adjudged of all men, a most shameless slanderer and notorious railer?

Your process that ensueth is stuffed full with demands, wherein, albeit I did pity your singular amazedness very much, yet could I scarce hold my laughter in them, they were so cold, so frivolous, so variable, and, to speak my mind at a word, so altogether like Osorius himself. Your first question is, *That though mine eyes are so dazzled in matters of divinity, that I cannot conceive that wonderful change of earthly bread into the nature of heavenly bread, yet why I would notwithstanding with quarrelling pervert so wonderful a benefit of God.* Truly I do confess, right reverend prelate, that mine eyesight hath been always so dim, that I could never discern this your counterfeit transubstantiation.

But I ought to have been pardoned herein, because it hath been a general disease and blindness of all times, of all ages, and of all nations. The Apostles never saw so foolish a thing. The ancient fathers could never discern so cloudy a forgery; at the last Satan opened the eyes of your schoolmen, and made them so sharp-sighted, that in distinctions, eccities, and quiddities, they could many times easily see that thing which was no where at all. This kind of people, enlumined by the prince of darkness, furnished in the authority of the Lateran council, and Innocentius, pope of Rome, not much above three hundred years past, did raise out of hell this newfangled monster of transubstantiation.

Even then, when that council had sat abroad, transubstantiation began first to peep out of the shell, being never heard of before any where, nor known so much as by any name. Why then do ye upbraid

me with blindness so sharply, since yourself (I say), yourself do know, that all the world was as blind as I, before that Lateran council? But do you as ye list, I for my part will continue blind still, with Christ, with the Apostles, with the ancient fathers, with all the commendable company of godly divines, in this labyrinth of transubstantiation, rather than I will acquaint myself with so monstrous a frame-shapen, new-start-up puppet, with your school-janglers, confessors, and lousy friars.

But you begin here to wax very hot and testy, and spur questions at me on all sides. *What is it* (you say) *that you do understand? what do you conceive in your mind and reasons? Lastly, what is it that your understanding doth feel and know?* I will tell you, my good father, and without any choler, I promise you, if you will hear me patiently. First, I do see that you do childishly wander in this bitter talk, that demand one and the self-same thing in three several distinct questions. Then I do also plainly see, that you are so doltish and blockish a patron of transubstantiation, that ye cannot with any honesty open your pack amongst your own pedlers. But you never cease demanding.

You ask me what doth trouble me in the mystery of the sacrament? Truly, nothing at all, grave prelate, troubleth me there, but your unmeasurable unskilfulness in so great a mystery, which is no small reproach to your profession and dignity; yea, and to your gray hairs also. But ye will know more yet: *Whether I do mistrust the power or the clemency of God?* Neither of both, fine-witted gentleman. No more do I trust yourself, nor yet your transubstantiation, because ye go about to throw it upon us contrary to the meaning of the holy Scriptures; in which God the Father hath most fully declared unto us his power

and will by his Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesu Christ.

Lastly, ye demand, *What the cause should be why I should think wherefore you should believe that the body and blood of Christ is contained in the sacrament by a wonderful mean, and that I myself cannot believe the same? whereunto you annex this, that in wit and learning ye do far surmount me.* It is a very hard matter, holy father, to descry any peculiar cause which moveth you to believe and defend transubstantiation; but I will guess somewhat nearer the chiefest. Forsooth, you are addicted wholly to your school-triflers and confessors, but very little to the Scriptures; by means whereof it is come to pass, that ye skip over the open oracles of truth, and are entangled in the net of error; peradventure also ye are become an apprentice to the Romish see, and ye mean to procure with the pretty merchandise of your pedler's pelf some cardinal's hat.

It may likewise be, that for countenance sake ye will face out your false pack with a card of ten, because ye think it will impair the credit of your gray hairs to be overseen in any thing. Besides all these, custom perhaps of many years had made your judgment rotten before it was ripe, as men use to say of common liars, which redouble a lie so often, that by their often rehearsal believe it to be true at the length; even so may you think to establish the countenance of your imagined transubstantiation, by alleging in defence thereof a continual allowance of long time. If none of all these have moved you, I think surely overmuch pride hath blinded you; wherewith ye swell in such sort, that you dare boldly, without blushing, make vaunt of yourself more like unto a bragging Thraso, or, if any thing can be more vain than Thraso, than like a divine.

For you do not exceed me in wit (say you), *nor excel me in learning.*

Truly, I will not compare myself with you, nor with any other person; neither do I profess myself to know any thing at all, but Jesus Christ, and him also crucified. As for you, if one drop of Christian humility or civil modesty were in you, so haughty a brag of your brave wit and learning would never have escaped you. Consider with yourself in good earnest, my holy father, this your foolish communication, and learn somewhat of Christian humility, lest Almighty God, besides this your most unsavoury error of transubstantiation, add a more heavy plague upon you for your unmeasurable arrogance.

You accuse me that I do trust too much to my natural senses, but that you do direct all the course of your life to the faith of the church; and that I shake off from my shoulders the yoke of Christ, but you take it upon you; and that I do forsake the benefits of God, but that you do lean steadfastly to faith. All which are clean contrary. For you apply your senses to the understanding of transubstantiation; whereby you will have Christ to be felt, to be tasted, and to be swallowed down into the stomach; but I, according to the doctrine and approved use of the true catholic and apostolic church, do utterly renounce senses, accidents, substances, and transformations, and do advisedly behold and comprehend in my mind, the sacrament, the mystery, and the Spirit.

You cast away the yoke of Christ, and embrace the licentious outrage of the Romish bulls. I am a poor miserable exile of Christ, and his afflicted servant; you do chop and change the benefits of Christ with the peevish trinkets of your schoolmen. I do search for the true doctrine of Christian faith in the most approved preachings of Christ and his Apostles. *You do snarl at my conversation of life as if it were*

The same is perceived by the daily custom
disciples, which, after Christ was taken up int
ven, did continually persevere together in th
trine of the Apostles, and in participation and
ing of bread and prayers; as appeareth by these w
"Upon a day of the Sabbath, when the disciple
together to break bread, &c." (Acts, ii. 20) A
Jerome, awake; you do hear the Holy Ghost
bread; and because you should not doubt th
you hear it again and again, yea, and broken
and this much more ye find, that the discip
Christ continually remained in this holy custom.
yet it was not bare *bread*, as you do wickedly d
my sayings therein; but it was mystical
sacred *bread*; finally, it was the participation
body of Christ; in the same manner as the bo
Christ may be delivered in a sacrament, by faith
Spirit.

Therefore, forasmuch as our Lord Jesus ha
instituted this sacrament, to the everlasting re
brance of his death and passion; since Paul
make mention of the said institution after the
manner; since the ancient fathers have applied
doctrine to the same sense; since the primitive
apostolic church hath confirmed the same with
petual custom; awake, Jerome, at the length
shame, awake if you can, and rid your stoma
that drunken school-surfeit of transubstantia
which neither Christ did ordain, nor Paul ack
ledged, nor the fathers ever thought of, nor ye
apostolic church did ever meddle withal.

It is a new-devised mockery, founded first b
nocentius, proclaimed by school-janglers, scat
abroad by Satan, to the rooting out of the tru
membrance of Christ from out our souls, to the
overthrow of the power of that everlasting sac
of the cross; lastly, to the erecting of a dam

idol in our minds, supplying the place of Christ himself, to be worshipped of us.

For what else meaneth this your transubstantiated bread, so much adorned with all ceremony of religion? so reverently carried abroad? so superstitiously reserved and kept in a box? lastly, so blasphemously holden up to the gaze, and worshipped? Did Christ our Saviour do or teach ever, at any time, any of all these? did Paul? did the first and primitive church? did the ancient fathers? Christ gave *bread* to his disciples; Paul pronounced it by the name of *bread*, once, twice, thrice; the apostolic church brake *bread* in the remembrance of Christ's death, and persevered in the same custom; the fathers name it *bread*, and a sacrament, a mystery, and a figure of Christ's body: and yet Pope Innocentius, coming lately out of hell with a detestable superstition and horrible sacrilege, doth transubstantiate this mystical *bread* into our Saviour Jesus Christ.

There followed him certain fantastical schoolmen, which did most wickedly defile the pure supper of our Lord with dirty school-dregs: and now at the length starteth up our Osorius, a brave champion of these school-trumperies; Jerome Osorius, I say, that great master in Israel, a deep and incomparable divine, whom no man exceedeth in wit, nor surmounteth in learning, if a man may believe him as he reporteth himself.

Wherefore I would now ask one question (good master Proctor) of you, of this transubstantiation, whether our Lord Jesus Christ, when he did first institute the sacrament of the eucharist, did make any mention in his speech of any removing of the substance of bread? of the accidents that should remain? or whether the substance of his body should supply the substance of *bread?* Did Paul teach any of these? did the primitive and apostolic church

receive any such thing? have the ancient fathers made mention of any such matter in their books?

Since, therefore, this your wonderful conversion of the substance of *bread* into the body of Christ (which your schoolmen by a more gross name call transubstantiation) hath been shapen and forged out of these monasteries, whereof not so much as one tittle can be found in the holy Scriptures, in the custom of the Apostles, in the books of ancient fathers; it is a wonderful strange matter that a bishop, so exquisite in divinity as you are, or would seem to be, would yet undertake so desperate a cause, and obtrude upon us such cold school-dreams, instead of most apparent and known things.

Ye see now how pithily my Peter Martyr hath answered you in all things, whose soul you would not have teased to quarrel, if you had had any wit: for he was worthily esteemed an excellent divine among the chiefest divines of our age; whose scholar you might have been in all knowledge and literature, except your eloquence only in the Latin tongue.

But you do leave our Peter now at the length, whom if you had never provoked, you had done better; so needed you not to do me so great injury, as to challenge me for my familiar acquaintance with him: for, if you think that ye may, with your honesty, keep company and use friendly familiarity with that doltish calf Angreme, having no utterance, no wit, no sense, and no understanding; why should not I rather acquaint myself with a man not only excellent in learning, but replenished with all comeliness and civility of manners?

Make choice of your familiars, Osorius, as you please; suffer me to enjoy mine own: neither is it reason that you should limit me, or I you, in this kind of affairs; humanity, and common course of man's life, requireth, that choice be made of friend-

ship as liketh of each man's own judgment best, and not to be ruled by other's fantasies. Be not you queamish, therefore, at the commendations of godly and learned men, my special friends, Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr; I loved them when they lived, I will not forget them being dead; I frequented their familiarity whiles they lived as much as I might; their names and remembrance of them, though they be dead, I will defend as much as I may; and if they were now alive, I would esteem more of a whole year's conference with them than of one day with you; for their conversation had a certain discreet pleasantness, their conference had a wholesome wisdom, the whole course of their demeanour was a most absolute pattern of honesty and godliness: and I am thoroughly persuaded that nothing could have advanced my estimation (such as it is) more than mine acquaintance and familiarity with these two godly fathers.

You come at the length to our church, the orders thereof you do captiously snatch at; but this ye do so disorderly and stammeringly, that all men may judge that ye did rave at it in your dream, rather than dispute being awake. I affirmed, that faith came by hearing. What say you? Is it not so? I said also, that our preachers are sent abroad into all the coasts of our realm, to teach the common people their duties in all things. What? will you deny this to be done? You cannot; the matter is manifest: but you exclaim and say, that our preachers are Lutherans, Bucerans, and Calvinists.

First of all, how know you this to be true? Then, if it be so, let the names go; confute their doctrine if you can. But this lesson you learned of your cowled cuckows, to brawl always with bare names, when you cannot overthrow a syllable of their doctrine. Your mastership will not allow *that our Parliament*

and public assembly of the realm should intermeddle with matters of religion, for herein ye suppose that the dignity of priests is impaired. First, what thing can be publicly received, unless it be proclaimed by public authority? Then, our prelates and ecclesiastical fathers do propound the rules of religion; after that the prince, with the consent of the whole estates, does ratify the same. What may be done more orderly, or more circumspectly? This custom was observed in the time of the kings of Israel. This usage prevailed in all councils until that Romish hierarch had burst in sunder these laws with his false ambitious picklocks, and had commanded all things to be subject to his absolute power.

I wrote also, that there was great reverence given to the holy Scriptures in our churches, and that unity and the bond of peace was wonderfully preserved. You demand, on the other side, *from whence so troublesome contentions in opinions are raised in our churches?* Shew what contentions there be, and we will satisfy your request: but if you will not or cannot, hold your tongue, most wicked railer, and require not to be believed for your only affirmative's sake. Deal in this manner with your charge of Silvan, for ye shall obtain nothing here but by mere force of argument.

I did affirm, likewise, that our divine service is ministered with us in the mother and vulgar tongue, according to Paul's doctrine, and the approved custom of the apostolic church. What say you to this? Forsooth you cannot like it, because it is repugnant to the ordinance of Rome, and yet you cannot well deny so manifest a truth; for St. Paul did establish this doctrine of the Holy Ghost with so many and so strong arguments, as though he did, even then, foresee in mind that some such erroneous botches would infect our religion, that by such means they

might blot out, and utterly extinguish out of our churches, this most fruitful worshipping of God, being the very foundation of all Christian godliness.

And therefore this godly man, and most excellent servant of God, Paul, travaileth very earnestly in this place, partly by course of nature, partly by reason, partly by examples, partly by similitudes, to prove that common prayers should be ministered in churches in the vulgar and known language; and herein is so plentiful and so abundant, and useth so many infallible arguments, that if the whole swarm of school janglers, and friars, and cowled generation, did conspire together, they were not able to abide the force and strength of his disputation; and therefore Osorius, craftily cloaking this matter, slideth away from thence to the vices of men: *and saith that some of our preachers are puffed up with pride of their science, many of them be entangled in snares and difficulties, and doubtful questions.*

This is true, and this also is as true, that there is a great rabble of false Christians, amongst whom our Doctor Jerome seemeth chieftain and standard-bearer; which call light darkness, and darkness light; which forbid wedlock, deny lawful use of meats; observe days and months, years and minutes of times; which are turned to the naked and beggarly elements; enemies of the cross of Christ, and slow bellies: and yet may not godly men be defrauded of the Gospel, because such lurdanes do abuse the holy Scriptures, to their lust and filthy lucre; for our Lord Jesus Christ doth thunder with manifold curses against such Pharisees, masters of ignorance and darkness, saying, "Wo be to you, lawyers, for you have taken away the key of knowledge, and have not entered in yourselves; and those that would have entered in you have forbidden." (Luke, xi.)

And again, "Wo be to you Scribes and Phari-

sees, hypocrites: for you shut fast the kingdom of heaven from men, whereunto you enter not yourselves, nor will suffer others to enter in that would enter." (Matt. xxiii.)—You are a bishop, Osorius, you have the keys of knowledge, or ought to have; but you keep it close and hide it, and will not suffer it to be opened to yourself nor to others. You are a shepherd of Christ's flock, or you ought to be; you lock fast the Gospel (wherein is the kingdom of God) from your sheep; and enter not yourself, nor will suffer others to enter. This is dangerous, this is damnable; you are accursed by the very mouth of our Lord and Saviour Jesu Christ, yea even by the testimony of your own mouth, Osorius.

For after your long, idle, and counterfeit devices, imagined upon the words of Paul, you conclude at length in this manner: "*Paul doth not forbid to use strange language; yet he doth prefer and commend prophesying, that is to say, the expounding of the will of God, and the manner of edifying of the church.* If Paul do prefer prophesying more, why do you not embrace it? If Paul would have the congregation to be edified, why do you practise to destroy them? If Paul, of an infinite love, do command all things to be expounded in churches by an interpreter, by what tyranny do you procure all things to be kept in covert in churches; and the people to be defrauded in all things of understanding by means of strange tongues? For it is true, indeed, that you say, that to speak with tongues is allowed of Paul, if you admit also an interpreter which may express the meaning of the tongues; but it is false that strange languages shall be received in congregations without an interpreter.

For this speaketh Paul: "If a man speak with tongues, let the same be done by two, or, at the most, by three, and so by turns, and let one inter-

pret: if there be no interpreter, let him hold his peace in the congregation, or let him speak to himself and to God." (1 Cor. xiv.) Saint Paul commandeth strange languages to be silent in the congregation, if there be no interpreter: let us therefore obey him, or rather the Holy Ghost speaking in him, with all humility, and banish from us this chattering chough of languages to his confessors and cowled generation.

But we cannot so drive away this importunate flesh-fly from the godly banquets of souls, for he is always buzzing about them, and at the last fleeth to this desperate carrion, *That this doctrine of Paul was but for a time, and enjoined to be received to the Corinthians, and not of us, because we are not so apt to be taught therein, as they were, and are also more inclined to arrogancy.* Doth this kind of exposition please you, Osorius? and will you be accounted a divine and a bishop in this your divinity; to say that the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, in matters of faith, in things eternal, in ordinances assured and permanent, not in any part changeable in themselves, is but a doctrine for a time? Our Lord Jesus commandeth otherwise; "Search the Scriptures (saith he); the same be they which bear record of me."

How shall we search that which we do not understand, or how shall we receive testimony in a tongue unknown unto us? There is a commandment of God the Father from heaven, "This is my beloved Son; hear ye him." (Luke, iii.) And how shall we hear him except he speak unto us in a known tongue? The Lord Jesus commandeth us to "watch and to pray," yea, to do the same continually, for that we know not in what hour he will come. What, therefore, shall we pray in an unknown language? Truly, if it be so, the spirit shall pray, but the soul shall receive no fruit thereof by the evident testimony of

Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. When I name the spirit, I do mean thereby, the breath that issueth out of the mouth; for so doth Paul interpret it in that place.

Did our Lord Jesus use a known or strange language, when he taught the Apostles the form of prayer? Lastly, I demand of you whether you can find one syllable in the whole doctrine of the primitive church, or whether any remembrance or use of this praying in a strange tongue, was frequented in the time of the Apostles? I add hereunto, that after the opinion of St. Augustine, prayer is nothing else than a communication betwixt us and Almighty God. What request then shall we make unto God the Father for our necessities when we understand not what we ask? No sober man will seem so frantic before men, much less will he trifle so perniciously with God.

That foul mouth, Osorius, that foul mouth, therefore, would be choked up with everlasting infamy, which, contrary to the manifest doctrine of the Holy Ghost, contrary to the received custom of the apostolic churches, contrary to nature, to reason, and contrary to all feeling of common capacity, will avow, that prayers ought to be made in the congregation in strange and unknown tongues.

You demand further of me, why we have committed the interpretation of Scripture to all carters and porters? I ask of you likewise, with what face you could write so unshamefaced a lie in your paper? *You say, that all order is subverted with us, for that all are pastors, all are prophets, all are teachers; and thereupon that confusion of all things doth ensue amongst us.* Both these are false, Osorius; and it becometh you nothing at all, being a bishop, and an old man, to imagine all things so licentiously and disorderly in the face of the whole world, after your own fantasy.

Yet make you no end of demanding; *and therefore you desire to know, what we did lack at any time heretofore to the sober discipline of good minds?* There lacked both the Old and the New Testament, which is the only instrument of the health of our souls, being close locked fast from us by the wicked practice of your confessors, and friars, and monks. We wanted godly pastors, and especially good bishops, unlike unto you, which should have fed the flock of Christ committed to their charge, with that heavenly food of the holy Scriptures, according to Christ's own institution. (John, xxi.)

And yet ye demand once again, *Whether we wanted learned priests, who could deliver out so much of the holy mysteries as was needful, which, without danger, might have been expounded to unlearned men?* What is this that you say, Osorius, so much as is needful? Do you believe, that in the Scriptures is any thing too much? Will ye prescribe any bounds or limits to the Holy Ghost? Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was of another mind, who spake in this manner; "Man doth not live by bread only, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God. (Luke, iv.) Your meaning is, that some taste be taken only of the holy Scriptures: Christ commandeth us to be instructed in every word; you teach that men should warily touch so much of the heavenly doctrine, and as far forth as may be without danger. But the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of Paul, teacheth far otherwise, in these words: "All Scripture inspired by the Holy Ghost, is profitable to teach, to admonish, to reprove to instruction which is in righteousness, that the man of God may be made perfect, and prepared to all good works." (2 Tim iii.)

Paul doth commend unto us all heavenly Scripture, and judgeth that we ought to be instructed with the same unto all perfection of godliness. *It pleaseth*

Osorius that so much only be taken as may be delivered without danger. O blasphemous tongue! do you fear jeopardy in the doctrine of the Holy Ghost? Do you think that there is too much in the Scriptures, or any thing needless that may be cut off and left out?

But this foolish demander proceedeth yet forwards, and inquireth, *If heretofore wanted any that might supply the place of the unlearned, that might pronounce this word, Amen.* Truly, I dare not term you by the name of an idiot, my lord, being a stately prelate and a profound divine; but I shall not do amiss if I call you a plain blockish ass. Paul commandeth all doctrine and all prayer to be uttered in the congregation in a known tongue, that all the people, understanding the matter, may say Amen. You, instead of the whole congregation, do appoint some one idiot, or unlearned parish-clerk, to utter this word, Amen.

But I beseech you, with what reason, by what custom, with what argument do you prove your assertion? except you will object unto us the monstrous rabble of your cowled generation, and confessors, late upstarts, whose wickedness and ignorance we do condemn as execrable and abominable. At the last our St. Jerome concludeth, *That errors, uproars, pride, and a thousand other discommodities, are wont to ensue by the understanding of Scriptures.* These do so indeed, as you say, Osorius; but they come from the devil, they proceed out of the dirty puddles of your massmongers, confessors, and monks: not from the pure rivers of holy Scriptures, which are plentiful unto us unto everlasting life; not from "the engrafted word, which is able to save our souls;" not out of the preachings of the Prophets, to whom we must give diligent heed as to a candle giving light in the dark; lastly, not from the

ing of holy Scriptures, which our Lord Jesus st commanded us to search; because they be the : that hold most faithful testimony of our Saviour s Christ. (John, iv. James, i. 2 Peter, i.)

ou may now perceive, by these most true and ıcible sentences, partly taken out of the decrees ır Lord Jesus, partly out of the Apostles, how stable and blasphemous your conclusion is, which ı make the Scriptures to be authors of all wicness, whenas, by the infallible testimony of the y Ghost, "the law of the Lord is an undefiled converting souls. The testimony of the Lord rue, and giveth wisdom to the simple; whenas statutes of the Lord are right, and rejoice the rt, and give light unto the eyes." (Psal. xii. 19.) eed, this is the wisdom of your scarlet doctors, les you are not contented to persecute the proors of the Gospel with all manner of cruelty, but ı diffame the Gospel itself, and make it guilty of naughtiness, when, notwithstanding that godly erend elder Peter (whom ye do shamefully al: as founder of your church) doth in express words nounce, "That the word of the Lord, which eneth for ever, is delivered unto us by the Gospel." Pet. i.)

Now you do perceive, Osorius, or the Christian der may easily understand (although ye will exm against it), how you have behaved yourself in s question, not only mischievously and wickedly, : blockishly and ignorantly; whiles ye do so blasemously defend, that prayers should be ministered the congregation in an unknown language, conry to reason, contrary to ancient custom, contrary nature, and contrary to the Holy Ghost.

And now, glancing along by the rest of the docne of the church, you make a long rehearsal of r words, and yet touch not one syllable of them so

much as to confute them. Surely, my lord, you are at very good leisure, when you can spare so much time to intermix whole sentences of mine in your writings, and play mum-budget in them all; if you do allow them, why do ye recite them? if you do not allow them, why do ye not reprehend some one of them? Was ever any man besides yourself so frantic, that would in a long discourse recite whole sentences out of the writings of his adversary, and would refel nothing in any one of them? This is very fond, foolish, childish, and utterly to be scorned at; but it is altogether your own, the common fault of yourself, Osorius.

Consider, I pray thee, Christian reader, and behold what a sage and wise adversary I have. At the last you take up that by the toe which I did confess: that we had shaken from our necks the Pope's yoke. At this you seem to be wonderfully displeased, yet I know no cause why you should not be pleased withal. For you prove nothing, you discover nothing with any argument: but after your old manner, heap up a number of slanders together, wherein is neither truth, nor any likelihood of truth. At the last, you add hereunto a device no less wicked than false; to wit, *that the ancient church is perverted by our divines, and a new church fashioned after our own fantasies.* Which do you call the ancient church, Osorius? truly you name the catholic and apostolic church to be ancient, or so you ought to say, founded in the Patriarchs and Prophets, enlarged by our Lord Jesus and his disciples, with undefiled doctrine and uprightness of conversation.

Have we perverted this holy church, Osorius? Have we erected a new? Nay, rather the matter is quite contrary. We do most reverently embrace this blessed church, sealed unto us by the finger of our Lord Jesus, and ordered by the pure ordinances of

his disciples; we do appeal unto this church; the same church we do urge against you; and the same we do oppose against you; we combat against all your filthy corruptions with the decrees of this church; herein we do persist, and cleave fast unto this church, and fight against you in her defence directly with her own weapons.

You are fallen away by little and little from this ancient church, the invincible fortress of all truth; and have set your trust upon that wavering reed of the Romish see. Then also you are so whirled up and down as it were with whirlwinds, with the whirling and unsavoury constitutions of schoolmen, each contrary to other, that ye can find no anchor-hold anywhere out of these tempests and whirlwinds of upstart doctrines; out of this immoderate gulf of your idle brains, so manifold routs of feigned gods peeped abroad, so many sundry sorts of prayers made unto them; so many and so tedious pilgrimages to dumb blocks; so many impieties of offerings, invocations, massings, adorations; finally, so many blasphemous markets and fairs of pardons, and redeeming of souls out of purgatory pickpurse, are made.

To this beadroll may be linked superstitious swarms of friars, monks, and nuns, sprouting and daily budding one out of another, in infinite droves and innumerable factions. This, even this, is the true image of your church, Osorius, whereupon you do brag so much, increased with the offscum of rascal brothels, made drunken with the drowsy dregs of schoolmen, and so far estranged from the right trade of the ancient and apostolic church, that there is scarce any hope that it will ever have any regard to her former duty, or ever return from whence it estrayed. In this your new church, or rather conventicle of lozels, which you have newly erected

unto yourselves, with the motheaten mockeries of your schoolmen, you moil and wallow after your accustomed manner.

We are desirous to renew the ancient dignity of the catholic church as much as in us lieth. Hereunto we do employ all our endeavours; to this we do direct all our thoughts, that sifting through, and throwing away all the damnable darnel which the enemy hath scattered abroad at this present in these new churches, we may at the length be united, and gathered again into the true and ancient worshipping of God, prescribed unto us by Jesus Christ in his Gospel.

And here our old peevish wayward picketh a new quarrel against me, because I will not acknowledge any other chief bishop but Jesus Christ, and that I do also by the name of a bishop call him a king. Truly I heartily confess that our Lord Jesus was both a bishop and a king; but that the name of a king is contained under the term of a bishop is false, as you have set it down, as all other your doings are for the most part, Osorius. But our unconquerable logician goeth onward, and demandeth, *Why we do admit any other king besides the Lord Jesus, and yet abandon the chief bishop? whereas both dignities are contained in the person of our Lord Jesus*; and in this place our glorious peacock pounceth out his feathers, and the same question repeateth again and again very boyishly, in other words and sentences. *If it be lawful* (saith he) *that ye may have upon earth another king, vicar of that great King, what reason is there that ye will not have another most holy bishop, vicar of that high Bishop?*

Will ye know why we do acknowledge a king upon earth, vicar of that great and heavenly King? The Holy Ghost shall most evidently and expressly answer for us, and shall answer by the mouth of Peter,

m whom you derive your claim of supreme bishop: Be ye subject (saith he) to every human creature the Lord, whether it be to the king, as chief r the rest, or to the magistrates which are ap-nted by him, to the punishment of the evil-doers, l the commendation of well-doers, for this is the l of God, &c." (1 Peter, ii.)

Behold how plainly, how distinctly, and how ntifully Peter doth answer you; which by express ech hath settled the majesty of kings in the highest ce above all, unto whom he commandeth us to be bject for the Lord. Then next under that autho-y he placeth other magistrates, whom notwith-nding he ordaineth to be ministers of his high wer. Besides this, he instructeth us withal, how mmodious this authority of kings is, and where-ito it ought to belong. Lastly, to take away all ubt, he concludeth, that this "is the will of od."

If you had any drop of shame at all in you, sorius, you would not have moved this question malapertly, *Why we do acknowledge a king's thority upon earth?* whenas ye cannot be igno-nt of this doctrine of Peter, nay rather of the Holy host, being so evident, so firm, so notable, so lentiful, and so of all parts defensible: whenas so Peter a little after commandeth in this wise: Fear God, honour the king:" whenas Paul kewise doth pronounce, that "a king is the mini-ter of God, to whom he commandeth every soul be subject; to whom he giveth the sword, and illeth tribute to be paid" (Rom. xiii.); in every of hich things, most royal and principal sovereignty contained. And to the end the sentence of Paul hould stand firm out of all controversy, he com-andeth, "that prayers, intercessions, petitions,

often and in so many sundry manners mentioned in the Scriptures.

As for your high and chief bishop, we will make no more account of him than of a stranger, until ye can justify his supremacy by the authority of the holy Scriptures. And yet in the mean time shall you find amongst us, all degrees of jurisdiction ecclesiastical, by the which all matter appertaining to the church is duly and orderly executed; which albeit cannot content our troublesome prelate, yet we doubt not but will thoroughly satisfy all virtuous, wise, and well-disposed persons.

I did write, that the garment of Christ was not cut in pieces amongst our divines, as you seemed to consider of us; but that the bishop of Rome's pall, peradventure, was somewhat scratched. What do you say to this? Do you make any demonstration by holy Scripture that we have divided or rent asunder the unity of the church? (I mean always the catholic and apostolic church.) Do you allege any arguments hereunto? do you prove it with examples? You do nothing less. What do ye then? truly even as you are wont, and as you have accustomed to do, and as ye have learned of your father the devil; that is to say, you do continually throw out of that foul mouth most noisome poison of slanderous lying.

Wherein though ye be so nooseled that ye have stuffed up the greater part of your invectives with false and venomous accusations; yet because this place doth betray your monstrous insolency by singular demonstration, I will set down here your own words, as you have penned them, that the Christian reader may by the same discern the meekness of a bishop, the modesty of an ancient divine; and with what spirit also ye were inspired, when ye vomited out this foul, filthy, choleric baggage. And these are your words: . . . . . .

Whenas ye do daily behold swarming round about you, such pestiferous dissensions of sects, and so horrible divisions; whenas you have no sure faith, no agreement in religion; whenas daily almost you bring in new confessions, articles of the creed amended, old places blotted out, and new places propt up in their places; whenas many sundry sects grow and increase, and the ancient church is rent and cut in so many rabbets, dare ye yet say, that this falling away hath not cut the garment of Christ in pieces? Whenas also ye see with your eyes, insolency, arrogancy, rebellion, lavishness of tongue, slanderous backbiting, lust, wickedness, uncleanness, tumults and uproars, to attempt all things in all places boldly, wheresoever your masters take once footing; with what face dare ye affirm, that your manners and conversation of life have been well ordered amidst all this rebellion? The matter declareth itself evidently; daily examples make good proof thereof; the places of public government, yea the most secret closets, do bewray the same.

Behold here, good reader, the lively pattern of Osorius's eloquence. Behold a mighty and unconquerable champion of the Romish see! Is not this fellow worthy to be made a cardinal, suppose you? that in so many choleric, sharp, venomous, and scorpion-like words, hath uttered nothing but that the most roguish rascal, coming out of some brothel-house, would have been half ashamed of? Hath he not made a trim speech against us, and proved thereby that we have most heinously scattered abroad and torn in sunder the unity of Christ's church? in this, that he doth nothing else but exclaim against us as backbiters, insolent, slanderous, lecherous, wicked, unclean, and rebels.

O frantic and mischievous railer, of whose cursed speech, because I have delivered this little taste, I will from henceforth as much as I may in silence despise

and pass over his infinite accusations, and will deal with his pretty puppet arguments briefly. I did cite out of Paul, "one God, one faith." *Now* (saith he) *neither one God nor one faith is received among the ministers of your Gospel.* First of all, I did not signify of what opinion every of us were particularly, but I shewed what ought to be received of all Christians generally.

Then where you affirm, that we do not worship one God only, nor profess one faith only, how can you persuade so incredible a matter? *It is very manifest* (you say); *for one of you doth sacrifice to lust, another to frenzy, another to the paunch, another to slandering.* Cursed be thou, thou chaplain of the devil; thy sect doth publicly worship a piece of bread, instead of a golden calf, and lieth groveling on the ground before a god made of bread. Your solemnities be to Bacchus, to Venus. You are defiled and contaminated with all kind of wickedness; you do most abominably maintain stews and brothel-houses, and yet in the mean whiles will translate your idols unto us.

But ye cannot, Osorius, print and paint and do what ye list; ye cannot bring that to pass. All the world almost is so well acquainted with your horrible filthy life, that a boy of seven years of age can point with his finger at the places, the persons, and the whole course of your abominations.

But whereas you add further, that there is one faith of Luther, another faith of Bucer, another of Zuinglius, and another of Calvin; this is your old quarrel, always hacked upon, but never proved. These worthy persons, and grave fathers of the church, were always of one faith, and of most agreeable constancy, to the overthrow of your erroneous devices. In some points they did vary, but in the substance of faith they were of one mind. The like blemish hap-

:d to Augustine, Jerome, and Cyprian, men very ɔus for their learning and virtue; in Origen and :ullian were somewhat greater blots, whose faith, vithstanding, as far forth as is agreeable with the ptures, is not discredited by our divines, nor yet 'our own mastership (if a man may be so bold to you, as also what I think you shall perhaps know :after), in those your huge volumes, entitled *De itia*, wherein you are of a clean contrary opinion ihat learned man Augustine, in the chiefest part ll; not in any small matter, but in the Treatise of hteousness itself, wherein is contained the founda- ı of our faith; and herein ye wrangle so bitterly, obstinately, and so overthwartly, that Cardinal le did wonderfully reprehend your arrogancy herein, l thereunto replied with most godly words, "That ability of man could not be too much abased, l the power of God could not be too much ad- ıced."

But since you can presume so much upon yourself, with such proud boldness to attempt the overthrow so notable a father in the principal point of our gion, we need not marvel, that ye cannot forbear if we vary in small matters of no value; for ongst them truly was no little controversy in matters great importance, if they might have had upright ges and learned, unlike to this our Osorius. The ıction of the Apostles was equal, their jurisdiction all respects one; whereby it cometh to pass, that ongst them no one may be in highest authority; l this have we partly approved before by the mples of Paul, Peter, and James; and the same e have I made so manifest in this book, where I ated of the monarchy of the Romish prelate, that e have now no starting-hole to hide your head in. You say *that it is evident in the writings of Clement, Eucaristus, Lucius, Marcellus, and Pius, that they*

were of opinion always, that the supremacy of the universal church of Christendom was attributed to the Romish see. You rehearse unto them Irenæus, Augustine, and other holy ancient fathers; afterwards, you vouch the whole register of antiquity. What impudency is this? what intolerable arrogancy? nay, rather, what wretchless negligence and singular foolishness is this? You do reckon up many bishops of Rome by name, and yet allege no one syllable so much out of their writings, to establish this prerogative of this Romish see; no more do you cite out of Augustine, and Irenæus, any one title for the maintenance of this your hierarchy.

Lastly, you make mention of all the ancient antiquity, and yet vouch no one word out of all that great number of years, whereby that may appear to be true, whereof you make so stout a warrant by your bare affirmative. Is this to be accounted a divine? Do ye defend the Romish see no better? Have you no better a target to cover this your holy and emperorlike power? Belike ye come unto us a new Pythagoras, and would have the old poesy in use again, αὐτος ἔφα. But we yield not so much, Osorius; we receive not your affirmative; neither can you wring any thing out of our hands, in the conference of matters appertaining to faith, more than that you shall be able to justify by good and sound arguments. We follow not your faith, as the which we have tasted to be almost in all things most detestable.

Wherefore if you mean to win any credit herein, let this be a watchword for you, that ye must unfold again all that lump of confused disputations, and abandon those unmeasurable railings, forsake those clamorous exclamations, and renounce that unadvised rashness of bare affirmatives; and argue with probable reasons, justify with approved arguments,

and make good proof by express sentences of holy Scriptures and ancient fathers. But you are well furnished with fathers, forsooth; for in your beadroll ye have lapped together not only the old fathers, but unfold also unto us a certain new school of fathers, that is to say Eckius, Coclæus, Roffensis, and Pighius.

Avaunt with all these sworn bondslaves of your monarchy; whereof part were common drunkards, some lechers, and some traitors; the remembrance of whom is odious as yet, and notoriously infamous for sundry their notable crimes. Or if ye will needs allow of these dregs of the church, being indeed the sworn humble vassals of the Romish see, yield me this much again at my request, to peruse the writings of Bucer, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, Peter Martyr, Calvin, and Beza; men most excellent in conversation of life, and of singular learning; and ye shall see the contagious botches of your papacy so raked abroad and ransacked by them, that ye will never hereafter take any regard to any such scabbed sides, if you be wise.

You seem to marvel much that I, being a civilian, and exercised in pleading temporal causes, would spend my time to know your mysteries. Truly, you are herein somewhat too inquisitive, Osorius. For albeit I do profess the civil law, yet am I a Christian, and desire to be edified in the law of the Lord; and if you will have this much granted unto you, to apply yourself to the knowledge of the tongues, to be addicted wholly to the study of eloquence, to range in the books of philosophers, and will, notwithstanding, be accounted a ruler of the roast in divinity, be in a special peculiar of your own profession; look not so coy upon us poor civilians, I pray you, because we give our endeavour to learn the statutes of Christian religion, and are desirous to bathe our-

selves somewhat in the lively wellsprings of holy Scriptures, wherewith we acknowledge our souls to be throughly watered to eternal life.

You are very much offended with me because I did write, *that Gregory would not acknowledge this extraordinary papal pre-eminence; and ye do believe that I cannot justify this to be true.* If, therefore, I do cite the place, if I do direct your finger to Gregory's own speeches, wherein he doth mislike the name of universal bishop, once, twice, thrice, and more; yea, and as much as in him lieth, utterly detect and reject the same from himself; what shall men deem of you, Reverend Prelate, which, either of a singular ignorance, know not, or, of an horrible impiety of gainsaying, will dissemble so manifest a matter, so confessed, and so often rehearsed? And how dare you desire to be credited in all the rest of your protestations, whenas yourself have wiped away your whole estimation, by facing out so false a proposition? Look upon Gregory who that list, turn to the places that I have noted below, and judge the honesty of this man; nay, rather have recourse thereunto yourself, and learn at the least to shake off this shameless custom of cavilling. (Greg. lib. vi. epist. 30, 24. lib. vii. epist. 30. lib. iv. epist. 34, 38, 36, &c.)

I proved by the examples of the Apostles, that the pure and primitive church did never acknowledge this papal monarchy; I cited to the same effect, their successors, bishops of Rome, some that were godly men and martyrs, which did never aspire to that superiority; and hereupon I argued, that the same principality being altogether unknown to those best and purest ages of the church, might also have been let slip over us. What say you, unmeasurable brabbler? why do you quarrel so bitterly? why do ye so contumeliously stomach against me? why report you that I prove nothing, whenas I do make all things

evident with examples? why do ye find fault with the sequel of things, than the which there can be none greater or more assured? Finally, why do ye reject those sayings as mere false, the falsehood whereof ye endeavour not in one syllable so much as to discover? unless peradventure you be of opinion that your bare brawls shall be received as infallible truths, which I will never yield unto, as I have said before.

I added also a little after, that we might lack this papal monarchy well enough; yea, that we ought to be without it, as well because the Gospel interdicteth it, as also because reason exclaimeth against it. At which words (the Gospel interdicting), our Sir Jerome sets up his bristles; and although he knows my meaning, yet nooseleth at the words, and accuseth me, that I cannot express mine own meaning sensibly. What say you, Osorius? Are ye so suddenly fallen, an old doctor of divinity to a puny scholar, and carper of words? are ye so suddenly degraded from a reverend prelate, and become a malicious and hungry falconer of titles and syllables? O gravity beseeming a bishop, O function most agreeable for those grey hairs!

But let us view the matter itself. *We ought* to lack this papal monarchy (the Gospel interdicting it); that is to say, because the Gospel doth interdict it, forbid it, commandeth the contrary, letteth it, hindereth it, withstandeth it, resisteth it, openly exclaimeth that no such monarchy be admitted. Do I not speak after the Latin phrase? doth not every of these words properly and plainly express the things that I mean? Inquire amongst all your massmongers, and of that beetle-headed Dalmada, your familiar and companion. They will all condemn you for Tom Trifler; and your sweet *pigmy*, Emanuel, will smile close in his sleeve, that somewhat is found out in the world at the last,

that exceeds his filthy commentaries and blockishness.

But our Aristarchus proceedeth, notwithstanding, peacock-like, *and requireth proof, whereby the countermand may be manifest, that we should now be subject to this only great vicar of Christ?* First of all, this do I answer, that it is sufficient for me to deny all things with a bare nay, to him that affirmeth all things by a bare yea; for there is no difference of authority betwixt our estates, but the jurisdiction of a bishop, which may hold your charge of Silvain to consent, but toucheth not me. And therefore, after that you had tacked together a tedious epistle to the Queen's Majesty, full of reproaches and slanders, and had in the same uttered all your cankered malice against the professors of true religion; yet all the while had used thereunto neither proof nor probability; it sufficed for me to have confuted that pestilent invective, fortified with bare affirmatives only, even by the contrary thereof, to wit, bare negatives.

But now, forasmuch as you have stopt up a few shards in these your last tedious commentaries, though very hardly and quite from the purpose, yet as well as you could; I thought good to reply likewise with some arguments, thereby to overtake you at every loop-hole; so that I have now so entangled and snarled fast in coop your lordly hierarchy, by force of holy Scriptures, even by the same tools that you believed to have erected and established it, that I need nothing doubt of the consent of all the godly, but that they are fully satisfied herein. As for you, nothing can content you, that are so captious in titles of words, as to slip from divinity to extreme sophistry.

I affirmed that an Italian monarch could not aptly be a ruler over us, and I alleged the cause in these words: "For the head cannot *conveniently be dis-*

ant from the members so far asunder." Here Osorius playeth the man, and uttereth all his skill t a brunt, and believeth that some monster, I annot tell what, lurketh in those words, and therefore rusheth upon me, with pretty young questions: *Must ye be taught to speak Latin?* (saith he;) *for what meaneth this? What is this, conveniently to be distant? For that which agreeth with itself doth not dissent; wherefore, when you say that some one thing s conveniently distant, ye do not speak true Latin, but use a monstrous kind of Latin phrase.* Listen hereunto again, prattling sophister. I do not affirm, that any thing doth conveniently disagree, as you do maliciously imagine; but I do plainly deny, that the head can conveniently be distant from the members.

But you, being ignorant what difference is betwixt an affirmative and a negative proposition, must be turned down again behind the school-house door, amongst the apsy boys, to learn this lesson again. And because you are so gross of conceiving, that ye cannot perceive a thing spoken briefly and aptly, I will rehearse my words again, and will apply hereunto other phrases of the like effect, that all men may know what a childish and blockheaded adversary I have.

This is it, therefore: "For the head cannot conveniently be distant from the members so far off;" that is to say, it is not convenient that the head should be so far asunder from the members. A friend doth not conveniently disagree from his friend, nor the scholar from his master, nor the servant from his lord, nor yet the wife from the husband; that is to say, it is not convenient that the friend from his friend, the scholar from his master, the servant from his lord, or the wife should disagree from her husband.

What say you, Osorius? is any of these not spoken after the Latin phrase? Are they not uttered plainly and properly? Do you not in all these conceive the negative, and not the affirmative? Are you not ashamed? Do you blush nothing at all at this manifest fault and mark of your folly? I have a boy of sixteen years of age, whom I keep to grammar-school, who should have felt the smart hereof, if he had made so foul an escape in these grammar principles.

Truly, I am weary long since, gentle reader, to be so childishly occupied in sifting out the tittles and syllables of words after this manner; but you may note the amazedness and overthwartness of mine adversary, to whom the fault must be imputed according to reason; which being both buzzardly blind in pondering bare words, and also fondly frantic and senseless in the substance of things, doth altogether deny any difference to be in this, how far soever asunder the head be separated from the members, so that they be united in one faith.

Surely, experience hath not only taught us here in England, but the practice of all other nations also doth plainly bewray his singular ignorance and blockishness. What is to be severed from Italy by far distance of regions, whenas, in matters of religion, justice and equity could not be ministered, but it must be procured with unmeasurable charges, and tedious pursuit of many years. From which inconveniences we have good remedy provided, through the special goodness of God; for we have in our own realm both judges and consistories.

But our reverend father cannot digest this by any means, that the Queen's Majesty should intermeddle with the church; and after a long frivolous preamble after his accustomed manner at the length choppeth down to a sentence of mine, viz. "The

Queen's Majesty is lord over all manner of persons in England." And these words he supposeth to be spoken barbarously, because the government of a king is not with force and tyranny, nor tendeth to keep his country people (whom he hath undertaken to defend of a fatherly love) in servile subjection; nor is referred to the consideration of his own profit, but to the public safety of his subjects. And therefore, saith he, it is false that a king doth rule as a lord, unless we should take him for a tyrant rather than a king.

Hearken, I pray you, hearken unto this Alderman Brabble; hearken unto this most subtle corrector of the Latin tongue. There was never such another *Valla*, or *Varro*, in our time; for this our notorious prelate doth far surmount all *Vallaes* and *Varroes*; who by his fine pithy and polished judgment hath fished a pool and caught a fool; and with his new sharpness of wit, hath espied that whereof no man could ever conceive so much as a shadow in his dream. What say you, my Lord Bishop? doth no man rule as a lord except he be a tyrant? *Ergo*, no man is a lord unless he be a tyrant, if at least he bear any rule. Truly, you had need of helleborus to purge that calves' brains. Our Lord Jesus Christ is said sometimes to be a Lord of the quick and dead, sometimes to be a Lord in heaven and in earth (Rom. xiv.); and in all the holy Scriptures throughout is called by this name *Lord*; therefore, by this your blasphemous and horrible grammar-distinction ought to be accounted a tyrant: this cannot be denied.

Becometh you, an old bishop, to utter such mocteries? Can you, being a prelate, either through fury or madness, be so frameshapenly translated, to be openly frantic, and make yourself a laughing-stock to little boys? Truly, I am ashamed in your

behalf; for I did never see so great, so foul, and so monstrous absurdities, in a man of such years, that hath been all his life long conversant in learning. Afterwards you do make a very subtle distinction, I promise you, of the authority of kings; that is to say, though they govern all their subjects, yet are they not lords over all causes.

Yes, indeed, good sir, they are lords over all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, which may seem to appertain to the good government of the commonwealth; and yet they do not minister in their own persons in matters ecclesiastical, as I wrote before; for how can they so do? But they do assign and authorize other magistrates under them, who may execute every thing in due order. In like manner albeit emperors be only chief of their armies, yet have they under them, centurions, lieutenants, sergeants, corporals, and other meaner officers, which do train in due order, and exercise in their whole affairs, the rest of the soldiers.

So do masters of navies and ships appoint under them their mates and boatswains, and other meaner degrees to their several offices; by this means to preserve their course the better at seaboard; whereby appeareth, that the chief authority is resident always in the chief and known estates, but the travail, toil, and execution of orders, is ministered by inferior magistrates.

But ye require to make demonstration how these things can be so. First of all, your question is worthy to be scorned, being so void of reason, to have evident demonstration to be made of those things which common course of man's life, and daily practice of all commonweals, may assure you, were you never so void of sense. But I will satisfy that captious grosshead of yours in this matter with three words. I do affirm that the authority of kings

above all other, and yet that kings themselves do ot minister in ecclesiastical matters. Which two e most manifestly proved as well by the government of kings in the Old Testament, as also in the tter age in the time of the New Testament. For avid, Solomon, Josias, Hezekiah, and other godly ngs, amongst the people of Israel, did command e priests in matters of religion, yet did not they termeddle with execution of any thing. In the me of the Gospel, Paul, that great teacher of the entiles, commandeth, "that intercessions and ublic prayers be made with faith and truth, first all for kings, then for all others that are set in ithority." (1 Tim. ii.)

Peter also, that excellent elder (for other name than postle or Elder did he never acknowledge, however you do convey your false papistical see from m), Peter, I say, in open and express words doth rify my saying, whenas he giveth commandment this wise, "Submit yourselves to every human eature for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the ng as most excellent, or to the magistrates, as to em that are sent by him, assigning the punishment evil doers, and the laud and praise of them that well; for so is the will of God." (1 Peter, ii.) ehold, you have both my propositions out of Peter: st, "the chief and most excellent authority of ngs; then rulers and magistrates sent and assigned kings, for the punishment of the ungodly, and e comfort of the godly." Lastly you hear also at "it is the will of God;" that, by this means, ecution of justice may duly proceed.

Wherefore cast away all your cavillations, and ing an elder yourself (if you be wise), give attene and speedy ear to Peter the elder. You thunder at your malicious slanders against the demeanour d ignorance of our bishops, and discharge your

upon them? who consecrated them? how holily, how sincerely this matter was executed? I answer you at a word. Hands were laid upon them lawfully, and prayers likewise poured out for them, according to the prescript ordinance of the Gospel; we do use our own ceremonies, like as you do use yours, and as other nations do minister their own. At the last you *inquire of their holiness*, foolishly forsooth considering it is an inward action of the mind, and whereof no man living can pronounce any certainty.

Ye murmur I cannot tell what *of a confused function of bishops and divines, because I ascribed the office of administration of the sacraments to bishops, but of determining causes to divines*; as though bishops are not divines, and divines bishops; or as though several functions may not be undertaken many times in the church; or as though bishops, being the chiefest of the clergy, have not a charge to execute matters appertaining to the church in their own right; or as though this question seemeth not to have proceeded from a captious sophister, rather than from a grey-headed bishop.

You say, *that the rumour goeth abroad, how that our bishops are chosen to this end, especially that, being contented with some portion of revenues of their bishoprics, the rest should be confiscated unto our possession as a clear gain.* If this be a rumour, this rumour is wicked and slanderous, and such a one, as the gravity of your person should stop your ears from and detest in heart. But if this lie be devised by you and your fraternity, into how horrible a sin do ye wilfully drown yourselves, that will scatter such wicked slanders against your brethren whom ye know not?

But you say, *that I, and such as I am, are charged with the greater part of this infamy; for when we choose such bishops, we give just cause to men to conceive some suspicion of our avarice and covetousness.*

'e write monstrously, Osorius. Do we choose bi-. ıops? or do I choose bishops? How long and in hat places hath this custom prevailed, that every ırticular subject, or the vulgar multitude, should hoose bishops? Your frantic communication de- ounceth you a man more worthy to be whipped in edlam, than to be disputed withal in schools. For e seem to be altogether void of common sense.

The election of our bishops, Sir Jerome, is or- ered according to the ancient and best-received anons, and choice is made by the dean and chapter f the most excellent in virtue and learning. The rince doth confirm the election; the archbishops do onsecrate them that are chosen; of whom some are othing inferior to your mastership in ancienty of ace, wherein you vaunt yourself so much; yet this ecent in gentry was not valued of Paul amongst he virtues and qualities which he assigned to a hristian bishop, but other ornaments, wherewith I ish you were better acquainted: perhaps ye would hen seem somewhat a worse rhetorician, but sure I m you would be a far better bishop; but now you ave enured yourself so much to unmeasurable rail- ng, that ye seem rather a common brawling Ther- ites than a meek prelate.

You think that I yield too much to the authority of ings, because I affirmed that the kings of Israel did ule the priests in matters of religion. And this you ay is not true. Why so, I pray you? is it false be- ause you say that it is false? O notable Pythagoras! he credit of your naked affirmatives being bolstered p with no reason nor witness, be not crept so far on ugh bench as yet, to be taken for judges. I did al- ege a little before, David, Solomon, Josias, Heze- iah; peruse whoso list, the chronicles of them, and hen let him decide this controversy betwixt us.

The sentences of Paul and Peter in the New Tes-

tament are very manifest, as I have said before. For Paul "commandeth prayers to be made for kings, and for all other set in authority." In which sentence you may discern a distinct degree of power and nobility; and unless you will be blinded with malice, conceived against the truth, you may also see the king to be placed first and highest. In the same wise Peter, "Submit yourselves to every human creature, for the Lord; whether to the king, as most excellent, or to the magistrates, as being appointed by him." Lo here the like degrees; lo here also the king placed chief, and most excellent. Here you cry out, and exclaim comically, or rather tragically, O heaven! O earth! O the seas of Neptune! whenas it had been better for you to stop that lavish foul mouth with the evident testimonies of the Apostles.

But you proceed on rather, saying, *If kings obtain the highest authority, the whole world would be turned upside down, as ye think; for that kings would be subject to flatterers, and so nothing could be executed in due order and truth, but all things would be governed after the lust of flatterers.* First of all, kings of this our age are much beholden unto you surely, and amongst the rest your own king especially; for if it be true that you stamp out so boldly, that all counsels of kings are corrupted by flatterers, what one thing do ye leave upright in their government? Behold, my good lord, and behold earnestly, how treacherously and perilously you beguile yourself with rashness and ignorance, that blemish all regiment of kings with so common an infamy.

But admit unto you for this time, that your saying is true in this respect, that too, too great store of flatterers swarm in princes' courts; what then? Doth this let, that in the palaces of your holy monarchies this kind of vermin (that we call a flatterer) is not fostered? is not dallied withal, yea, nourished, and

had in high price? I will pass over mine own neighbours, and will refer you to all that new puddle of schoolmen, amongst whom you shall not find any one sound exposition of divinity, but whole commentaries of flatteries and parasitical poison.

For they beautify the Pope with these titles, *viz.* they call him the sun of the world; they ascribe unto him both swords temporal and spiritual; they create him the lord of purgatory; they advance him above the authority of the canon laws; they deny that he is to be directed by any other person; they affirm in their writings that the Pope hath all laws engraven, or rather locked fast in the closet of his heart; they say that the Pope can be guilty of no fault, though he throw many thousand souls into hell; they make the Pope high steward of pardons, as though they were the treasury of the church, so that he may forgive infinite sins, both past already, and sins not yet committed.

Furthermore, they have enthronized him chief vicar of Christ upon earth, who can neither err himself, nor bring others into error; unto whom only all general councils must be in subjection; at whose feet emperors and kings ought to prostrate themselves; last of all, whom all Christendom must honour and worship as an earthly God. These blasphemous flatteries, detestable and horrible blanchings, are not uttered only by mouth at all adventure, but are extant in the monuments and books of the Romish patrons, written by them advisedly and in earnest. Can you charge any king's courts with the like? *Ye name Henry the Eighth, a most excellent king, endued with all kingly ornaments, who, ye say, took unto him absolute authority over his subjects through the enticements of flatterers and love that he bare unto them; boiling also with malice against the bishop of Rome, from out of which fountain, forsooth,*

I know not how many floods of wickedness and mischief did issue.

These be no proofs of a sober bishop, my good lord, but drunken dreams of a drowsy sophister; for the noble king, of most famous memory, attempted nothing either out of love or hatred, or by procurement of flatterers; but when he perceived that it was most evident by the Gospel, that generally all England was committed unto him, as his proper peculiar charge, as well by the authority of God's law as man's law, he banished out of his realm that foreign authority, and resumed his own lawful government wholly into his own hands; studying to reserve the same inviolable to himself, as meet was; wherein he performed the duty of a wise and perfect king, and easing so his subjects of great and importable travails and charges, he left unto his successors a very rich and flourishing kingdom.

But touching the justice executed upon More and Roffensis, it was not without much sorrow of his royal heart, in respect of their wit and learning; but after that they were publicly attainted of high treason, and would by no persuasion be reclaimed from their wilful errors, he must needs suffer the law to proceed against them, lest, winking at their treachery, he might have opened a greater gap of obstinacy and rebellion to others.

At the length you are come to Peter's words, but by the way spurning at me, and *calling me a most filthy person:* wherein you do me no small injury. Like a wicked sophister, you demand of me *out of what words of Peter I framed my sentence, which I vouched before, touching the superiority of kings? whether that induced me, because Peter doth name the king to be most excellent?* Not that only, grave gentleman, but the whole process of Peter's communication. You do argue on this wise: *That men are*

many times called excellent, either in nobility or learning, because they be notable therein, not because they are set in authority above all men; and here, a' God's name, it pleaseth you to produce me for example; whom though some may be of opinion to excel in the knowledge of the civil law, yet will not forthwith under that title yield unto me the like commendation, in the interpreting of holy Scriptures.

All this matter is resolved at a word, O counterfeit grammarian! For if, according to the doctrine of Peter and Paul, certain degrees be limited in each dignity; and by the same doctrine likewise determined that the royal dignity of a king doth excel above all other power, then it is manifest by the same decree, that the authority of the king must be honoured without all comparison as chiefest; but after your wonted guise, ye run at random with many words, *concerning the meaning of Paul, and of a distinction to be made betwixt the civil and ecclesiastical authority.*

First of all, no man can so snaffle that unbridled tongue, but that it will rove and range triflingly, where it lusteth. And yet the meaning of Paul and Peter cannot be unknown to any man, that will have but a will to understand it; for they do make a division, or special distinction, of magistrates by certain degrees; and in the same, do precisely and manifestly ascribe chief rule and highest authority to kings. And albeit ye triumph jollily in your difference of times, yet this will nothing prevail you.

For you believe that this speech of the Apostles ought not to be applied to Christian kings, because it was written in the time of wicked emperors, which were enemies to Christian religion. Consider the sayings of the Apostles more advisedly, peevish prelate, and acknowledge once at last your own unskilfulness. Peter writeth in this manner: "Sub-

manner of authority from magistrates, being appointed by God, as the Anabaptists of our age do practise, they were, according to their desert, swallowed up of that gaping gulf, provided by God for that purpose. But why do ye thrust these persons on to the stage, who can occupy no part of the play? For we do neither entreat of any rebellion, nor of any traitorous suppression of magistrates; but our communication tendeth to this end, whether kings have any lawful government over ecclesiastical persons. No less foolishly have you patched to your purpose *Uzza, Uzziah, and Belshazzar, whom ye do affirm to have been grievously plagued of the Lord because they did rashly handle holy things, and thus ye say was done according to their desert.* Likewise should our kings be worthily punished of the Lord, if they would undertake to minister baptism to infants, or would in their own persons distribute the Lord's supper, or climb up into pulpits, and usually preach. For they should intrude into other men's functions, namely ministers and elders; whom God hath peculiarly chosen to execute those orders in ministry. Even so the Lord hath advanced kings in highest superiority, because they should command and provide, that all matters should be executed by others their subjects, in due and convenient order.

This doctrine being both sound and profitable, approved by the testimonies and examples of the purest ages, and most applicable to the ordinance of holy Scriptures, yet this our pelting prelate seemeth so squeamish at it, that he spareth not to curse us to the pit of hell, because we will not agree with him in his most frivolous assertions.

Ye marvel much why I am so hatefully bent against the Bishop of Rome, and why I do always inveigh at him. Truly, I do not hate the Bishop of Rome,

for he never did me any injury personally; it is his extraordinary superiority that I write against. Because, in my opinion, it is a manifest rebel against the holy Scriptures, against salvation, and the whole state of Christianity. Neither do I reprove their canons; especially those which were established in that first and purer age of the church; nor yet those later canons, such, I mean, as do concern judicial courts; which teach good and commendable precepts and rules for the administration of justice.

But I do utterly detest, and, as much as in me lieth, abhor those ambitious and flattering constitutions, and pestilential dispensations, and such-like infinite filthy absurdities, erected for the procurement of dignities, or for pilling and polling of coin. I will allege two holy constitutions for example sake, whereof the one is described in these words: "The Lord hath committed the charge of all earthly and heavenly empire unto Peter, being appointed porter of eternal life." What Christian heart can willingly suffer such satanical arrogancy to be yielded unto a mortal creature?

And yet I will shew one other of the same stamp far more horrible: "The Pope hath an heavenly will; and in those things that his will is bent unto, his will must be taken for law: neither can any man say the contrary why he should not do so: for he may dispense beyond all law, and make that to be right that is quite contrary in amending and altering of laws, because the fulness of all power resteth in him." These be those golden decrees forsooth, wherewith our Sir Jerome would have us yoked. This is that notable jurisdiction of that papal see, for the which our Osorius waxeth so hot; *that, though I burst in sunder, yet ought all Christian nations be subject unto it* (as he affirmeth).

But I, on the contrary part, do justify, that this

papal supremacy is no more mentioned in the Scriptures than a mere stranger; and so altogether unknown unto Peter, unto Paul, and the rest of the Apostles, and to the succeeding course of the primitive and purer churches, that there was never one word spoken of it, until the reign of the tyrant Phocas, at what time was the very first hatching of it.

Afterwards indeed, by little and little, through pride, pillage, and pelting flattering, it enhanced itself so far above measure, that it claimeth now jurisdiction over heaven, earth, and seas, as I have declared somewhat before; and doth more plentifully appear by other blasphemous decretals, published by the very mouths of these holy popes themselves; wherefore this extraordinary jurisdiction of the Pope is a most frivolous, painted, disguised, and deformed, frameshapen changeling, though Osorius would hang himself therefor. And kingly authority shall bear chief pre-eminence upon the earth according to the sundry and everlasting testimonies both of the Old and New Testament, unto the which Peter and Paul do in express words subscribe, and whereunto all commendable antiquity, and most approved ancienty, have willingly yielded their agreeable consent, which hath always exercised their government in so well disposed moderation, as being contented with her own limits and territories, hath not licentiously presumed unlawful claim over all the world, as your most arrogant chair of pestilence doth challenge, whose unsatiable greedy gaping for filthy lucre, the heavens, the earth, nor hell itself is able to satisfy.

You affirmed in your Epistle, that, through the abolishing of your canons, all fear and care was utterly rooted out of our hearts: I made answer, that many men were wonderfully enriched by your canons; but very few induced to have any especial

regard to fear God by the knowledge of them. But you, trusting to discredit mine answer, demand a question of me, *Whether the civil laws do instruct men in the fear of God? which albeit they do not* (say you), *yet the monuments thereof ought not to be consumed with fire.* What is the matter, Osorius? How hangs this together? The question was moved of canon laws, and *you on each part upbraid against us the civil law.* Our communication was concerning the fear of God. *You deny that the civil laws ought to be burnt.* Are ye stark drunk? or do ye babble this out in a dream? Are ye not ashamed of this monstrous talk? Truly, it is very irksome to me, and I am thoroughly tired out with so blockish an adversary.

I affirmed, that the authority of the canon laws did so far forth prevail with us, as they were found agreeable to godliness; and that justice was ministered by the decrees thereof in our ecclesiastical courts. *You marvel how this can be true, for so much as Luther had already burnt them all.* First of all, I demand this question of you: Why do ye marvel at that thing now, which erst ye did so constantly deny? Why did you so without all shame dissemble in matters so evident? wherewithal, neither all Portugal, nor your mastership, could but be acquainted, considering the daily intercourse and continual traffick betwixt us.

Again, what moveth you to name Luther herein? Verily, we for our parts have the name of Luther in such great admiration, that we do firmly believe that you might likewise have easily been his scholar in divinity. All which notwithstanding, we name not ourselves Lutherans, but Christians; neither do we judge any man so absolutely perfect among the whole offspring of Adam, whose words and deeds we may account without exception irreprovable.

Furthermore, I found fault with you, because you accused our preachers, as though they taught in their public sermons, unpunishable liberty in sinning; and herein I likened your saucy malapertness to little better than to blasphemy, because with so horrible reproach you did infamously slander the doctrine of the Gospel, preached by our divines; which sentence, after your wonted guise, you turn in and out, and pervert the same from things to persons, and say that *I do ascribe divine godhead to Luther, Bucer, and Martyr.*

O monstrous vermin! did I ever speak or think such matter? I did esteem them indeed, when they lived, as famous and worthy personages, in respect of their learning and godliness; in like manner, now they are dead, I will defend the remembrance of their names, as much as I may, namely, Bucer and Martyr, with whom I was familiarly acquainted; and did know them to be ancient and godly fathers, exquisite in all virtue and learning, and so much more surmounting you in divinity, as you do excel that your drawlatch dearling Dalmada, in your dainty delicacy of the Latin tongue.

But since it hath pleased you with so gross and foolish a lie to forge new gods for me, whom I should worship, I will be bold by your leave to disclose your idol, whom, maugre your teeth, ye shall not deny, but yourself do worship with divine honour: I mean that Romish prelate of the papal see. The which forasmuch as (according to your own saying) hath authority to dispense with sins, by virtue of his bulls; not for a day, a month, or for a year only, but for ever and ever; which also keepeth the keys of heaven at his pleasure, wherewith he giveth the kingdom of heaven unto some persons, and from others locketh it fast; which is invested in the fulness of all power, and is the un-

doubted vicar of God; to whose most royal majesty, all and every other powers and magistrates must humble, yield, and submit themselves.

Whereas, I say, you allow of all those titles of dignity; and not only teach and defend them in this your unbridled insolency, but also so lustily and courageously vaunt and raise up your crest; what do you else in that blazing bravery of speech, but coin to yourself and others, a most manifest idol, which you may worship, before whom you may prostrate yourself, and most lowly and humbly make intercession unto?

And therefore dissemble, Jerome, as ye list, yet that is your Romish idol; yourself also a manifest idolater. You must withal willingly endure all travail, be it never so hard, to attain the favour and blessing of that your god; perhaps you may pick up some crumbs thereby, and through him be promoted so high, that ye may more nearly behold that your earthly god, and be installed under his elbow in his palace, wherein you may do sacrifice unto his majesty. *You say, that I do provoke you to disputation.* This is untrue. I do not provoke you, but confute your false accusations, wherewith you charge us as maintainers of a faith void of all virtue and religion. *And ever among you thrust in the name of Luther.* What pertaineth that to us? Cast your challenge to some one divine in England by name; you shall see how quickly he will take up your glove, and with no labour crush your sophistical canes in pieces.

You do wish me to peruse those your books entitled, De Justitia; *and in them you say that I may thoroughly satisfy myself touching the justifying of faith.* Truly, I have perused your volumes, divided into three books, entitled, *De Justitia*; in the first whereof you speak much in the commend-

ture, I would never have objected against you, if you had not first of all upbraided me with the same fault, wherewith yourself are naturally encumbered.

At the length, you are entered into the treaty of justification; but first ye snatch at a few sentences of Scripture, which I have set down; and the same, without all reason, after a certain continual crooked usage of cavilling, ye writhe and wrest overthwartly. And, therefore, I will bid adieu to that your unmeasurable captious sophistry, and will sift your divinity awhiles, which will appear to be your own, that is to say, most foolish and detestably corrupt. You rehearse out of my writing, even as it is, that these works are unprofitable to justification, and yet that they ought not to be despised; because Paul doth seem to verify both positions.

Let us see what our Doctor Jerome saith to this. Forsooth, he rangeth abroad to original sin altogether besides the cushion. *He doth cruelly accuse Luther, Calvin, and Melancthon, because they do condemn all the works of the most holy men, being compared with the glory of God; and that the same could not be forgiven, but through the merits of Jesus Christ.* What then? Doth not Paul affirm truly, that "Jews and Gentiles are all concluded under sin?" Doth not that prophetical king David likewise, long before him, pronounce truly, "There is not one righteous person, no, not one; there is not one that will understand, not one that will seek after God. All are gone out of the way; they are altogether become unprofitable; there is not one that doth good; no, not one." (Psalm xiii.)

If there be not one righteous man, no, not so much as one, what shall become of the worthiness of your works then, yea, even amongst the most perfect and godly? If there be no man that

ill understand, then also the best works of the dly are of no value. If no man seek after God, hat can be duly performed of any person? If all ve declined out of the way, where be they that ve walked perfectly in the right way? Lastly, if ere be no person that doth good, where then are your excellent workmasters vanished, a God's me? If all, I say, all, as well Jews as Gentiles, it is to say, if all generally are concluded under , where can those pretty holy men be found, of om ye will needs have some, but Paul utterly ne at all? "Through the sin of one man, sin poured upon all flesh to condemnation." These the express words of Paul, which will not admit y starting-hole; yet your mastership, notwithstand-g, will urge a certain perfection of our works, ntrary to the manifest authority of sacred Scrip-res.

But this prelate doth make more account of the ords of Christ our Saviour, saying, "Not he at saith, Lord, Lord, but he that doeth the will my Father, shall enter into the kingdom of hea-n." And then he demandeth, "*If the yoke of be so always fastened unto our shoulders, that it n by no means be removed, how we may then ob-in the state of righteousness, through the grace and odness of Christ?* Yourself have told it, wise m; truly, even through the very same grace and odness of Christ, which you have named.

And therefore David, being full of the Holy ost, lifting his hands up unto God, crieth out in is manner: "Wash me throughly from my wicked-ss, and cleanse me from my sins; for I acknow-lge my faults, and my sin is ever before me." sa. l.) Why should we desire to be washed, if we l not welter in the filthy puddle of sins? and why ould we require to be cleansed, and thoroughly puri-

fied, if we were not corrupted, and wholly defiled with the stinking dregs of sins?

"As by the fall of one man (saith Paul, Rom. v.), sin is derived by way of propagation, upon all men unto condemnation; even so, by the righteousness of one, good is extended unto all men to justification of life." Again: the same Paul, "God hath shut up all men under unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all." (Rom. xi.) From ourselves therefore proceedeth evil unto damnation; and from God justification unto life. Of ourselves riseth unbelief, but mercy issueth from God.

But let us hear our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ himself most sweetly comforting us with these words: "Come unto me all ye that do travail, and be heavy laden, and I will refresh you." (Matt. xi.) And therefore all anguish and grief of sin, all burden of trespasses, wherewith we are overladen and haled down, not only to the ground, but even to hell-gates, spring out from ourselves; even so the assuaging of all sorrows, and ease of all our importable burdens, come from Jesus Christ only.

If you be ignorant of these sentences, good Sir, wherewith the holy Scriptures do every where swarm so plentifully, what is it, I pray you, that you understand in the Gospel? If you do know them, why do you so maliciously inveigh against those learned men and singular servants of God, without cause, especially being as now departed this life, against whom, if they could speak for themselves, ye durst not mutter one word? For what are you, being compared with them?

But to let them pass, whom I did not undertake to defend, what extreme amazedness is this in you to rehearse my words, and cull them out of purpose to carp at them, and from thence to glance away to Luther and Calvin? If your quarrel be to me, why

do you not let them alone? If ye list to strive with them, then also cavil not with me. Doth not reason require this? and is not my request allowable? Surely it is extreme madness, to challenge me unto the barriers, and then to skip over away to others, and to pursue them with your venomous tongue.

You say further, *that it seemeth by my masters' doctrine* (for so it pleaseth you to term them), *that the force of sin is not as yet extinguished in us through the blood of Christ.* Truly, you and I both may acknowledge those men, whose names you did recite before, to be our masters, not in divinity only, but in practice of piety also. But whereas ye would have them to teach that the force of sin is not as yet extinguished through the blood of Christ (I do express here your own words), this is only your horrible and most shameless slander against them.

For unto this mark always they bent their whole endeavour, to express unto you Jesus Christ lively before your eyes, and the same also crucified; to imprint throughly, in the very bowels of your souls, the most precious blood of Jesu Christ shed for us upon the cross; to preach unto us remission of sins, through his bitter death and passion; to beat into the blind and deaf ears of the world the glad tidings of the Gospel; being overwhelmed and oppressed by your cowled generation of massmongers, confessors, and men's traditions, and altogether choked and buried under ground through the silence of the holy Scriptures; and to disclose again abroad into the open light, and put miserable captives in remembrance of the said doctrine, being utterly subverted by the tyrannous treachery of your gallants.

And therefore in all their sermons, lessons, and writings, they used these and such-like speeches: "The blood of Jesus Christ doth cleanse us from

all sin." (1 John, i.) "You do know that you were redeemed from your vain conversation, which you received by the tradition of your forefathers, not with transitory things, as gold and silver, but with most precious blood as of an undefiled Lamb, &c." (1 Pet. i.) "Neither whoremongers, nor worshippers of images, nor adulterers, &c. shall inherit the kingdom of God." (Rev. i.) "And such ye were; but you are cleansed, but you are sanctified, but you are justified through the name of Jesus Christ, and through the Spirit of our God." (1 Cor. i.) You hear men cleansed from all sin, redeemed from their vain conversation, washed, sanctified, and justified through the blood of Jesus Christ.

Ye know likewise that these men did take upon them always infinite labours and travail about the establishing and enlarging of the Gospel of Christ; and are you not ashamed to obtrude unto them this gross error, which is every where most evidently convinced in the whole discourse of the Gospel, and treatise of holy Scriptures? Cankered malice hath not only blinded you, Osorius, but so bewitched your senses, that as you cannot see the truth yourself, so yet, of a most arrogant waywardness, you will frowardly kick against the preachers of the truth.

And yet this notwithstanding is most true, "that sin doth always dwell within us, and that there is always a law lurking in our members rebelling against the law of the mind, which draweth us as bondslaves to sinning. But the Lord doth deliver us from this body of death through the blood of Jesus Christ, not by rooting out sin from us altogether, but for Christ's sake pardoning the sins of them that repent." And hereof arise those comfortable rejoicings of the faithful: "He that spared not his only begotten Son, but delivered him to be slain for us all, how can it be possible, but that he should

give us all things together with him?" Again: "Who shall accuse the elect of God?" Thirdly: "It is the Lord that doth justify, who shall condemn us?" (Rom. vii. viii.)

These are not spoken to the end to set out our innocence and perfection, whereunto we cannot aspire whiles we are pilgrims in this miserable flesh, but do express unto us that God doth give us free remission through Jesus Christ; so that we will set our whole affiance and hope upon him, which pronounceth of himself, that he was sent not to the righteous, but to the sinners, because they should repent, and amend their lives. (Luke, v.)

But you cannot well digest these sayings, my Lord; for what can you, being an old bishop, allow in the Scriptures, that have bound yourself apprentice to such buzzardly school dregs? And yet this confidence in the death and blood of Christ will raise us up into heaven at that dreadful day, when you and your cowled generation, with all your pelting trinkets of superstitious works, shall be thrown headlong into hell, unless ye repent in time. For we do assuredly know, "that if we confess with our mouths our Lord Jesus, and believe steadfastly in our heart that God hath raised him from death unto life, we shall be saved; for with the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the mouth we confess unto salvation." (Rom. x.)

And yet this confession of faith doth nevertheless want no testimony of good works, as wherewithal she is always accompanied; "for we are not so indebted to the flesh, that we should walk according to the flesh; for if we live according to the flesh, we shall die; but if in the Spirit we mortify the sins of our bodies, we shall live. For all those that are guided by the Spirit of God, the same are the sons of God." (Rom. viii.). Wherefore renounce once at

the length such loathsome communication, wherewithal, like a most filthy hog moosling in the dirty swine-sty of Epicure, you use most wickedly to scorn and deride the faithful servants of Christ.

For ye write that it is the manner of their thought, *We are in good case enough; for we are most acceptable unto God through faith; wherefore we are as righteous as Peter and as Paul, yea, as the most holy Mother of God.* Ye go amasked altogether, Osorius; the faithful ministers of Christ do not acquaint themselves with this unsavoury and haughty spirit of pride, but rather do earnestly call to their remembrance the sayings of Paul, "The night is passed; the day is come nigh; let us therefore cast away the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light; let us walk honestly as it were in the daylight, not in eating and drinking, neither in chambering and wantonness, &c.; but let us put on Jesus Christ, and not make provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof, &c." (Rom. xiii.)

Hitherto Walter Haddon.

THE RESIDUE ANSWERED BY

JOHN FOX,

BEGINNING WHERE MASTER HADDON LEFT,

AGAINST OSORIUS.

Apelles, the most famous painter of the world, endeavouring, in most curious and exquisite manner, to express the features of Venus, at Coos, in Greece, called in Greek ἀναδυομένη, was prevented by death (as Pliny reporteth) whenas yet he had drawn but

the half of the portrait, and thereby compelled to relinquish the residue so unperformed, that no man of the art, were he never so expert, durst at any time after presume with pencil to pursue the precedent.

The like lot, albeit in unlike endeavour, that overtook Apelles amidst his blazing the beauty of Venus, seemeth to have encountered our noble gentleman, Walter Haddon, in displaying the verity of the Gospel. For after he had undertaken the commendable and praiseworthy defence of the truth, against Jerome Osorius, albeit he neither obtained to beautify the part which he had begun, nor to accomplish his purpose in the rest, and yielding over to nature, was, amidst his race, constrained to surcease his exploit; yet hath he so polished that part, which he left unfinished with Apelles's pencil, that is to say, hath framed so singular a pattern in excellency of art, that with the sight thereof the whole posterity may be afraid to set hand to the attempt.

For determining with himself to answer the slanderous invectives of Jerome Osorius, compiled into three books, although it was not granted him to perform the whole, yet hath he so singularly indited one book, and the half of another, against the same, and confuted the reasons, which were none at all, discovered his lies, which were most shameless, daunted his haughty pride, and utterly discomfited his vain-glorious peacock-like rhetoric, with such gravity, wisdom, and so well-disposed style, that if there were no supply made by any other, the truth of the Gospel being of itself otherwise unvanquishable, might seem to have no need of any other patronage.

Wherefore, so long as we enjoyed the life of this excellent learned man, and himself also endured amongst us, as the church of Christ had a very

worthy and valiant captain, so had Osorius also a courageous and puissant encounterer and meet conqueror for such a monster; but now since he is taken from us, albeit the verity itself have no just cause to despair, yet cannot we choose but be wonderfully dismayed, if not for Mr. Haddon's sake, yet for our loss chiefly.

For as concerning Mr. Haddon, he cannot but be in most happy estate, whom God's good providence hath mercifully translated out of this furious wretched world into more blessed and quiet calm; even then especially, whenas being conversant in the race of perfect godliness, he employed his virtuous endeavour in so sacred a cause; when now neither Jerome Osorius, nor any other brawling barker, can from henceforth disquiet or molest him.

There is greater cause rather to move us, and all the learned, to much sorrow and grief of mind, who have lost so great and learned a ringleader of learning, the loss of whom doth by so much more increase our heaviness, in respect of this present enterprise undertaken against Osorius; chiefly, by how much we feel ourselves bereft of so singular a patron, and so altogether despoiled herein, that without wonderful difficulty scarce any person of knowledge will be found able to supply the rest of the answer with like success and commendation.

Not for that the matter is of so great importance (for what can be more easy than to repel the reasons of Osorius, wherein is no substance at all? and his trifling toys, which are manifold, as also to despise his slanders, wherewith he is overlavish); but because the person will not easily be found, I suppose, which, after learned Mr. Haddon, dare presume to intermeddle in the cause, and to join his own devices with Mr. Haddon's writings; so that I fear me, now Mr. Haddon is dead, the same will come to

is discourse that Plutarch maketh relation
ertain man that was not well thought of,
y and youthfully seemed to countervail with
: prowess of Themistocles.
then? because we cannot attain to Mr.
activity, shall we therefore like dastards
eld, and leave the truth of the Gospel suc-
n the camp of his enemy (the quarrel not
appertaining to Mr. Haddon as to Almighty
ıelf), and suffer shame to prevail more with
iety and godliness? or because one cham-
ken from the barriers, which was approved
ys, shall we therefore yield over the con-
the whole challenge to Osorius; and per-
glorious Thraso to triumph and tread down
rdice? or, because we prefer our Mr. Had-
he first onset in arms, shall we therefore
ırunt of the battle? or shall not his valiant
ather tease and provoke us to prick on with

et I neither speak nor think in this wise, as
did either mistrust the time, or the wits of
so plentifully flourishing at this season espe-
ıerein I do know very many that are skil-
gh to maintain the quarrel, if they would
ıuchsafe to yield their endeavour thereto,
be persuaded to think that their travail
untervail their studies.
et albeit happily may be found some one so
f mind, and endued with learning, that can
mself able enough to perform; yet scarce
find that man, who being not otherwise ex-
ı weightier affairs, will so little esteem the
is time, as in such unprofitable contention,
and snatching, to spend one hour upon
that is to say, upon so wayward and melan-
ı adversary, being nothing else but a railing

brabbler, whereby neither profit may redound to the reader nor praise to the victor.

There is no cause, therefore, gentle reader, why thou shouldest require at our hands that exact and absolute furniture in the supply that is coming forth, and should have been perfected by Mr. Haddon, either because it is not so easy a matter to reach unto that exquisite plot of his singular precedent (as to the table of Apelles), or else because the chiefest of our adversary's arguments have been by sundry persons long since crushed in pieces already, and are such in effect as deserve rather with discretion to be scorned, than with reason to be scanned.

I will touch only certain chief places of the controversy scattered here and there, as they come in the chase, and seem to avail most for his challenge, retaining myself within the lists of Neoptolemus' law, that is to say, briefly and in summary points to touch and away. Neither do I think it needful to stay long upon the thorough debating of every particular point; especially, because three words only may suffice to overthrow the whole battery of these three invectives, be they never so tedious.

Forasmuch as the author hath uttered nothing in all his confused work else, but that which savoureth of lies, slanders, and errors; what other reasonable answer may any discreet person require than three words only, which when I have spoken, I shall be thought to have expressed in few words all whatsoever that huge rabble of that scolding and trifling sophister doth contain.

1. Mentiris	1. You do lie.
2. Maledicis	2. You do slander.
3. Falleris	3. You do err.

And to the end it shall not be said that I charge him with a lewd device of mine own imagination contrary to the truth of the matter, I will allege

certain evident proofs, although not all (for it were an infinite labour to number the sands of the sea), whereby the diligent reader may easily descry his wonderful vanity in lying, his execrable wickedness in slandering, and his monstrous blindness in divinity.

And first of all, this one place offereth itself to the view, wherein two especial points full of heinous accusation are contained; that is to say, two detestable lies whelped at one litter (so pregnant is this worm), in the one whereof he doth accuse Martin Luther, as though he did wickedly teach extreme desperation; in the other, a bold and presumptuous confidence of salvation. Truly this is a grievous and perilous accusation, if it be true. Afterwards out of these two monstrous falsely forged propositions, he stampeth a conclusion forthwith, no less false than malicious, wherein he exclaimeth against Luther, *as the only subverter of all virtue, studious industry, and careful endeavour.*

Nor is this to be wondered that Osorius doth argue in this wise; for whereas, even from the very beginning of his book, he hath accustomed himself to nothing else but to a continual course of lying, I should marvel more a great deal, if he would now altogether change his tippet unlike himself, and begin to speak any thing truly; but the matter goeth well with Luther that his books are extant as yet, and are usually frequented; which are as true witnesses of his doctrine, so can testify truly of their master's innocency herein.

Whereupon two things may be easily conjectured, whereof the one of great likelihood is to be suspected; either that Osorius hath never read those things whereat he cavilleth, or that of very nature he is a notably shaped sycophant. *Martin Luther* (saith he) *doth teach extreme desperation.* I would

fain know where, or from whence you have picked out this? Luther preached many sermons, compiled many books, some published in his own country language, many also turned into the Latin tongue, the reading and perusing of the which hath recovered many persons, I doubt not, standing upon the very brink of desperation, and in grievous anguish of mind; amongst whom I do with an unfeigned simple and humble conscience thankfully acknowledge before God, myself to be one.

But I did never hear of one person so much, that hath perished through desperation, by reading Luther's books, or hearing his doctrine. On the contrary part, divers monuments and histories are replenished with examples of such as have run headlong into utter despair, which have gainsaid or withdrawn themselves from the doctrine of Luther. As touching Francis Spira, who revolted from the participation of the doctrine which he had once received by Luther's preaching, because the record thereof is somewhat old, I will for this present omit what remaineth in history of him, I will more willingly use fresher examples of our later age, and yet not all in general, for it needeth not, neither is any one man able so to do. But I will rehearse some of the most notable. And first of all, a certain man called Jacobus Latomus, a man sometimes wellbeseen amongst the divines of Louvain—I cannot tell whether you yourself knew him, Osorius, when he lived: this man, maintaining the same quarrel wherein you do now turmoi yourself against Luther, is reported to depart this life in the self-same desperation whereof you make mention, who, at his very last gasp, braying out most horrible and fearful roaring noise, uttered none other sound in the ears of all men that heard him, but that he was utterly damned and forsaken of God, and had no hope of salvation laid up in store for him;

se he did wilfully resist the manifest truth which
ew before to be most true.
rill couple two others with him of the same fra-
y—Guarlacke, reader of divinity lectures among
ertrudians, and Arnold Bomely, scholar to Til-
of the first of whom it is said, that even in the last
before his death, he spake in this manner, that
d lived desperately, and could not endure the
nent of God, because he did acknowledge his
o be greater than that they could obtain for-
ess. The other, having fully gorged himself
the doctrine of desperation, wherein he was in-
ted by his schoolmaster of distrust; surprised
ngth with intolerable gnawing of conscience,
ised first to kill himself with his own dagger;
e last, being wholly swallowed up of desperation,
ut his own bowels out of his body with another
's knife.
shall not be amiss to join unto those Sadolet,
inal of Rome, who, after sundry disputations
tained against Luther, gave up the ghost, not
out horrible trembling and torment of conscience.
ppose also, that you are not ignorant of the like
happened to Cardinal Crescentius, legate of the
stolic See, and president of the Tridentine coun-
being astonished with sudden horror and trouble-
e abashment of mind, in the same city, 1552;
hom John Sledan hath made relation in his Com-
taries.
What shall I speak of Castellane, archbishop of
elia, and of Pomhere, archbishop of Turone,
procured to themselves God's indignation and
geance, as appeared by the wonderful fearful pas-
s wherewith they were oppressed at the time of
ir death; not because they did hear Luther, and
his books, but because they did cruelly perse-
his doctrine. In the same beadroll may be

reckoned the remembrance of John Eckius, whose whole course of life, as it was nothing else but a continual mortal combat against Luther; so his yielding to nature was so altogether void of spiritual consolation, that even in the last gasps he uttered no other words, but of money, and certain thousand crowns.

And what need I here rehearse out of the records of ancient chronicles, Minorius, Cassianus Renestensis, Martinus; that miserable monk called Romanus, Prattes, Lysettes, Rusius, Morinos, who being horribly plagued by the severe justice of God, may be sufficient precedents to teach you what it is insolently to kick against the prick of God's unsearchable providence.

The history of the French king, Henry the Second, is yet but fresh in memory, and deeply imprinted, not in the minds only, but in the eyes of all men; who extremely boiling with inward hatred against the same doctrine, received his death's wound in the self-same eyes wherewith he was determined to view the execution of others; and was forced himself to become a manifest spectacle of God's justice to all the world, before he could bathe his eyes in the blood of the innocent. And not long after the said Henry followed also the king of Navarre, who procured unto himself most just cause, not only of desperation, but of death also, through no other occasion, but by persecuting this doctrine, which you do slanderously reproach to be the doctrine of desperation.

I could here make a register of an infinite number, not in England only, but of other regions also, which, after they had received wonderful comfort out of that sweet juice of this doctrine, which you call Lutheran, fell headlong into miserable anguish and gnawing of conscience, by revolting from this doctrine; who could never attain one sparkle of quiet mind be-

re they had reclaimed themselves from their first ostacy.

Last of all, how many thousands of men, women, l children, young and old, can this our age truly ord, who have shewed themselves more willing to ld their carcases to fire, faggots, sword, rackings, l all manner of horrible torture, rather than they uld recant, and renounce that comfortable doc- ie wherewith they were instructed; which I sup- e they would never have done, if they had sus- ted never so small embers of desperation to have ked therein. But I perceive what Osorius doth an by this word desperation, if he could either ress his mind aptly and distinctly, or were willing deal simply and plainly: to the end therefore I y frame my answer, having regard to the meaning the man, rather than to his speech, I will examine : manner of his disputing somewhat more ad- edly.

Luther doth teach (saith he), *that no man ought place affiance of his righteousness in merits and od works.* Go to, and what is concluded hereof? *erefore Luther doth teach the doctrine of despera- n.* A very new found and strange manner of ar- ment, framed perhaps after the rule which con- ideth from the staff to the corner. I suppose men Sylvan use this kind of arguing in their woody ests: but I make this answer to the argument: God had determined that our salvation should ve been purchased through godly actions, and tuous endeavour of man's life, it were not altoge- er without reason that Osorius doth speak. But asmuch as our hope and confidence is limited thin the bounds of the faith of Christ, and the ndation thereof builded upon this rock only, I sup- se surely, that the person which doth allure us home to Christ from confidence of works, and teacheth

us to repose our whole trust in him, as in the only sanctuary and sheet-anchor of our salvation, doth declare rather the true way to assure hope, than abolish the same; neither doth he by and by rend in sunder the sinews of man's endeavour, who doth but embrace, and disable that part from man's power, which doth properly appertain to the Son of God. I think that he discovereth rather the well-springs of the comfortable glad tidings of the Gospel.

But listen, I pray you, to Osorius's disputation, and wonder awhile at his deep insight in logic: *For in matters past recovery* (saith he), *and in most assured confidence, there is no man that will be induced to raise up his mind earnestly to any virtuous endeavour.* You have here given us a right rhetorical position, now make a conclusive determination, more than catholic: *ergo* (saith he), *whereas Luther doth partly despoil us of the hope of righteousness, and partly doth place the same wholly in the righteousness of Christ; which hope ought to be proper and peculiar to each person: what doth he herein else than utterly subvert and extinguish all duties and endeavours of godliness in us?* Truly I do not deny, but that in all manner of enterprises which happen in usual and daily practice, well conceiving hope doth minister wonderful courage to the mind of man; the whole force and liveliness whereof, through desperation or distrust, is many times utterly daunted.

But to what purpose is this alleged against Luther? whose teaching and lessons tend to this only mark, and not so much to instruct us in the rules of good life (which is the only peculiar office of the law), as to lead us to know whether we ought in these good works of ours to repose our affiance, or else to ascribe the same wholly to the free mercy of God through Jesus Christ: not because godly endeavours and virtuous works are not praiseworthy, but whether our

works be of so great estimation as may satisfy God's judgment, and deserve eternal life, and so establish our consciences in safety: this is the ground and principal point of the controversy which ought in this place to be decided.

Forasmuch, therefore, as there be two kinds of desperation (as we have said), it behoved you, Osorius, to have distinguished the same, before you had raised your battery against Luther. There be some persons which do utterly despair of forgiveness of their sins, and of the mercy of God towards them: as for example, the desperation of Cain, Saul, Esau, Antiochus, Judas, Minerius, Latomus, Sadolet, and such others. And this kind of desperation belongeth properly to the ungodly and wicked, which are altogether estranged from God, and nothing agreeable with Luther's doctrine.

There is, besides this, another kind of desperation, as in the attempt of any enterprise, if a man be wholly discomfited to attain the mastery, and cannot be the foremost, will not yet be discouraged, but will employ his ability as much as in him lieth, that he may be the second at the least.

> For the archer that shooteth somewhat near the stick
> Deserveth his praise, though he hit not the prick.

In like manner we all, every one of us, do march onward painfully in this warfare of God's law, as it were in a running game, to try mastery, wherein albeit was never found man which could in this life assure himself to attain the appointed goal, yet are we not therewith so thrown down in conceit, as to be in despair of our salvation. Neither ought we so to interpret the law, as though through the practice and guiding thereof only, and by no means else, we could obtain everlasting life. The law hath other purposes and ends to direct us unto, which Osorius

doth minister necessary and comfortable gladsomene to the godly and afflicted consciences.

But our Portuguese can in no wise allow of th confidence, fearing this thing forsooth: "*Lest th way be too swift, and too easy to the attainment salvation, as that which will draw away the variab mind of man from labour to slothfulness; and ther fore it were much better, that every man, being unce tain of his own safety, should be holden still in fe rather.* And this perhaps he might seem to ha spoken not without some reason, if eternal life we such a thing as did depend upon any covenant condition of works. But whereas now it consiste wholly in the free mercy of God, which neither ca deceive, nor hath respect to the worthiness of hi that receiveth this grace, but resteth upon the on credit of Him that promiseth; is not apportioned our good works, but freely given, not to them whic deserve, but unto them which do believe in Him th doth justify the ungodly; what remaineth, bu that Osorius must either strip the Scriptures nake of God's promise towards us, or of necessity co clude our trust and assured affiance under that pr mise; or that himself is utterly ignorant what th promise of the Gospel purporteth, and so bewray h singular blockishness herein; which is rather like to be true.

Now I would have him first make me an answ unto this: Whether God hath made us any pr mise at all? Then, whether that promise be the la itself, or some other thing ordained besides and be fore the law? And hereof Paul seemeth to be a ver fit interpreter, who reporteth that "the promise wa first of all given to Abraham; then, that after fou hundred and thirty years, the law was published and therefore, that it could by no means make fru trate the testament which was given first: for if it

heritance came of the law, then is it not now of promise;" (Gal. iii.)—if we think good to believe Paul rather than Osorius.

These things being now granted, I demand further (if this gentleman will vouchsafe to teach us), What kind of covenant that was of the promised inheritance unto us? Whether he will confess the same to be free, or not free? If he deny it to be free, then will St. Paul forthwith cry out against him, who doth ascribe all that promise made unto Abraham of the blessing of the seed, of the inheritance of the kingdom of eternal life, unto grace, and not unto the law; yea, and so also not only before the law, but even when he was not as yet in the circumcision.

But if he will confess, as he needs must, that the bare promise proceeded not of any covenant made in respect of our works, but was freely offered by the free goodness of the Giver only: what reason will Osorius render unto us, why we should not receive the same with all assuredness, and most certain assurance, called in Greek πληροφορία? For if faith, as Osorius hath described it in his books intituled *De Justitia*, be derived of having affiance, upon whom may a man settle his affiance more safely, than upon God? or when more assuredly, than when he promiseth simply without condition? or what can be of more certainty than that which is promised by God the Father Almighty, to all men, without exception, freely and of his own accord, yea, and that through faith only?

Freely, I say, whereby the bountiful mercy of God poured upon all flesh, may shine more lively to the comfortable cheerfulness of afflicted consciences: through faith, I say, because all things depend upon this one condition, that is to say, "That we all should believe in the Son of God, in whom all the promises of God are yea and amen." I add also, faith only,

not because I will exclude good works from her company, simply, as though they should not be put in use; but in such sort, as that they shall not be esteemed to be of such value as to be able to justify: not that, being justified, we should not exercise ourselves in them; but that we give not unto them the chief pre-eminence in justification: not because we should let loose the reins of voluptuousness, and tread the track of unbridled lust, or dissolve the severity of ancient godly discipline; nor that we should utterly extinguish all virtuous endeavours, blot out the glory of honest actions, or choke up the light of true religion and undefiled sincerity; finally, not to the end we should defile the commendable praises of worthy renown, under colour of unpunishable liberty of sinning: indeed, these are the painted flourishings of Osorius' forge and glorious glitterings of his sophistical talk, wherein this our Tim Subtle doth nothing at all degender from the sly craftiness of his predecessors.

Neither is this any new device, or practice of those, which, when they are overcharged with arguments which they cannot resolve, cast up presently such smoky and confused mists of words, and slanderous reproaches, of purpose to dazzle the eyes of the readers, that they may not see the open light. After the very same fashion, Tertullus, the advocate of the Jews, did behave himself against Paul, whose doctrine when he could by no means disprove, he rusheth upon him like a jolly sycophant, with slanders and reproaches, uttered in smooth and delicate order of speech, with lies, untrue reports, forged accusations, and outcries, exclaiming against him, that he was a troublesome man, seditious, a raiser of new sects, and a defiler of the temple. (Acts, xxiv.) For even with all the self-same contumely Tertullus did then reproach St. Paul before Felix, then president,

like as now this our Tullian Tertullus with like vanity, and no less impudency, doth accuse Martin Luther; of all which, generally, he is as innocent and clear now, as Paul was at that time of his arraignment.

Surely good consciences, weighing the matter indifferently, cannot be ignorant, nor Osorius himself (I suppose) will deny, if he be willing to yield to the truth, but that never any such brainsick thought did enter into Luther's head, as to give any scope to the ungodly to pursue wickedness; but rather that he was always of this mind, to comfort afflicted consciences, and to discover the most sure fountains of consolation in Christ Jesu crucified for us.

Whereby you may perceive, most vain-glorious Tertullus, what manner of desperation and what kind of affiance Luther doth teach; not that affiance which is an enemy to salvation, but that necessary and undoubted confidence, which is able to approve itself allowable by the infallible promises of God, and most assured testimonies of holy Scriptures. For otherwise, if Christian faith had no other fortress whereunto it might safely trust, I would then fain know of you, where that peace, where that rejoicing in Christ Jesus is, whereof Paul doth certify them, "which being justified by faith, have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ? wherein we stand assured, and rejoice in the hope of the glory of God." (Rom. v.) Where is that access with confidence and boldness, through faith in him? (Eph. iii.) Where is that access to the throne of grace with assured affiance? (Heb. iv.)

To what end doth our Lord so oft in the Gospel encourage us to conceive courageous boldness? using this reason, that he alone had overcome the world for the behoof of all people. (John, xvi.) If as yet every one of us must be enforced to purchase to him-

self the victory by his own endeavour, where is that fulness of joy in the Holy Ghost? If, employing our service after the manner of bond-servants, not as children, we must live under the law, and hope to attain the possession of our inheritance, as a reward of our works, and not through free adoption rather, "where is then that spirit of adoption, crying in our hearts, Abba, Father" (Gal. iv.), whereof St. Paul doth so oftentimes make mention? or, if you be not yet satisfied with these sentences, what answer shall we make to Isaiah the prophet, where he foresheweth everlasting joy unto them, which, being redeemed by Christ, are converted in Sion? where is that cheerfulness of heart, comfort instead of mourning, glory instead of ashes, the oil of gladness instead of the spirit of sadness, promised in the behalf of the Messias that was yet to come? (Isaiah, xxxv. lxi. lii.)

Moreover, where the same Prophet doth wonderfully commend the feet of those which should preach peace to the people, what other thing else doth he note in these words, than that most excellent glory of the church which should abundantly flow through affiance of the Mediator, upon all that should believe on him? What meaneth that cheerful prophecy of Jeremiah concerning the coming of the Messias, and the comfortable consolation of the Gospel to come? "In those days (saith he) Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell with confidence." Again, the same Prophet, "And I will make them to dwell in safety." (Jer. xxiii. xxxii.) Whereunto accordeth likewise the saying of the Prophet Ezekiel, who, prophesying of the raising up of a shepherd, and of the blessedness of that age, even in the same phrase of speech almost doth promise, "that it should come to pass, that men should dwell and rest in security without all fear, &c." (Ezek. xxxix.)

Now remaineth to learn of you, Osorius, what this

ıying, "to dwell in security without all fear," doth nport; which, forasmuch as yourself will not con- ess to have relation to the flesh, then it must follow f necessity, that we interpret the same to be spoken f the spirit. But in what sort shall it appear, that his saying must be applied to the confidence of the pirit, whenas ye shall defraud the Christian faith of ssuredness of affiance, as though ye would despoil he world of the benefit of the sun? Finally, what ertainty of confidence shall remain, if the same do lepend (as you say) wholly upon works, and not ıpon faith of the promise, and free mercy of Him hat doth make the promise? If you grant thereunto, one of those two ye must needs confess, either that you ought to obtain so much by the uprightness of your works, as shall answer and satisfy the judgment of God; which you can never do: or else that the variableness of your mind shall always stagger hither and thither in perpetual amazed uncertainty.

Do ye not perceive, Osorius, into what straits this your divinity forceth you? Go ye to therefore, Master Tertullus, and think with yourself, whether of you two, either Luther or Osorius with your Tullianism, do more stiffly maintain the doctrine of desperation? Surely St. Paul will teach you a lesson far unlike to this, who, abrogating all confidence in works, which is none at all, or at the least most unassured, doth conclude all things under faith only. "Therefore through faith (saith he), that it may be known to proceed according to grace, that thereby the promise may be assured to the whole seed." (Rom. iv.) And wherefore, I pray you, so through faith? forsooth, because if the proportion of affiance must be measured by the deservings of our works, it is so far off that any man may possibly conceive never so little hope of salvation, that he shall be forced rather

to procure unto himself a headlong downfall into the bottomless gulf of desperation.

And therefore St. Paul, discoursing upon both sorts of righteousness, as well of that of the law, as that other of faith, after that he had very exquisitely distinguished the one from the other; because of the mutual contrariety or disagreement betwixt them, wherewith they do vary each from other, doth conclude at the length that the principal substance of the whole matter dependeth upon faith wholly, according to grace. And wherefore according to grace? Verily, because having abandoned all the righteousness that cometh by the law, which worketh indignation, and therefore engendereth uncertainty, the soul might be established in grace; and taking holdfast of the promise through faith, might attend for nothing else from whence she should conceive any other assuredness of hope to attain everlasting life.

For as it is an usual custom amongst men earnestly to await for due performance of those things that are promised; so, contrariwise, such things as are granted conditionally, are then, and never till then, assured, but when the conditions are observed. Now, if the conditions were such, as might be thoroughly accomplished according to that absolute perfection of fulness wherewith they are limited, then, no doubt, the law were of itself effectual enough to salvation. "For he that doth keep the commandments shall live by them." (Levit. xviii.)

But as the case standeth now, forasmuch as we are all (will we nill we) subject to the breach of the law, and that no creature can be found, which dare affirm himself able to perform all the conditions annexed to the law of God (that I may be so bold to place your mastership one of the number), then must we all of necessity seek the means of our salvation, not from the law, but from somewhere else; because this

rnal life must be ascribed to another man's death, d not to our life; neither after the opinion of our rks, but unto the free mercy of God, which doth ly overcome when he is judged.

Wherein, for example's sake, let us hear how David nself, though never so well beloved of God, doth, it were, timorously humble himself in his prayers, eeching God "that he will not enter into judgnt with his servant." And wherewith was he disyed, I pray you? "Because (saith he) no flesh ll be justified in thy sight." (Psalm cxlii.)

If so be then, this, so noble a king, and worthy rophet, standing to be arraigned before Almighty d, durst not commit the protection of his cause to e deservings of his works, shall then Osorius or osias dare be so bold to do it? We read what maineth in record of Bernard, being otherwise a iseworthy man, that when he foresaw the end of s life to approach, and that he was then summoned appear before the judgment-seat of the eternal d, that he began to express a wonderful fearfulness, d to be very much dismayed in his mind; whom, his friends standing about him would have recomted, and encouraged to cheer himself with confince of the good life that he had led; "Indeed ith he) I perceive, I may seem to be in such estition amongst you; but I fear me, lest the judgnt of God is far unlike the judgment of men."

Truly this was aptly remembered of Bernard, who eit knew it well enough before, peradventure, yet hen being at the point of death, he perceived much re effectually: even as we see to have chanced to ny others of this popish brood, who, though they ight and flatter themselves never so much in the ry of their merits and uprightness of their works, when death knocketh at the door of their conences, and willeth them to bid adieu to the world,

then forthwith, casting away all trust of merits, and, as it were, according a recantation of that doctrine, they shrowd themselves wholly in the death of Christ, and hereupon fasten the chiefest sheet-anchor of safety, as it were, in the most assured haven of perfect blessedness.

Whereby you may understand (ye Portuguese prelate), how all that your frame of righteousness, which you builded upon the deservings of works, is unjointed, and shaken in pieces; the force whereof was never yet of such efficacy and value in any creature, as could not only not abide the incomprehensible unmeasurableness of God's judgment; but also be so wholly appalled at the encountering of death, that it cannot endure the sight thereof, but must needs yield as thoroughly vanquished.

Moreover, since this place offereth itself to debate of virtues, I would wish you to consider advisedly with yourself, what that well-known saying of Augustine doth purport, and how far it doth dissent from this your contentious quarrel of righteousness; whereas, treating of virtue and charity, he speaketh in this wise: "Virtue (saith he) is a kind of charity, wherewith we love that thing which ought to be beloved. This charity appeareth more in some, in others less, in some also nothing at all. But the fulness thereof, which cannot be increased whiles man liveth in this world, was never seen in any; for as long as it may be increased, truly all whatsoever is less than ought to be, and will admit a supply, cometh of default; through which default, all flesh cannot be justified in his sight."

Wherein pause awhiles, I pray you, with me, and debate thoroughly with yourself, whether, if that charity which is in Christians, though it be never so apparently discernible, yea, after their regeneration

so, be lame and defective, what may be thought of men, in whom scarce appeareth any mean resemblance thereof? but what shall be judged of yourself, Osorius, chiefly, amongst all other, in whom not one spark so much of true charity, nor any jot so much of humanity can be seen: insomuch, that whoso shall read those invectives of yours may easily conjecture, that he heareth not the modesty of Osorius, a Christian bishop, but rather some tragical Orestes, furiously raging upon some stage.

But to return to Augustine, of whose judgment in divinity I know not how well Osorius will allow: truly what small account he made of the worthiness of our righteousness, he could never have more vehemently uttered than in these words: "Wo be to the most upright life of man (saith he), if God examine the same, setting mercy aside." In like manner Gregory doth very little vary from Augustine in words, though nothing in sense, but altogether dissenteth from you, Osorius; where, expounding the saying of Job in the ninth chapter, viz. "Man cannot be justified, being compared to God;" "The holy man (saith he) doth perceive that all the deservings of our best works are faulty, if they be weighed in the righteous balance of the just Judge." And by and by in the eleventh chapter, as it were redoubling the self saying of Augustine: "Because (saith he), if, excluding mercy, works be examined, the life of the most righteous will be found to falter and faint under the burden of sin."

Hereunto may be annexed the consent of Bernard, of whom we made mention before, worthy to be noted touching the same matter; who, making a long discourse of the unrighteousness of man's righteousness, demandeth a question at the last, of what value all our righteousness may be in the sight of God? "Shall it not be reputed filthy (saith he), like unto a

foul cloth, according to the saying of the Prophet? and if strict and narrow examination be made thereof, shall not all our righteousness be found unrighteous and nothing worth?" At the last, as though the matter were confessed, and without all controversy, he concludeth, saying, "And what shall become then of sin, whenas righteousness itself hath nothing to allege for defence?"

Forasmuch therefore as it is so, and that this doctrine is so manifold, so manifest, confirmed by so many and so famous authors, imprinted in Holy Writ, allowed with so many invincible testimonies of sacred Scripture, published by the approved writings of the best learned interpreter, established with the unvanquishable authority of the Holy Ghost, ratified with the common consent of the ancient primitive church; finally, so manifestly known by experience of all ages; where is then *that heinous crime, that cruel offence, that shameless trespass, and that intolerable fact* (as you say), *not to be suffered in Luther?* Nay rather, to speak as the truth is, from whence, or out of what puddle have you sucked that shameless impudency, Osorius, singular foolishness, unmeasurable sycophantical rage, frantic tragical fury, and so cruel and unreasonable a custom of railing against your Christian brethren, without all cause or reason, who have rather deserved well than evil at your hands?

I know not whether this proceeded from any cankered malice lurking within you, or through corruption of your nature. Sure I am that you never learned that insolency out of holy Scriptures, or out of the rules of the Gospel, or by ensuing the example of Christ and his Apostles, or their mild and courteous conversation. But perhaps Osorius hath determined with himself, to leave to the posterity some especial jewel, as a monument of his eloquence, as Cicero did his invectives called Philippica, &c. Yea,

been more convenient for him, to have chosen
other method to treat upon, and far more seemly
e bent the rage of his pen against some others
than against Luther, Bucer, and others the

· if he were willing to confess the truth simply,
other doctrine doth Luther, Bucer, Haddon,
ll others (who discourse upon one self-same
l) teach, than the very same matter that St.
in so many his Epistles doth so earnestly en-
' that is to say, that we should ascribe all the
of our salvation in Jesus Christ only, and in him
repose all our whole anchor-hold of righteous-
not in ourselves, but in the Son of God; not
: law of works, but in the law of faith; not in
ecepts of godly life, as Augustine witnesseth,
n the faith of Jesus Christ; not in the letter,
n the spirit; not in the merits of good deeds,
n the mercy of God: finally, after that sort
mercy, that we should not account this mercy
mercy at all, according to the saying of Augus-
unless it be altogether freely given.
w now? Are Christians now-a-days straitened
h brambles, that it may not be lawful to speak
ly in the congregation, the self-same which the
ets, Apostles, Christ himself, the Holy Ghost,
he purest authors of ancient antiquity have set
in writing; but that the party so doing shall be
with detected, as though he practised to subvert
nesty and virtuous endeavour, and shall be con-
ed to plead for himself as if he were arraigned
mon barrater, and had committed some heinous,
ble, and execrable fact, more detestable than
treason?
ither are these all the crimes yet wherewith this
llian railer doth rage in his railing, but crawleth
rd by increasing degrees of amplification. For

being not satisfied to have accused Luther as an underminer of all honesty and virtue; to have cut in pieces the very sinews of godly exercise and virtuous endeavour; besides this horrible accusation, he chargeth him also with a crime passing all measure intolerable. And what is that? *Because* (saith he) *he doth wrest the mind and wisdom of Paul to serve his own lust.* And redoubling the same again in other words, because he will not seem to be an unskilful Ciceronian, he addeth further, *and he doth abuse the testimonies of holy Scriptures to establish his own unshamefacedness, &c.* Where, Sir, I pray you? Forsooth in sundry places of the Apostle, and especially in the Epistle written to the Romans.

Wherein because it shall not only be conceived in mind, but also perceived by the view, how disorderly Luther, the standard-bearer of all heretics, and his cabin-mate Haddon, and all the counterfeits of this new Gospel, have always hitherto in the interpretation of that Epistle gropingly, like night-owls, lumpered in darkness; let us all and every of us open our eyes and ears now, and listen to this new start-up prophet, whiles this our most elegant Tertullus, sitting at high desk, may instruct us all blockish ass-heads, and, as it were, another Archimedes, with line upon the sand, chalk us out a way, and set up some especial marks, whereby we may find out the lively and natural sense, mind, and meaning of that Epistle.

And first of all concerning the Gentiles (because he may begin with them, as Paul doth) he saith, *that it is evident enough, that they were enlightened with a singular gift of nature, endued with excellent understanding, adorned and beautified with wonderful ornament of nature.* Who hath ever denied this? Go to. What followeth hereof? *Wherefore, forasmuch as this so great force of nature, excellency of understanding,*

of knowledge in learning, yea, so great worthiness of reason and capacity, could avail nothing at all with the Gentiles to perfect and righteous living (for they did exceed in all iniquity and outrageous lust), thereby appeareth plainly, that nature was void of all aid and help to attain the righteousness of eternal life. And this much by the way touching the Gentiles. From whom after the Apostle had removed all confidence which was usually ascribed to the law of nature, he turneth his speech forthwith to the Jews. And because the Jews themselves did in like manner place their whole affiance in those shadows and outward ceremonies, the Apostle likewise, yea more sharply also inveigheth against them, declaring that all those ceremonies of the law and ordinances prescribed by Moses did profit them nothing at all, whereby they might be any jot more restrained from running headlong into all kind of wickedness, nothing less inclined to all filthiness of conversation, neither any mite less estranged from virtuous endeavour, than the profane Gentiles; whereby appeareth that the effect of Paul's conclusion tendeth to this end, to make this manifest, that neither nature, nor the ceremonies of Moses' law, that is to say, washing, sacrifices, cleansings, circumcision, and such-like corporal ordinances (with the confidence whereof that people did swell, and were puffed up in pride), did take away sin, or did any thing at all avail to righteousness.

By this discourse of Osorius, I doubt not, gentle reader, but that thou dost sufficiently understand, if thou be of any capacity, what the meaning of Paul, and the whole sense and disposition of his doctrine in this Epistle to the Romans, doth purport, according to Osorius' divinity; that is to say, that we may learn how that we may not hope for any aid towards our salvation, from nature, or any ordinances of the old law: which being granted, it remaineth

further to learn out of this oracle of our great Master, from whence we ought at length to seek for the true way of salvation, and in what point it chiefly consisteth; *forsooth in righteousness* (saith he), *that is to say, as Osorius doth define it, in eschewing sin, and earnestly embracing all godliness, virtue, and piety; unto the which righteousness only we ought to refer all surety and anchor-hold of our salvation.* And hereupon is coined a new oracle, not from Delphos in Bœotia, but forged by Osorius in the wilderness of Sylvain, worthy to be registered to eternity of all people and tongues. *For righteousness only* (saith he) *doth reconcile God to mankind.* The man hath spoken.

This mystery being exquisitely picked out of the hidden mysteries of divinity, since Osorius requireth so earnestly to be granted him without contradiction, what shall become of that *faith only*, wherewith those Lutherans and Bucerans do prattle so much, themselves to be justified by? Nay rather, what shall become of any faith at all, Osorius, if the only righteousness of works do accomplish the absolute fulness of our justification? O ingenious head, and wonderful deep conclusion, framed through conference of reasons and apt application of the middle proposition with the first and clerkly concluding and shutting up the same into one knot together!

Unless this our deep divine had cunningly culled this argument out of the closet of the Pope's own breast, as out of some horse-pool, within whose bosom all knowledge of God and man is inclosed, or unless this Endymion had soundly snorted in Aristotle's Ethics, as it were in the hill Parnassus; can any man doubt, whether he could ever have been able so happily to have pierced into the inward and hidden meaning of the Apostle's doctrine, with so great sharpness and force of wit and understanding,

: ever descried the sense thereof so effectually, covered it so abundantly?

y do we not triumphantly rejoice in this hap- of learning, in this blessed estate of the ca- people, and this our age, and be joyful for od success of that notable realm of Portugal lly? Which being otherwise renowned for the reasure of their trade in merchandises, is yet e most fortunate in respect of this inestimable of the world, which except in this great dark- f understanding had gratified us with this won- divine, who might restore unto life all piety ligion suppressed by Luther; who could with singularity express the meaning of Paul, being rly corrupted after the sensuality of naughty and could so exquisitely have hit the nail on ad; all men might justly have doubted, lest di- should have grown into great peril of utter un- , and have been thrown into an unrecoverable all. For what man in the world would have in- ted Paul's Epistle in this wise, if he had not this man before?

ly I, for my part, and others like unto me, not inspired with so profound and deep ca- , did always heretofore conceive of the matter his manner: That the Apostle's whole en- ur and travail in that Epistle, tended to none end than by making men behold the greatness d's wrath first against sin, he might the better e them to perceive and feel how all nations and e, as well heathenish, as the Jews also them- , chiefly continuing in the profession of God's were yet concluded under sin, and so might il them all, of all matter to glory upon; and so g humbled and brought them into subjection e God, might raise again their comfort in t, by denouncing unto them firm assured hope,

wherewith whosoever did as then, or would believe in him afterwards, should obtain everlasting life; not through the merit of any work, but by the especial gift of the free promise; not for our worthiness, but for our faith's sake simply, without works; that the promise might be infallible, not through any our merit, which is none at all; but by the mercy of God; not according to the proportion of that singular righteousness which is of ourselves, and peculiar to every of us; but according to that righteousness, which is through the faith of Christ Jesus, which is of God; even that only righteousness which is through faith. (Phil. iii.)

I have been always hitherto persuaded, that this was the very natural meaning and sense of Paul's doctrine, and this the right rule of justification; neither could I ever guess, that when Paul pronounceth us to be justified by faith without deeds of the law, that part of the law was excluded only, which did treat of ceremonies, and had relation to the body, and appertained not to the soul.

But I, according to my gross dulness, rather did conceive of his saying in this wise; and not I alone, but many other good men jarring always upon the same string, mistook the note as I did, and were of opinion that Paul by that his exemption did not exclude the ceremonial and shadowish law only, which serve the letter only, but that most absolute and perfect part of the law also indifferently, whereof he maketh his whole discourse in that Epistle; the which also he doth note by name to be spiritual, and saith, that it procureth wrath, which was common to the Jews and Gentiles all alike; even the same part of the law which commandeth, that thou shalt not lust; by examination whereof sin is discerned (Rom. vii. iv.): finally, the same hand-writing contained in the ten tables written against us, which was fastened upon the cross of Christ. (Eph. ii.)

Because all those sayings could not be referred to the ceremonial law, but to that part of the law which was contained in the precepts of manners, we could never otherwise interpret the sense and meaning of the Apostle than by such comparison of his own words together, until this new Doctor had published to the world this new light of exposition.

Considering therefore the matter is in this plight, it remaineth now, gentle reader, that I appeal to thy judgment, and abide thy verdict herein, whether it may seem to thee that Luther have wrested the mind and words of the Apostle after his lust, or Osorius rather have perverted the same to his own folly. But go to, I think good now to note the arguments wherewith Osorius judgeth himself to be strongly fenced.

If Paul (saith he) *had said, that the Jews were commendable for their integrity and innocency of life, and yet that those deeds of godliness did nothing avail them to attain righteousness, and so had concluded afterwards that they were not justified through the works of the law, the matter would then have opened itself, that by the name of works he did mean the best actions and duties of virtue.*

Here is a strong foundation enough (I suppose) of infallible syllogism delivered unto you; attend now the other proposition of the same.

But this (saith he) *is not found in that whole discourse of Paul; nay rather, he doth condemn them as guilty of all wickedness and cruelty.*

This groundwork being thus laid, it remaineth that we ram fast this building up with some good mortar, which in the manner of a conclusion is applied in this wise:

Therefore Paul doth rightly conclude, that where he affirmeth no man to be justified through the deeds of the law, he meaneth, that the ceremonies, shadows,

and cleansings of the law, which consisted in outward observation, did nothing at all profit to the attainment of righteousness.

O passing piercing wit of Chrysippus! O miserable Luther! utterly overthrown with this argument. But go to; let us aid Luther somewhat, and help to unloose this Gordian knot if it be possible. And although we may utterly deny the form of this argument at the first chop, because it containeth more in the conclusion than was spoken of in the premises; yet either pardoning or winking at this escape, let us examine the substance of the first proposition.

If Paul (quoth he) *had perceived the life of the Jews to have been undefiled, and all the endeavours and works of their life sincere and perfect, and then had concluded that no man had been justified by the works of the law, &c.* Indeed, good Sir, I confess the same to be true. If the Apostle had perceived this at the first, and then had added that also that you speak, it might happily then in some respect have followed as you have concluded. But it could not be possible, Osorius, that the Apostle would ever speak after that sort. For it is evident by God's Scripture, that it is impossible but that he which performeth the commandments shall live by them. (Deut. iv. v.)

Wherefore, if their conversation had been void of all blame, and with like integrity could have answered and thoroughly satisfied the perfect law of God unto the uttermost tittle thereof, it cannot be doubted but that Paul would never have denied that those should be justified by the works of the law, who do lead a perfect and upright life; yea, rather he would have affirmed this that he spake there, which is most true: "Glory, honour, and

peace, be unto every one that worketh righteousness, to the Jews as well as to the Gentiles, &c." (Rom. iii.) But now, whenas he foresaw, that the Jews did swell with a certain pharisaical opinion of their works, and proudly vaunted themselves upon them, disdainfully detesting all other as heathenish, ungodly in respect of themselves, neither seemed to stand in any need of the Mediator; therefore to the end he might shake away from them that pestilent persuasion of their own righteousness, and force them to seek succour at Christ, hereupon he did utterly despoil all works of ability to justify; that is to say, he so taketh away all affiance of our works, being of all parts imperfect, because he may ascribe it wholly to faith only, and repose the same in Christ alone.

Therefore, that I may orderly and distinctly make answer to that your major, being hypothetical and copulative, which you do so intricately entangle, and miserably choke up with obscure speech; first of all we must remember, that the observation of the law hath a double understanding; for after one sort Christ did observe the law of his Father, but mortal men observe it after another sort; Christ most perfectly and absolutely, but we weakly and rawly; yea, I know not if we perform any portion thereof very meanly.

Whereupon ariseth a double consideration of righteousness: the one perfect, and is peculiar to Christ, and is only of value with God; the other imperfect and lame, which properly appertaineth to man, and perhaps carrieth some resemblance of holiness in the opinion of men, but is of no estimation before God, nor sufficeth to salvation. Moreover to the purchasing of that first and sincere righteousness, man must be furnished with two principal talents; the one, that he so accomplish the whole

law, that no part thereof be defective; the other, that he so thoroughly perform every part thereof, that nothing may be added to absolute perfection.

Or else, he may hear what the Scripture threateneth, "Cursed be he that persisteth not in all the words of the law to do them, &c." (Deut. xxvii. Gal. iii.) Again, "He that breaketh the least of them, is guilty of them all." (James, ii.) Now forasmuch as never any man was able to bring that thing to pass but Christ only, it is out of all controversy, that all other mortal men, as well Jews as Gentiles, are fast holden under the curse.

Whereupon the Apostle, after long debating of the matter, concludeth, "that no man can be justified by the works of the law." Which sentence is not yet so to be taken, as though no deeds of the law being sincerely and perfectly done, according to the prescript rule of law, could profit any thing at all towards salvation; for the very same was performed in the person of Christ, whose life being of all parts, free altogether from all blemish of sin, could not be attainted with that saying of Paul, "That no man could be justified by the works of the law," for that he was justified through his own works especially. With as good right also might we maintain our like challenge therein, if our infirmity were able to raise itself to that perfection of Christ.

Whereupon we hear the Apostle very aptly arguing in this wise: "If that law (saith he) had been delivered, that could have given life, then no doubt righteousness had come by the law." (Gal. iii.) But wherefore is it said, that the law cannot give life? Not because the law wanted her efficacy to give life, but because we were destitute of sufficient power to accomplish the perfection of the law. For otherwise what can be of more force to righteous-

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the ceremonial law, but of the law of the ten

tables. Moreover, whereas Paul did discourse of that law which procureth wrath; which was given, that sin might be more sinful; which is said to be written in the hearts of the Gentiles; which doth discover the knowledge of sin; which forbiddeth to lust; which is called holy and is spiritual; by the which sin doth shew itself more abundantly to purchase damnation; from which law we are delivered by the death of Christ; which is called the law of righteousness; finally, the full accomplishing whereof is love (Rom. iv. v. ii. iii. vii. ix. xiii.): these and many other places, if you have not perused in Paul's Epistles, I desire you to vouchsafe to read them. If you have read them, then I beseech you to answer me, whether to your judgment these sayings seem to concern the ceremonial law, or that part of the law especially, which consisteth in the actions and duties of manners and common conversation of life.

But you say, that the Jews did put ever much confidence in their ceremonies; and therefore to drive away the confidence which they reposed in them, the Apostle's meaning was to advertise them, that they should ascribe true righteousness to those outward ceremonies, shadows, and cleansings. What a jest is this! As though the Jews did settle their confidence in the ceremonies only, and did not much more rather glory in their race, in their parentage, in their worshipping and calling upon God, in their prophets, in God's promises, in the deeds and works of holiness.

Furthermore, whereas this Epistle was not written to the Jews, but to the Romans, what answer will Osorius make here? Were the Romans also instructed to the observation of those ceremonies? Or did they rest so much upon them, that it behoved the Apostle of necessity to forewarn

his letters written unto them? But what
ıpon shall I use in this conflict against
:han one taken out of his own armoury?
e speaketh:
*Apostle had first praised the Jews for their
d good deeds, and afterwards had said that
es and good deeds were of no value towards
ısing of righteousness, and then at last had
that they could not have been justified
he works of the law, then the matter had
that Paul had not excluded the ceremonial
but the moral law also, from righteousness.*
well, gentle reader, and note advisedly
speaketh. If Paul had first praised the
the Jews, and afterwards had derogated
n from these works, &c.—very well. And
ut of the same nation I do name some
ıse singular integrity of life and study of
ıess, Paul could by no means reprove?
se godly endeavour and upright dealing
them no drop of righteousness notwith-
What will this sophister say then?
ıt of all, let us behold the works of that
patriarch Abraham; who for his inesti-
lliness can never be condignly enough
d of any of us. And yet will ye hear,
:he testimony of the Apostle touching the
iarch? "What shall we say (saith he)
ather Abraham did find according to the
For if Abraham were justified through
hath wherein he may glory, but not in
of God." (Rom. iv.) What then? Did
tain of God to be called righteous? Yes,
ut let us see by what means: "Not
works," saith the Apostle, "but by the
ation of his faith;" which only maketh
worthy in the sight of God: "For Abra-

ham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness."

It is manifest therefore, that he was accounted righteous; but by what means? Forsooth, not simply, nor in respect of his works, but by way of imputation only. Now, whatsoever cometh of imputation, proceedeth from mere mercy of him that imputeth, and is not given in reward after the proportion of duty or of debt; for no man imputeth that to another that is duly owing unto him.

Now let us hear the testimonies of the Scriptures concerning that which was imputed. Not because he did the things which he was commanded (albeit he did many things wonderfully well), but because he believed God: this was said to be imputed unto him for righteousness. And why was not righteousness imputed unto him as well in those respects, because he did sacrifice unto God? because he forsook his native country? because he offered his only son to be slain?

Neither doth the Apostle overskip or conceal those causes especially, because that he which was the parent of the posterity, the same also should be the author of the doctrine. For why? This was written (saith Paul), viz. "That it was imputed unto him for righteousness, not for his sake only, but for us also to whom it shall likewise be imputed, that believe in Him, which raised our Lord Jesus from death to life, &c." (Rom. iv.)

And thus much concerning Abraham, who, though alone, may suffice in place of all others, so that we need none other example; yet let us join to this holy patriarch as holy a king, David, with Abraham, both being dear unto God, both equally endued with like excellent ornaments of godliness and virtue. Whereof the one, as he had nothing whereupon to glory before God, so the

did so disclaim altogether from righteousness,
e besought nothing more carefully of God in
ayers, than that he would not enter into
ent with his servant; and rendereth a reason
most earnest prayer, "Because all flesh shall
e justified in thy sight." (Psalm cxlii.) And
other thing is meant by this, than that which
affirmeth in the self-same words almost,
t no man is justified by the works of the law?"
to then, and where are now those wonderful
of works? Where is that glorious show of
ousness? Finally, where shall Osorius him-
ppear with all his cleanness, good disposi-
temperance of mind, singular humanity, le-
patience, chastity, unfeigned charity, and
hat absolute huge chaos of bountiful virtues
separably united and linked together, as it
chained fast with iron ropes? whenas David,
at a king and prophet, a most choice vessel
ing to God's own heart, dare not presume to
himself to judgment; whenas Job, a man
ended of God for his singleness of heart and
red holiness, being asked a question of God,
not answer one word.
will not be impertinent to the matter, if we
somewhat here of Paul himself, whose con-
ion (which he led unblamable, being as yet
risee) Tertullus himself could not charge with
ault. The same being afterwards engraffed
Christ, lived in that uprightness of conscience,
Osorius cannot justly reprehend him, as worthy
me. And yet all those so great and so many
ients of holiness, did so nothing avail him to
ousness, that he himself accounted them for

herefore, consider here with me, Christian
r, a' good fellowship, how much difference is

holy men, despising with a certain pharisaical haughtiness all other nations besides themselves.

Wherefore the Apostle indifferently tendering the miserable error of each nation, as well Gentiles as Jews, doth earnestly debate three things chiefly in that place: first, that he might convince the Jews, as also the Gentiles, indifferently, that they were sinners before God; then, that he might remove from them all false opinion of affiance; lastly, that he might imprint into them the true way of confidence.

And in this last purpose of the Apostle, Osorius doth openly bewray his blockish ignorance, swerving and varying altogether from the intent of the Apostle. For although his judgment be sound, and agreeable with the Apostle in this, that the trust which the Jews reposed in the law of Moses was no less vain and void of reason than the confidence of the Gentiles who framed their life after the law of nature; yet when question is moved touching the assigning of true righteousness, Paul will teach one thing, but Osorius another.

For whereas Paul doth bend the whole force of his disputation to this only mark, that excluding all other deeds, works, and endeavours, whether they appertain to the ceremonial or moral law, or to the rule and doctrine of manners, he might refer the sum of our justification and hope of salvation wholly and only in the faith of the Son of God; what other thing else doth this Ciceronian Tertullus discourse in those books, entitled, *De Justitia?* wherein he playeth so much the philosopher, as though he were in the school of moral philosophy; what else doth he breathe, practise, and so greedily maintain, than to persuade us, that wheresoever St. Paul doth exclude works from justification, he doth exempt nothing else but the ceremonial law; and so

r conclusion, that true righteousness is not that ghteousness in the sight of God, which Christ doth mpute to the believers through faith; but that righousness which every man doth properly procure, nd make peculiar to himself, through his own virue, sincerity, innocency, and good conversation, ffering the combat pardy to Paul; whether in this arrel of justification St. Paul shall with more proable arguments exclude confidence from works, or sorius drive faith into utter exile: unto the which ith in all his books he leaveth no manner of place, nd truly yieldeth very little credit thereunto. Neither it any marvel; for if the matter be as Osorius oth report, *That we ought to be just before God, nd not justified before God; and if righteousness only o procure the favour of God, and reconcile God to ankind, wherein only we ought to settle all our safety nd worthiness; and if no man can be righteous but e that keepeth the law, that is to say, if the just an shall now live but by works, and not by faith*— udge, I beseech thee, gentle reader (redeemed ith the blood of Jesus Christ), of what efficacy ither Christ's blood shed for thee may be, or of hat estimation thy faith towards Christ may be. Truly by this means Osorius, with his glorious elouence, may as well pluck down Christ out of heaen, banish faith out of the earth, snatch Paul out our hands, root the Gospel out of our hearts, and ll comfortable consolation from our consciences; nally, despoil the world of the light of the sun, that e may altogether lumper and grope in darkness, fter this blind guide and captain of darkness.

But here are one or two places of Paul objected ainst Paul himself, whereby Osorius may the better aintain his challenge against Paul with Paul's own eapons. *What, had not Paul* (saith he) *a most arp conflict with the Jews always touching the ce-*

remonies? What hereof then? *Doth he not in his Epistle to the Galatians protest in this wise? If ye be circumcised, Christ doth nothing profit you.* I confess this to be true. *In like manner writing to the Hebrews, doth he not say that the law doth avail nothing to perfection, meaning the ceremonial law?* Conclude at the length therefore, Osorius, in despite of logic, though she be never so angry—*ergo, wheresoever Paul doth make mention of abandoning the law in the treaty of our salvation, there we must of necessity interpret the same to be spoken only of the ceremonial law, and in no wise of the moral law.*

Verily, I would not much stick with you herein, good Sir, if, according to your logic, it may be lawful to derive a conclusion from the part to the whole. But what kind of argument is this? or who instructed you to frame an argument in this sort? In some places Osorius sporteth bitterly enough, using his rhetorical digressions, and is sometimes very pleasantly disposed to play with Haddon's schoolmaster's nose, whosoever he were that informed him in the principles of rhetoric, when he was young; but how much more just cause might I take here, if a man would use the offered occasion, to give the counterscoff against your own master quarreller, whosoever he was, which noosled your youth in logic, and taught you so foolishly and senselessly to make bald arguments, and to fetch a conclusion from an unsufficient numbering of parts to affirm the whole?

For this is your disordered order of arguing in this place. Paul once or twice, or perhaps speaking oftentimes of the law, hath relation to the ceremonial law; *ergo,* wheresoever he maketh any discourse about the law of God, there his meaning tendeth to the same construction, even through his whole discourse, and in all his Epistles; nay rather, if you did understand Paul thoroughly, and would not crook-

y wrest his meaning after your own gross sensua-
; ye should easily perceive, that by way of negative
doth orderly proceed, after the surest manner of
aing, from the whole to the parts, and from the
versal to the particular.

For if the universal proposition may justly be de-
d, it followeth of necessity, that the particular
positions may not be admitted: as where he doth
, "No works at all of the law do justify,"
may duly conclude hereof, *ergo*, neither the
emonial, moral, natural, politic, civil, nor any
er law doth work justification.

And mark here, Osorius, how much I do bear
h you, whenas I do cut off so much of mine own
nt unto you, which you could never be able by
atment to win at my hands. For to admit the
ndation of your argument, which is otherwise
gether false, we will yet for this present time
nt it to seem true, as you would yourself it should
that when Paul doth reason of the law, he doth
lly mean thereby the ceremonial law.

Yet what a monstrous argument is this, whereby
ravail to confirm the affirmation of one part by
negation of the other part in this wise? Paul doth
y that the ceremonial law doth justify the Jews,
the moral law doth justify them; nay, rather,
much more soundly should you have reasoned,
ing your conclusion backward: If the ceremo-
law, which was the principal substance of Mo-
law, do not justify, *ergo* neither any other part
e law doth justify.

Albeit I will not deny, but that in the very swaddling
ts of the primitive church, many doubts arose
ngst the disciples themselves, touching the re-
ng of Moses' ceremonies, insomuch that Peter
elf durst not be so bold as to receive Cornelius
aptain into the fellowship of the Gospel, before

he was commanded by the heavenly oracle. Neither could the strife about the ceremonial law be yet so appeased amongst the brethren, for the false apostles, and such as were of the circumcision, did stiffly, as it were, with tooth and nail defend the observances of the ceremonial law, neither would give their consent that the Gentiles should be received into the congregation, unless they would be circumcised after Moses' law, and endeavoured all that they could to charge the Christians with the yoke of the ceremonial law, until in a council holden at Jerusalem the Holy Ghost did determine that the Gentiles should not be charged with any Judaical traditions, except a very few only. (Acts, xv.) And it is not to be doubted, as Osorius doth say, that Paul had much ado in every place about this ceremonial law; yea, and dealt oftentimes therein, not without manifest peril of life.

Yet all this while appeared not so much as one sparkle of dissension or doubtfulness, nor any one question was raised amongst the brethren against the moral law, the keeping whereof was yet adjudged most necessary. The controversy remained as yet about the ceremonies and customs of Moses' law. At the last, when this question was decided, further inquiry began to be made afterwards of that part of the law which seemed to challenge chief authority and especial government over the consciences of men.

And even here, through the inestimable benefit of God, sprang up unto us St. Paul, who first of all did call back the controversy of this question from the special or particular to the general or universal; disputing not only of the outward ceremonies, but of the whole doctrine of the moral law also, whereunto I suppose he was moved not without great cause; for he had an inkling surely, that the very same thing would ensue thereof, which afterwards came to pass—

t the ceremonial law being once made altogether ffectual, many persons would wrongfully ascribe ir free justification purchased with the blood of Je- Christ to the works of the moral law; which thing Paul did foresee in the false apostles, the self-same may easily perceive now to happen in our pharisai- rabbines in these our days; and, among all other, this our Osorius chiefly at this present; where- e it is not to be doubted, but that St. Paul was sed up by the especial providence of God, even for s purpose, who, discoursing thoroughly upon the ole law, and upon the effect, use, office, and end the law, doth fully describe unto us how much ought to attribute to our works, and how much ought to yield to the grace of God; and herein covereth the very well-springs of sound doctrine; ally, declareth unto us which is the false, and ich is the true righteousness in the sight of God, l wherein the same doth consist.

Likewise whereunto it ought not to be referred. Not to works (saith he), for no man living shall justified by works." Well then, if not by works, w then? "Through faith (saith he) in Jesus rist." (Gal. iii.) Yet is not this all that he speak- ı; but adding thereunto a proof, he yieldeth this son: "Because if through works (saith he), then it not now of promise." (Rom. iv.) After this nner teacheth Paul both learnedly and plainly.

But our Osorius practiseth to wipe away this ne- tive proposition of Paul with a trim shift, as though ul in all those places where he dischargeth works m justification, did mean nothing else, but that man should repose trust of assured safety in the ce- monial law only. Very well; then is it reason that he ch us whereupon we should ground our affiance. Verily in faith," saith the Apostle Paul, "and so

in faith, that if in works, then not in faith at all." This is truly spoken by the Apostle.

But what saith Osorius? in the ceremonies of the old law? No, not so; for that were altogether Jewish. In faith therefore? neither yet so in any wise; for this is the very doctrine of Luther. Vouchsafe therefore a good fellowship, Osorius, to descry out one safe haven for us, wherein we poor forlorn abjects may cast anchor, and save ourselves from shipwreck.

Forsooth in works (saith Osorius), and in keeping the prescribed rules of virtuous life, that is to say, in innocency, in chastity, in modesty, in abstinence, in uprightness of mind, in holiness of religion, in ferventness of the spirit, in abundance of the love of God, in earnest endeavour of godliness, in deeds of righteousness, duties of piety in giving much alms, in obedience, in keeping peaceable unity, and suchlike ornaments and treasures, whereof Osorius in many words maketh a long rehearsal.

Of all which virtues there is not so much as one crumb or sparkle in these Lutherans or Bucerans, and these new gospellers, than which kind of people nothing can be named more wicked, nothing thought upon more pestiferous, nothing more troublesome in the commonwealth, nothing more readily armed to raise maliciousness, to sow contentions, quarrels, strife, and enmity; nothing more pernicious to procure the destruction of princes; none more given to bloodsucking and treason, who being embrued with all wickedness, licentiousness, liberty, lust, with all manner of shamelessness, cruelty, and madness, outrageously rush into all places whereby they may thrust their Gospel in place, and defile all things with filthy stench; wheresoever they make never so little abode, they corrupt the land with treacherous villanies; finally, they poison the air, they do aban-

chastity, give full scope to voluptuousness, root all fear of God's law and man's law, and in all outrage they promise unpunishable liberty.

On the contrary part, I mean in the court of Rome, in all that most sacred city, flourisheth a far er manner of countenance and majesty of severe cipline and virtuous life. And first of all in that st royal, high, and chief prelate, and most re-vned monarch of all prelates, sitting in Peter's own ir; in those reverend estates of the Tridentine ncil, in the worshipful massmongers of the Romish rch; in the great doctors of that old Gospel; in nasteries and dortures, the very forge-shops of st pure doctrine, in the most chaste cells of holy s; finally, in all that sacred senate and Catholic ple, no such precedents of wickedness and abomi-ion may be seen; no spot so much of corrupt in-tion reigneth; no ambition, no lust, no insolency; ther any kind of malice, no quarrelling, no cruelty, foul or unseemly thing savouring of any earthly tagion, can be discernible amongst this genera-n.

But whole heaps, yea, huge mountains of godly l heavenly store do flourish and abound; no quietness or molestation of empires and princely vernment, no seed-plots of mortal wars, no show much of bloody battle, no treason, no overthrow kings, and public authority, nor any seditious nts of contentious discord; finally, no earthly ng in the secret closets of the Romish court; inso-ch, that if Diogenes would in mid-day with torch hand pry never so narrowly, he should not be able find in all the city of Rome one harlot or strumpet much.

To conclude, it is not possible to hear amongst st most sacred Catholic conventicle, any sound of

cavillation at all, no muttering of outrageous slanders, no blast of cunningly forged lies, whereof, as all others of that sect are clear, so are these books of Osorius chiefly most purely purged; wherein appeareth no smatch of brabbling, distempered affections, no lying slander, no jar of erroneous doctrine, no signification of a mind troubled and severed from the castle of reason.

But all things are debated and expounded with peaceable gentleness, quiet tranquillity of mind, wonderful lenity and mildness, not with rigorous and malicious words, not with slanderous and carterlike reproaches, but with invincible arguments, as forcible as the darts of Achilles, or Hector, discharged (I think) out of the very guts of the Trojan horse; nothing uttered to the vain ostentation of wit, or revengement of spiteful hatred, as it were in triumph of victory (fie! beware of that, gentle reader), but of a very simple and earnest desire to advance virtue and piety, for this especial cause forsooth, that those sparks and embers of honesty and godliness which Luther hath raked up, buried, and utterly quenched out, might once again be quickened, and flourish in that most sacred see of Rome.

These, even these same, be the works (if ye will needs know them, Catholic reader) and good deeds of those men, wherewith they do prepare an entry to true righteousness, and furnish their journey to heaven, and wherewith, as it were with ladders, they climb by steps to the purchase of eternal inheritance. And how else? This, even this must be the right way to heaven. But in the mean space with how many foggy and thick clouds hath St. Paul, the servant of God, and Apostle of Jesus Christ, overwhelmed the Christian people? and into how deep and darkened dungeons hath he drowned our senses?

Who albeit was rapt into the third heaven, had

not as yet conceived this incomprehensible wisdom out of the very forge-shops of mystical philosophy. Belike he could not descry throughout all the heavens this hidden secret, that men are not justified by works, but are made righteous by the faith of the Son of God, and so by faith that in no respect by works. Finally, that the especial means and singular substance of our justification, is in this sort to be weighed, as that it may not be attained elsewhere than in Christ only, nor by any other means than through faith only in Christ.

But if St. Paul had not received this doctrine from heaven, or had not taught us the doctrine which he received from thence; or if you, for your part, Osorius, had disputed after this sort as ye teach now, in any painim commonwealth, or before any ethnic philosophers, or amongst the Jews or Turks, it might happily have come to pass (I suppose), that this your Aristotle-like justice might have obtained at the least, some resemblance of truth, or perhaps crept into some credit; nay, rather, it is not to be doubted, but if the Jews themselves or Turks were now confederate with you in Portugal, in the same argument, they could not scarcely allege any other proofs than you bring forth unto us at this present; neither would (I think) expound the same in any other phrase of words than yourself do use.

But now, forasmuch as we contend not together in Tully's Tusculan Questions, nor in his Academical Probabilities, nor in Plato's Commonwealth, nor in the Jewish Talmud, nor yet in the Turk's Alcoran, but in the church of Jesus Christ; surely ye ought to have regarded the place chiefly where you were when ye wrote this; and to know how you ought to have behaved yourself when you were there; what doctrine you ought to have published in so great an authority, what personage ye do represent in your

country, not the person of a common ruffian (I suppose), but of a bishop. Marry, now, you have played so the part of a very rascal under the visor of a bishop (pardon me, I pray you, speaking the truth), that no common barrater nor roguish ruffian could vomit out more shameless scurrility. St. Paul doth so little esteem the credit of any other Gospel, that he holdeth him no better than accursed—yea, though an angel from heaven do bring a contrary one to this same.

And shall we bear with this colloverthwart Osorius, like a vice in a play, with a new-found changeling to make mingle-mangle with the sacred word of the Lord? and with such unsavoury subtleties to pervert the pure and undefiled sincerity of the Gospel of grace; and, like a wild boar, to moil up by the roots the flourishing and most plentiful vineyard of our blessed felicity, planted by the Lord himself? If that blind buzzardly owl-eye of your mind, Osorius, be as yet wrapped in so darkened a cloud, that this clear light of the gracious mercy of God, shining from above, cannot pierce into those dull dazzled senses, to see the manifest light of the truth; it should yet have been much more seemly for you to have comforted them, whom the Holy Ghost had enabled with better grace to teach the truth, and so simply to have yielded to the same; truly, it behoved you to have qualified your rage, and used more modesty, at the least, towards them that did dissent from you.

And if yourself were not willing to pursue the true path to heaven, ye should not yet have foreclosed the entry to others, that were willing to enter in; and knowing your own disability in teaching, ye should yet more shamefacedly have bewrayed your unskilfulness, and made some end once at the length, or at the least retained some reasonable order from that rascal-like railing and immeasurable insolency, and

ilfully have rushed into such tragical exclama-
ore you had been better acquainted with the

ı now you toss and turmoil yourself in these
s as though ye were of some other profession,
nere stranger to the matter wherein you
savour any thing at all, surely understand so
coldly and senselessly as no man more bru-
d withal use yourself therein so disorderly and
nsly, as the very furies of hell could not more

nust pardon me, Osorius, if I speak plainly
ıkly as I think; wherein I will not speak as
of malice or of any melancholic affection
your person, whom I wish well unto truly,
eech God heartily to grant a more sound
ıt. But I fear me, Osorius, lest within this
dwelleth some other guest besides Osorius,
not all the best perhaps, whatsoever he be,
h continually tease and prick forward those
ins of yours, to poisonous and pestiferous
of whom I wish you to be well assured, Oso-
you love your soul's safety.
f wholesome counsel of a well-willer shall
evail with you, I would advertise the tender
l youth of the posterity in the bowels of Jesus
that they take diligent heedfulness to the
of Osorius' books, lest being allured with
isoned bait, as with mermaid's melody (to use
ls of St. Jerome), they be hooked unawares,
ied away into delusions and errors. I know
ısible and easy a matter it is to the judgment
esh, learnedly and plentifully to preach of the
ıd commendation of virtue, of righteousness,
ules and precepts of man's life, of civil go-
ıt, of politic statutes and ordinances, and of
llency of laws.

And there happeneth not for the more part in any other theme, a more swift readiness of speech, a more sensible sharpness of device, or more usual admiration of worldlings; wherein many notable rhetoricians and most subtle philosophers heretofore have thought best to employ their endeavours and whole force of their eloquence, not without great commendation of wit and singular praise of ingenious invention; whose laudable travail therein, I ought, and cannot choose, but account praiseworthy, as men that were desirous to impart to the posterity most worthy monuments, achieved through excellency of learning, and nimbleness of capacity, and severe pursuing of virtue and virtuous discipline, wherewith they were wonderfully beautified.

But I return to Osorius, whose diligence also in imitation I do commend, for that he hath made his choice of such especially, after whom he may direct his imitation. But whereas he doth nothing else but affect their heathenishness, I do not only not praise him, but utterly disallow and refuse his order of study herein. These men having none other so commendable an exercise, wherein they might bestow their time, as by all means possible to beautify the gifts and ornaments of nature, and to allure men thereby to honest and seemly civility, did worthily deserve the praise of that which they so earnestly pursued.

And therefore M. Tullius Cicero hath of right obtained the garland of an honest citizen and learned philosopher; who, bending all the powers of his excellent understanding, in blazing the duties and offices of men's life, and defence of virtue against the beastly and swinish pleasures of Epicurus, esteemed that matter worthy his study and travail, wherein he bestowed such diligence and activity of wit, as that himself did never better in any other theme, nor any

man else could have handled the same more abundantly.

And even the same did he as then, according to the necessity of the present time, with singular learning; for as yet, besides the orderly course of natural doctrine, were not any other precepts of purer discipline extant amongst those nations, wherein the fine and nimble wits might exercise themselves. And therefore it was no marvel if he, being a man endued with wonderful instinct of nature, did embrace that thing as the chiefest felicity, worthy whereupon he might discourse, and which he saw to be most notable, and had in greatest price amongst all the works of nature; neither could raise his mind beyond the limits of nature, nor stretch out the force of his capacity further than to that outward righteousness obtained by special pursuit of virtue.

But now, as the state of the time is altered from that which was then, so have we now received another Schoolmaster from heaven, whose majesty, as surmounteth in glory all worldly state and condition, so his doctrine being not straitened within the bounds of nature, doth disclose unto us things far passing the reach of all nature, whose scholar you ought to have been, Osorius, especially since ye be advanced to so high dignity in the church; for we have received now not a M. Cicero, playing the rhetorician in his Tusculan walks, but the very Son of God himself from out of the bosom of the Father, who being sent down into the earth may teach us, not the hidden secrets of man's philosophy, but make discernible the will of his Father unto us; not define by reason, distinguish by art, and propose in order the moral principles of profane philosophy (albeit he doth describe the same many times as occasion is offered), but cometh forth with far higher mysteries, instructing us of the kingdom of God, of eternal life, and

is lost long ago, not in you or in me only, but in t whole nature of mankind generally also, and so al gether lost that it can never by any means be restor with good life, but by believing only.

But you will say *that this righteousness, though* *together lost in us, may be restored through the gra and bounty of Christ, and so many times is restor in the faithful.* Verily, I would grant unto you much as ye speak, Osorius, if you would either ap define that grace whereof ye make mention, rightly distinguish that righteousness. For it is n to be doubted but that the comfortable grace Christ doth purchase unto us perfect righteousne But this righteousness, if you well know it, good S consisteth not in that which we do procure by w doing, but in that which by only forgiving is not in puted.

Wherefore all that righteousness and blessedne whatsoever is in us, is grounded rather upon the r mission of sins than upon any virtuous works. W you hear the sum of all your felicity described un us, and knit up in few words, in the mystical Psalr and mentioned by the recital of the Apostle? "Bless are they (saith he) whose sins are forgiven, a whose iniquities are covered; blessed is the man whom the Lord hath not imputed his offences (Psalm xxxi.)

Furthermore, whom that mystical melodio Psalmist doth call blessed, the same man only Be nard doth denounce to be blessed; meaning therel the same thing indeed, which is most true, that the is no mean nor aid from whence man may hope f eternal felicity, besides this only and alone. Wh so? Verily, because the whole nature of mankin is so overwhelmed with sin, that, unless the cont nual mercy of God did prevent us, winking at o wickedness, who, I pray you, could stand in judg

ment? Not I; no, nor yet yourself, Osorius; "for we have all sinned, and we all have need of the glory of God:" and yet notwithstanding, through his only mercy pardoning us, our offences are in the case as though they never had been committed; wherein if you, being an old rain-beaten soldier, dare not give credit to our new Gospel, let it not loathe you yet at the least to hear Bernard himself, a witness both of our Gospel, and of our judgment herein, who albeit is reported not to have seen all things, yet did discern this perfectly enough.

For thus he speaketh: "Whatsoever he hath decreed not to impute, is as though it never were;" and hereunto addeth another saying, which I would wish you to note advisedly: "Not to sin is the righteousness of God; but the righteousness of man is the merciful indulgence of God." And the same sentence he doth reiterate again in another place, in the self-same words, or at least doth confirm it with words not very much different from the same: "For the sin (saith he) that is committed cannot be undone; and yet, if God do not impute the same, it shall be as though it were never done, &c." Surely if the sin shall not be accounted sin that hath been committed, no more shall the sinner be taken for a sinner that hath committed the sin.

And so it followeth necessarily hereupon, that he must needs be righteous and blessed: whereby you do perceive, I suppose, from whence all this sap or juice of our righteousness and salvation springeth; not out of the works of our righteousness, which is none at all, but from the only mere mercy of God's free pardon, as hath been declared by the testimony of Bernard.

Or if the authority of Bernard cannot obtain so much credit with you, yet let the faith of Basil, Augustine, Origen, and Jerome, persuade you, or their

ancienty move you; for I perceive that you are much delighted with antiquity. And first, what can be more notable than the words of Basil? "For he that trusteth not to his own good words, neither looketh to be justified by the deserving of good deeds, all his hope of salvation he reposeth only in the mere mercy of Almighty God." *(Basil in Psalm xxxii.)*

I will adjoin unto him a companion of the same judgment and ancienty, that notable clerk Origen: "Because all things (saith he) are concluded under sin, therefore man's salvation consisteth not in merits of works, but in the free mercy of God." Neither doth St. Augustine differ from them, who, treating of the end of the last judgment, seemeth to have settled all the hope of our safety in the only mercy of God: "God will crown us (saith he), in the end of the world, with mercy and compassions;" yielding the same in the Latin tongue almost, which Basil before him did express most manifestly in the Greek tongue, in this wise:—

"There is judgment not without mercy, because here is no such man to be found pure and immaculate, without some spot of sin; yea, though he be an infant dying the same day that he is born."

And again the same Augustine, in his book De Civitate Dei, xixth book, and 27th chapter, purposing to declare what account may be made of our righteousness in this transitory life, affirmeth it to be such, as ought rather to be valued by the forgiveness of sins than by perfection of virtues. And again the same Augustine, in his first book of Retraction, cap. 19: "All the commandments (saith he) are then reputed to be performed, when that which is left undone is pardoned."

And I know not whether Jerome have declared the same more evidently, who, referring all things to the free mercifulness of God forgiving us, speaketh in

this wise: "In Christ Jesus our Lord, in whom we have our hope, access, and affiance, by the faith of him, not by our righteousness, but by him, through whose faith our sins are forgiven us."

But why do I stand so long upon a matter that ought to be without all controversy? whenas the general consent and agreement of all learned authors, and antiquity, cannot be found more constant, nor for the more part more consonant, in any one thing so much as in this. The matter, therefore, being so plain, it remaineth, that of two mere contraries we allow the one, and utterly forsake the other; that is to say, either that which you do cavil touching righteousness, or else that which they do teach us touching God's gracious forbearing: for these two are far different each from other, and cannot be admitted both; for if righteousness be obtained by integrity of works, then what need have we of any further forgiveness?

But if this come unto us by the only free benignity of the Forgiver, I beseech you then, for the love ye bear to your mitre, where is now that integrity of works, that uprightness that may make our righteousness perfect? for, as far as I can guess, pardon is not given to well-deservings, but reward rather offered as of duty. Neither can it be truly said, that pardon must be craved where no offence is committed. But ye will say, peradventure, that some imperfection doth lurk secretly in our deeds, though they be wrought by the grace of God, which yet wanteth the mercifulness of God.

It is well said, truly: and why then doth your barking pen so cruelly rage against Luther? who frankly and of his own accord doth profess the selfsame thing, though in other words, which you are driven by force to yield unto, whether ye will or no; that is to say, that our deeds are imperfect, lame,

blind, naked, and so altogether barren and hungry, that unless they be clothed and upholden by the mercy of free pardon, no defence will be pleadable before the judgment-seat of God, and shall be accounted rather in place of sins, than seem to deserve any reward of virtue.

If ye be not satisfied with these testimonies, but will obstinately persist in this your opinion still, that our works may be so absolutely perfect as to deserve, I beseech you make proof thereof by some reasonable authority, either vouched out of holy Scriptures, or out of some approved ancient authors; and if ye can make no sound proof in that behalf, deal yet somewhat more soberly with us: for these your reproaches, rebukes, lies, scoldings, outcries, spittings, cursings, glorious and haughty speeches, and trifling words, make nothing to the purpose.

On the other part, if ye can neither make proof unto us of this perfect righteousness of works by any demonstration of your own works, nor any man else besides you dare presume to offer himself in judgment to be tried by his works, what else do ye, in charging Luther so sharply, when ye so condemn him for a frantic and brainsick man, than Tertullus did sometime, accusing Paul to be a seditious person? saying that he accused Paul but at one time, once: and your pen vomiting out nothing else besides furies, frenzies, and madness of Luther, doth so continually crawl in raging by degrees, as will seem never to make any end at all thereof, until ye bring yourself amongst the Jews at the last, and cry out as they did, *Crucifige* upon him, *Crucifige* upon him!

Job, a most upright liver, did "stand in doubtful fear of all the works of his life." Isaiah, the prophet, doth compare all our righteousness to a foul cloth. Christ himself doth pronounce that "all our

endeavours and works are unprofitable." Paul, as it were, loathing the remembrance of his own righteousness, how glorious soever his works appeared, yet did adjudge them so far distant from true righteousness, "that he esteemed them no better than dung." David durst not presume to enter "into judgment with God." Augustine feareth, "that if God behold his works, he shall find more offences than merits; and if he shall deal with us according to our deserts, he shall find nothing in us but damnable."

Jerome doth so call us back from all confidence in our deeds, that he boldly pronounceth, "that, if we consider them in their own nature, we should utterly despair." What? and may it not be lawful for Luther to utter his mind with Christ? with the godly Prophets? with the holy Apostles? with the learned ancient fathers? Are they commended in the old Gospel, for that they spake well; and shall Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and Calvin, be reproached, in scoffing wise, with a new-found name of New Gospellers, because they think and speak the self-same thing that they did?

If Luther were such a kind of fellow as would take part with Epicurus, and would practise to let loose the reins to voluptuousness, turning men's minds upside-down, and carry them away quite from virtuous endeavour, from love of godliness, from their duty and honest trade of godly life, to lust and licentiousness, and would place all man's felicity in this corruptible body, and the vain tickling delights thereof, it were not altogether from the purpose that ye speak, Osorius; nor you should be much blamed for making him companion with Epicurus; neither would I refrain my pen (so Christ help me), but would inveigh against him with all my power as sharply as yourself.

But peruse now all Luther's books; search, sift, consider, and ponder all Luther's writings, all his exhortations, his doctrine, his lessons, his sermons, and all his imaginations; yea, pry narrowly into his life and conversation; if you can show out of all these, I will not say one place or example, but one word or syllable so much, which doth sound against the love and practice of virtue; which may seem to rend the sinews of righteousness and holiness, or breed disliking to the embracing thereof; or which do bruise the fruits of good works, weaken serious travail, break off honest industry, or hinder godly enterprises from doing well, or by any manner of means do extenuate the fear due to the laws of God and man: finally, where he may seem to think less than may beseem a perfect divine; or behave himself more dissolutely in his manners, than he resembleth in honest judgment; nay rather, if he do not employ all the care possible to raise up all men in every place, to the due fear of God's law; to true obedience, and to all honest conversation; and earnestly imprint into the sight and minds of all men, the renown, dignity, and worthiness of virtue, piety, and godliness, you shall have the conquest.

But even the same things (say you) *Epicurus did.* I confess that to be true, Osorius, which ye report of Epicurus, and which you have very finely picked out of your M. Cicero; who doth deny in his third book of Tusculan Questions, that Epicurus was author of any voluptuous sentences, and withal saith, that he uttered many and sundry notable sayings, seemly enough for a true philosopher. But what do ye conclude hereof? Epicurus doth commend virtue in some place; Luther doth also the like: *ergo, Luther is an Epicurean.* Why do ye not also conclude against St. Paul that he is an Epicurean, because he doth also the self-same thing?

O rare and singular sharp-witted Chrysippus! which if it had not altogether been noosled in his old gospel, could never have knit such knots together of mere particular propositions; neither would this wonderful logician have ever coupled Luther with Epicurus. But because Osorius hath borrowed this argument out of Cicero, we will open his juggling box in few words; and first of all, shew what Cicero speaketh, next how well this Ciceronian doth agree with Cicero.

And first as concerning Cicero: whenas he maketh mention of Epicurus's sentences, he doth not reprehend the quickness and nimbleness of his wit, but rather praiseth him therefor, only he noteth the scope and end of his doctrine. Neither doth he condemn those sentences which Epicurus spake well, but because he did so define chief *felicity*, as though it consisted only in voluptuousness; herein he found fault with him, and not without cause.

For Epicurus, amongst other his sayings, wrote in this manner: "That man's life could not be pleasant, if it were not joined with virtue." He denied that fortune was of any such force, as to appal the courage of a wise man: that the mean life of the poor, was better than the rich. He denied also that there was any wise man, but the same was also happy. Truly all those sayings are worthily spoken by him, as Tully himself reporteth. Now let us see what argument our Cicero's ape will shape out of all this.

And Luther (saith he) *doth after the same order, perhaps, exhort his auditory in his writings and sermons to the same duties of life, &c.* If Luther do so, Osorius, he doth very well. What then? Will you find fault with this? *No; but as Epicurus disputing sometimes gloriously of virtue, did notwith-*

standing with his precepts utterly wipe away virtue, even with like crafty conveyance Luther doth subvert and overthrow all duties of virtue and godliness. Speak out, parrot. In what place doth Luther subvert the duties of virtue? Where doth he blot out honesty and godly carefulness of good men?

May this be tolerable in you, with slanders and lies to deface the good name of a man that never deserved it; who is also dead; to condemn his writings, and after you have given him a most cruel wound, to be so void of all reason, as to be unable to allege one tittle, one place, one syllable so much of just accusation wherefore ye should so do? nor make your slanderous reproaches to carry any show of truth?

Let us thoroughly peruse the beginnings of Luther's doctrine, the proceeding and daily increasing thereof; let us sift out the end, and the whole course and purport of his proceeding. What! doth he forthwith pluck up the roots of virtue, which abateth the affiance of man's work, and ascribeth all our salvation to the only bounty and mercy of God; which doth likewise affirm that the works of the saints in this world, if they be examined to the uttermost prick, are not able to countervail God's wrath, nor satisfy his judgment, but preacheth that of all parts they need mercy; directing us in the meanwhiles to the true mark of assured confidence. Is this man to be coupled with Epicurus, as though he should be author of the overthrow of all honesty? Or rather shall he not be adjudged a good physician of the soul, as one that doth minister wholesome medicine against poisoned errors?

But you will inveigh to the contrary, *that if that manner of doctrine be admitted, whereof Luther is author, then will all studious care of piety decay and havock will be made of all godly endeavour, and*

licentious liberty will be made free for all estates. Indeed, this may happily chance amongst some persons, for what can be so well spoken, at any time, or so circumspectly handled, but that the malice of the wicked will take thereof evil occasion to wrest to their filthy lust? So in the time of Paul's preaching, there wanted not perverse people, which in like manner took occasion to slander his doctrine with his own words: viz. "Let us do evil that good may come thereof." (Rom. iii.)

There were also some which were not ashamed to say, that Paul did destroy the law, and did give too much scope to liberty. Of that kind of people Peter doth complain, which with sinister devices practised to wrest Paul's writings crookedly to their own confusion. Shall not good men therefore frequent his Epistles? Even by the same reason, Osorius, let not flowers grow in the spring-tide, because the spider doth as well suck poison out of them, as the bees matter to make their honeycomb.

But if so be that, when good men do give virtuous and necessary exhortation of those things which they do think worthy to be embraced, according to their duty and profession of their faith, wicked men in the mean space start up between, which will abuse the same good things to their own destruction: is this the fault of the teacher, or rather the fallacy of the accident, as logicians do term it?

Many persons (say you) *do take occasion of wicked confidence and unpunishable liberty, through that new gospel of Luther.* But many, on the contrary part, do receive from the same very comfortable consolation, and find themselves thereby to be much more pricked forward to peruse godliness with more carefulness. If Luther teach the truth, shall not his doctrine therefore be published, because wicked men do abuse it? But if you think his assertions

to be erroneous, why do not you, O Thales! I pray you, vouchsafe to prescribe, as becometh the fulness of your wisdom, some pretty rules of sounder doctrine, whereunto Luther might more safely have directed his opinions?

I believe that he should, by your advice, have associated himself with the schoolmen and monks, and with that sacred Inquisition of Spain, and used these kinds of speeches, viz. That the kingdom of heaven is a due reward for our good works; if it were not, we should otherwise be uncertain thereof; because that which is of duty is most assured, but that which proceedeth from mercy is uncertain. Or else ye will require, perhaps, that he should teach us as your Hosius doth preach; who doth affirm, that everlasting salvation is obtained by deservings, proceeding from the gift of God.

Or else as our Osorius doth, who calleth faith only, to be only rashness, and boldly pronounceth, that all the means and worthiness of our salvation consisteth in righteousness, not that righteousness which we receive by imputation from Christ through faith, but that same, which every man maketh peculiar to himself, by his own purchase, through works; or else, as the schoolmen of your old gospel do profess, who babbling very much about justification, have decreed at the length, that it must be taken two manner of ways; one way which is obtained before any works be done, through grace given freely as they say; as in infants being regenerated by baptism; the other in elder years, through great store and perfection of works; that is to say, through the resisting of the froth and enticements of sin, and daily subduing thereof, which they call in their phrase of speech, grace making acceptable, or accepting grace.

And although good works do not bring to pass

that first justification, yet they do give the second manner of justifying, the grace of God working together with the same, which doth minister strength sufficient, as well to work stoutly, as to strive against the very stings and pricks of the flesh effectually; so that it may not only be possible to live clear from deadly sin, but also to attain to be justified *per congruum et condignum*.

You know well enough these fair flowers, Osorius (if I be not deceived), and glorious speculations of your old divinity, which how agreeably seem to accord with your old gospel I know not; sure I am that Christ never knew this gospel, the Apostles never taught it, nor the Evangelists, no, nor the approved ancient catholic fathers had ever any smatch thereof.

Nay rather, Christ, Paul, the Apostles, and Evangelists, and ancient doctors of the church, whensoever they treated of salvation, and of life everlasting, do endeavour nothing more seriously, than that (severing our works from the cause of our justification altogether) they might despoil us wholly of confidence of our own safety, and so refer us over to the only mercy of God, who only giveth the kingdom of heaven, not for any our deservings, but for his promise sake only. But we have said enough herein—Let us now proceed to other cavillations of this troublesome trifler, though it be somewhat grievous; and as near as we may, if we cannot all, yet let us briefly and orderly cut off the tops of them.

There is no man that will give himself to any good works, if he have once heard Luther for his schoolmaster, &c. Whereas Luther doth not take upon him the person of a schoolmaster, nor hath challenged to himself the dignity of high desk, nor ever taught any schools of new factions, nor ever led any train of scholars, but amongst other Christians followed

always Christ the common schoolmaster; and was never known to have uttered any other doctrine than that which he received of Christ. What should move this quarrelsome doctor to reproach him with this envious title of master?

Many good and virtuous men have heard Luther's preaching, but no man (as I suppose) acknowledged him for his master; for that needed not: for through all Christendom, in universities and common schools, are whole droves of masters scattered abroad, as though they dropped out of the Trojan horse, whom we do hear also, when they teach; what they teach, I will not here stand to discuss, nor do I make any estimate thereof. The Christians did sometimes hear the Scribes and Pharisees teaching in Moses' chair. Neither doth the Apostle forbid us but that we may take a taste of all doctrines; but yet so taste them, as we hold fast nothing but that which is good. (1 Thess. v.)

If Luther teach any doctrine of his own imagination, himself refuseth to be believed therein; but if he teach the doctrine of Christ, and those things which he hath sucked out of the sweet juice of Christ's Gospel, I beseech you, Sir, doth he therefore profess himself a master to scholars; or a scholar rather to his master Christ? And therefore this scornful title of schoolmaster, wherewith ye reproach him, is a scoff more fit for a common ruffian than a divine; surely altogether uncomely and unseemly for a bishop.

But whereas ye pronounce that Luther's auditory have not given themselves to any good works, how know you this to be true? for I am assured, that in Portugal and in Spain good proviso is made, that no man be so hardy to touch any of Luther's books. If you refer your assertion to England or Germany, I do not a little marvel how this monstrous sphynx

can cast his eyes over so many seas, so many high mountains, and so great distance of countries, and so curiously behold the lives of men, and pry so precisely into their manners, unless some Phœbus have clouted upon this Midas' head, not the ears of Osorius, but the ears of some loll-eared ass, in the trunk whereof he may catch every blast whatsoever, any where blown abroad or devised in secret, through the reports of whispering talebearers, and, like a credulous fool, believe the same forthwith.

But howsoever those Lutherans in England and in Germany do exercise themselves in no good works, it goeth very well in the mean time with Portugal and Spain, that men live there holy and angel-like: for I do believe, surely, that men in those countries do so glitter in sincerity of life and brightness of virtues, that their very shadows do shine in the dark, and glister more like angels than men; that they are such men as plant their feet no where, but that they leave behind them a certain wonderful fragrant savour of modesty, courtesy, and singular chastity, and so make the very heavens in love with their purity and sweetness of their virtues.

But go to, Osorius; tell us at the length, in good fellowship, what the cause should be, that such as do give ear to Luther will not apply themselves to do good works? Truly I suppose, that because he teacheth that men are justified in the sight of God by faith only, and not by works; therefore it must be an infallible consequent, that whosoever attends to Luther's doctrine will forthwith abandon all thought to live virtuously, and yield himself carelessly over to all idleness and filthiness: as though, with honest and well-disposed persons, fatherly clemency shall cause the children to be sluggish to do their duties; or as though the voice of mercy doth at once utterly abolish all moral virtues.

To what end, therefore, doth Christ so much not commend unto us that fatherly affection in the merciful father, mentioned in the Gospel, towards his prodigal son, but also paint him out unto us for an example; if that doctrine of the free mercifulness of God be not true, or if it be true, that it ought not therefore to be published, because many unchaste and corrupt persons will abuse the same?

Nay, rather, why ought not the truth of God of greater reason be generally and openly preached for the necessary comfort of the godly? Neither behoveth us to be inquisitive how much this doctrine doth work in certain particular men, but rather to know how true this doctrine is of itself; and according as we do find the same to be true and constant, so to preach the same, according to the capacity of the hearers.

But Osorius doth urge us again with three arguments, chiefly as it were with a three-square battle, and, like a three-headed Cerberus, doth rush upon Luther with three sundry assaults; attempting to prove, by his logic, that this Luther, of whom we speak, doth extirpate and root out all virtue, honesty, and godly endeavour: first, by his disabling of works; secondly, through desperation of honesty; thirdly, by confidence of false righteousness: in three words, as it were three lies.

And first of all, touching desperation and confidence, I think we have spoken enough before, where we have so proved both to be falsely imputed to Luther, as that we do yet acknowledge them both in Luther; for Luther doth describe confidence, but the same which is the true confidence: he teacheth also desperation, I confess it, but the same very comfortable; and therein teacheth nothing else but the same that the Evangelists and Apostles have always taught.

'hat can be more true and assured confidence,
comfortable desperation, or more consonant
e Gospel of Jesus Christ and his Apostles,
ıt we, being in full despair of the righteous-
our own works, do shroud ourselves wholly
he mercy of Christ, and in his free bounty
nency? that is to say, not in works, which
e of Christ hath wrought in us, but for us.
hing the brabbling that he maketh about the
g of good works, by what logic will he prove
lation? And now pause here a while, good
and note the passing piercing wit, nurtured
he school of Stoic philosophy, but noosled up
I suppose, in some swinestye.

er doth strip our merits and works naked from
'dence.

, Luther rendeth in pieces the very sinews of
iness, setteth at nought and utterly abolisheth
efficacy and dignity of good works.

though Osorius have not placed his words
is order, yet the bent of his conclusion tend-
he same effect: for what did Luther else, in
vritings and sermons, but cut off all hope of
and so by that means allure us to take an-
ld in the only aid and help of the Mediator?
be the way to choke up virtue, and to bury
er-ground, I confess that Luther was an abo-
f virtue, and St. Paul also as well as he.

Osorius doth many times deny this assertion
Lutherans to be true, that our righteousness
pe of our salvation so dependeth upon Christ,
the same should be imputed to us of God,
counted our own by imputation through faith
for he supposeth this way to be over-easy, and
man will be careful, studious, or desirous, to
lish any good work. Indeed, I think, Oso-
of the mind of many persons, which, unless

they be continually beaten and pricked forward, like dull oxen, with goads and cudgels, will never yield their bodies to labour, but forced, as it were, with threatenings and stripes, are drawn to the yoke quite against their wills.

But this never happeneth in natures of mild and good disposition, but rather the contrary, so as by lenity and remembrance of received benefits they are rather encouraged cheerfully to do their duties. The bountifulness of Almighty God is not to be measured after the proportion of man's imagination; neither ought we to regard how the wicked do interpret thereof, but rather what Christ doth command to be preached; how much the will of God will permit, and what things true discipline will allow of.

I know that there hath been ever great store, and that we shall never want too great a number of that sort of people, which will wickedly abuse all things, that otherwise of their own nature ought chiefly to be embraced: neither is it reason to defraud virtuous personages of their right, for the abuses of evil and perverse disposed persons; yet such is the manner of Osorius' disputation, as though no man could be found that would amend his life, or embrace godliness at the preachings of the Gospel; and as though nothing ensued thereof else but unbridled licentiousness and outrageous boldness, to rush and range headlong into all unpunishable liberty and lust, the decay and overthrow of all virtue, the subversion and drowning of all godly discipline; finally, the very sink and receptacle of all abomination, which as is most falsely belied upon him, so I cannot yet guess to what end it is alleged, unless he mean thereby to persuade us to abandon and banish the preaching of the free mercy of the Gospel, and so to slide back again to old Jewishness, with the Scribes and Pharisees, and that, instead of Christ

and Paul, Moses may rule over our consciences again, and Cicero may be preached in our churches.

Truly this is the mark that Osorius, or rather, in Osorius, the ancient enemy of mankind, seemeth to shoot at, who, having now spent all his shot and powder, unable at the last to enfeeble or resist the glory of Christ any longer, practiseth by subtile engines of crafty lyings and slanderous cavillations to undermine and batter his doctrine; and to bring this device to pass, findeth none so fit an instrument as Osorius, chief champion of his guard.

I have now set out unto thee, gentle reader, the substance of Osorius' divinity, the gravity of his doctrine, and the form of his accusation, whereby thou mayest perceive the poisoned fistula, whereof he would impeach Luther. For this is his practice to induce men to believe, that Luther doth teach extreme desperation, boldness to sin, and contempt of good works. Now remaineth to discuss by the sequel of his discourse, what force of arguments and sleight of device he is furnished withal to maintain his challenge.

And therefore Paul doth not in any wise promise inheritance of the kingdom of heaven to those persons who rest themselves upon the only faith of Luther, but unto them which do exercise themselves in good works, and do direct all their labour and travail to set forth the glory of Christ through the whole course of their life, &c. In one sentence two evident lies; the one imagined against Luther, the other devilishly devised against St. Paul. First of all, whereas he burdeneth Luther to be the founder of this doctrine of *only faith*, it is as false as there is no truth in Osorius' mouth.

Indeed Luther wrote much touching faith only; but neither he alone, nor he the first: nor taught he other doctrine than many famous doctors of an-

cient antiquity did teach besides him, who did not only excel him far in learning, but lived many hundred years before he was born. And namely, amongst all other, St. Paul, who through all his whole Epistles doth with a wonderful vehemency harp, as it were, always upon this one string: "That true righteousness cometh to no man by the law, nor by the works of the law, but through the faith of Christ freely, without works, and so without works (as it hath often been spoken before), that if any man will take hold of works, he is excluded forthwith from faith."

But Osorius will say, that no mention is made any where in St. Paul of this exclusive word *only*, whereupon these Lutherans do stand so much—in letters, perhaps, as you say, Osorius, or in syllables. But why pry we after syllables, when we hold the substance of the word? or to what purpose strive we about words, when we are assured of the matter? First of all, I suppose, no man will deny, but that Paul doth denounce men to be justified by faith.

Now he that doth tie righteousness so fast to faith, that he utterly abandoneth the law and all the works of the law from justification, what doth he mean else thereby (though he profess it not in bare words), than that faith is the chief, yea and only foundation and builder of justification? using herein the very same rule that logicians do use in their schools, framing a sound and probable argument from the proposition exponent to the exclusive.

Even as if a man disputing with you would prove by argument, that Christ is the known and assured Head of the church, would argue thus: that besides Christ, is none other Head of the whole church upon earth—I beseech you, Sir, what meaneth he else that argueth so, than that Christ only ought to be acknowledged the Head of the whole church?

If it be so that this word *only* seem so heinous to

l others of your fraternity, that it may not be
d as in any respect tolerable, yet can ye not
Luther for the same, but you must withal in-
ilty of the same crime the best and most ap-
loctors and interpreters of elder age, who, to ex-
e meaning of the Apostle's doctrine more live-
: not only accustomed themselves sundry times
word *only* in their commentaries, but also de-
the same to their posterity, to be usually fre-
l; so that Luther now shall be found to coin
thing herein, but rather to make report of
idious carefulness and careful travail of the
fathers in this behalf.

first of all, we will begin with Ambrose, unto
I pray you give ear what he writeth herein,
s it were one of the same number whom Oso-
:h reproach to be wholly bent to this doctrine
ier, many hundred years before the name of
was known, hath written in this manner:
hath decreed from eternity (saith he), that
eving man shall be justified by *faith only*."
by appeareth that this word *only* came not
in Luther, but from Ambrose rather.

because the truth shall not want substantial
and authority worthy the same witnesses, we
oin to Ambrose the like testimony of Jerome,
words, if they may obtain any credit with Oso-
ll be of such force and efficacy for our present
:, as that they will seem to have been written
ie other intent, than to convince this Jewish
of Osorius. And these are his words:
Jews (saith he) did affirm that he which
to *faith only* was to be abhorred; but Paul,
contrary part, doth aver, that whosoever
i in *faith only* is blessed, &c." I beseech
me, for your mitre's sake, what can be spoken
you more substantially.

Let us now confer your saying with Chrysostom. You do abhor them as Lutherans, which do rest themselves upon *faith only*, because Paul doth promise the kingdom of heaven, as you say, to them that work good deeds; on the contrary part, Chrysostom doth note them for Jews especially, and accounteth them execrable which deny that men ought to trust to faith; using this reason, "because Paul (saith he) doth profess those men blessed that trust to *faith only*." Now choose you therefore one of these two, which ye will, whether we shall adjudge *Chrysostom a Lutheran*, because he trusteth to *faith only*, or yourself an execrable Jew, which set your confidence upon works.

Again the same Chrysostom in another place, making a commentary upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, useth the self-same exclusive word. "By faith only (saith he) shall Christ save the offenders of the law." And because ye shall know his meaning perfectly, "not the offenders of the ceremonial law, but of the same law, namely, which was indited by the finger of God, in the most sacred tables containing the ten commandments."

Add also hereunto the saying of the same doctor, in his fourth Homily upon the Epistle to Timothy, "What thing is so hard to believe, as that such which are enemies and sinners not justified by the law, nor the works of the law, obtained forthwith to be placed in the chiefest dignity of merit through faith only, &c.?"

We have recited a little before the words of Basil, upon the sermon *De Humilitate*, so that it needeth no further rehearsal, where in express speech, excluding from man the glory of his own righteousness, he doth testify that we are every of us justified by faith only in Christ Jesus. I might cite his own words again upon the 32d Psalm, as effectual as the rest,

where he, describing a perfect man, doth describe him to be not such a one as trusteth to his own good deeds, but such a one as reposeth all his whole confidence in the only mercy of God.

In like manner also Theophylact: "Now doth the Apostle (saith he) declare evidently that very *faith only* is of power to justify." And by and by he citeth the Prophet Habakkuk, as most credible witness thereof. Briefly, what shall we think that those ancient fathers of the purer age and primitive church did determine thereof, whenas Thomas Aquinas, himself chief champion of this synagogue of schoolmen, being otherwise in many things a very wrongful and false interpreter, yet vanquished herein with the manifest truth, was enforced no longer to dissemble in this question of *faith only*.

For in his third Lesson upon the First Epistle to Timothy, the third chapter, disputing of the law, and concluding at length that the words of Paul did not appertain to the ceremonial law, but unto the moral law: "There is not (saith he) any hope of justification but in *faith only*;" and arguing against Osorius of set purpose, as it were, he citeth to this effect the testimony of St. Paul: "We suppose (saith the Apostle) that man is justified by faith, without the works of the law." (Rom. iii.) I am not yet come to this point, to discuss how true this doctrine of Luther is, touching justification by *faith only*; but whether this doctrine was erected first by Luther.

And I trust I have sufficiently proved that it began even from the first age of the primitive church, and in the very dawning of the Gospel, and hath been so delivered over from the most ancient writers, and continued unshaken, even until our age; so that no man needeth hereafter to give credit to Osorius, making so shameless a lie upon this doctrine of *faith*

only justifying. And this much hitherto concerning Luther.

I come now to that point wherein Osorius did likewise shamefully belie Paul. And what do I hear now, Osorius? *Doth Paul* (as you say) *so promise the inheritance of the heavenly kingdom to them which work good deeds, and not to them also which rest upon faith only? that is to say, which have reposed all their affiance in Jesus Christ only?* How shall we conceive this? where find you this? and how do you induce us to believe this? Out of the epistle, as I think, to the Utopenses. Look there, reader, at thy best leisure; for Osorius was at good leisure to lie, but had no time at all to confirm his lie.

But he allegeth somewhat, I suppose, out of the Epistle to the Galatians, chap. v. *that is to say, that the Apostle doth threaten utter banishment from the kingdom of God, to the wicked and heinous sinners which yield themselves over wholly to all filthiness of sin.* This truly is a true saying of the Apostle; who denieth it? But what doth Osorius in the mean space gather hereof? *Forsooth, because the horrible wickedness of men doth exclude those persons from the kingdom of God, which are endued with a false faith only, or none at all rather; hereof doth he conclude his argument by opposition of contraries, that life everlasting is promised to the good and virtuous works of men.*—O clownish Corydon!

But we are taught by the rules of logic, that if a man will frame a good argument of contraries, he must first be well advised that those propositions which are appointed for contraries, must dissent and disagree each from other by equal and proportionable degrees; whereby it is clear, that this is not a good consequent.

The filthy life of the wicked doth exclude men from the inheritance of everlasting habitations; ergo, the

nest and upright life doth obtain everlasting habi-tions.

And why is this no good argument? Because the opositions do not agree together in proportionable ality. The offences that are committed by us are their own nature of all parts imperfect and evil, d purchase to themselves most just damnation: t, on the contrary part, our good and virtuous eds (yea, being most perfectly accomplished by us) nt yet always something to absolute perfection, d of their own nature are such as rather stand in ed of the mercy of God, than may deserve any aise in the sight of men.

To the same end spake Bernard very fitly: "Our ghteousness is nothing else than the indulgence of od." But here comes yet another place of St. ul, out of the which this wild whiffler may rush on us with his leaden dagger, not altogether so unt and rusty perhaps, the words of the Apostle a' od's name, in the second to the Romans: "Not e hearers of the law only, but they that perform e law in their life and conversation, shall be ac-unted righteous before the judgment-seat of od, &c."

To answer briefly, I will gladly allow that which is enemy to Paul doth object out of Paul, so that will not in like manner refuse the whole discourse the Apostle, and join the first with the last. For e whole argument of the Apostle in those three apters is concluded in this one syllogism:

All men shall be rewarded with the commendation true righteousness (God himself witnessing the me), whosoever be able with their own works to complish the whole law published in the ten tables, d commanded by God to be kept absolutely as the w requireth.

But there is no living creature, whether he be a

Jew, and is ruled by the law of the ten tables, or a Gentile, and liveth after the law of nature, that is able to accomplish the law as he ought to do.

Ergo, no man living is able to attain the true commendation of his righteousness, but in respect of his works is of necessity subject to the judgment and curse of God.

In this argument doth the whole force and pith of Paul's disputation consist, if I be not deceived. In the major and first proposition whereof he setteth down before us the severity of God's judgment: in the minor or second proposition, he condemneth all men generally as guilty of sin. By the conclusion he allureth, and, as it were, driveth all men to Christ necessarily.

By this argument you may plainly perceive, unless you will be wilfully blind like a want, how you have picked out not one scrap so much of all that you have hitherto raked together to save the credit of your cause. Finally, to make short with you, I refer you to note, mark, examine, and search out all whatsoever the church doth acknowledge of the said Apostle's letters, epistles, yea all his sentences; ye shall find in them all so nothing agreeable to this your assertion, that Paul should attribute righteousness to works, or promise by means thereof possession of everlasting inheritance, as that his whole bent and endeavour may seem to be in no one thing else so earnest as in this, wherein he travaileth earnestly to persuade that the promise of God poureth out upon all them that believe in Jesus Christ, most plentiful and assured freedom, yea, such a freedom as is clearly delivered from all entangling of works.

So that the same Apostle doth infer his conclusion on this wise: "If inheritance come by the law, then not of promise." (Gal. iii.) And in another place, "If we be made heirs through the law, then

ar faith made frustrate, and the promise of none
st." (Rom. iv.) And again: "If righteousness
e by the law, then did Christ suffer in vain."
l. ii.) And lest that your lying spirit should with
ster interpretation wrest those sentences spoken
he law to the ceremonial law, you may hear the
stle there treating of that law, which was given
offenders, until the promised seed should come,
ch law should, instead of a schoolmaster, lead us,
: were, by the hand directly to Christ; which law
shut up all under sin, as well Jews as Gentiles,
t the promise might be given unto the believers
ugh faith in Jesus Christ.

All which titles of the law cannot be construed to
e any apt agreement with the ceremonies of the
ish synagogue. And where are now those works
the law, master Osorius, unto which Paul doth
mise possession of the kingdom, if you exclude
se whereof Luther preacheth? since Paul him-
doth so wisely and carefully not only exclude all
sumption of man's righteousness from the inhe-
nce of the kingdom, but also render a reason
erefore he doth so: "By what law (saith he), by
: law of works?"

Now ye may not believe so, Osorius. And there-
e that ye may the better understand how no matter
onfidence at all is left to the consideration of the
ks of the law, "but by the law of faith (saith
ul), the same law which consisteth in faith, and
t in works;" that is to say, if we believe the pa-
hrast, the very same law which requireth nothing
t faith.

Now therefore since these matters are so tho-
ughly debated in the holy Scripture, and disco-
red manifestly by the Holy Ghost, with what
meless face dare Osorius thrust those works in the
ctrine of free justification, which the Spirit of God

doth so openly reject? or with what impudence dare he affirm, that Paul doth promise the right and title of inheritance to them which work good deeds? whereas the same Paul, maintaining the challenge of faith, and not of works, propoundeth so expressly that God doth accept his faith for righteousness, which doth not work, "but believeth on Him that doth justify the wicked:" which two sentences, being so nearly opposite and contrary each to other, I refer me to the reader's judgment whether Paul shall be accounted inconstant, or Osorius a false fabler.

But I hear a certain grunting of this pig, being no less an enemy to the cross of Christ than to Paul, who as soon as he heareth good works to be banished from the effect of justification, doth straightway cite us to the consistory, as though we did utterly choke up all care and studious endeavour to live virtuously, and destroy all precepts and rules of godly conversation. And hereupon conceiving a vain error in his idle brains, he rageth, and foameth at the mouth outrageously, not much unlike to Ajax, sometimes called μαστιγοφόρος who, being swallowed up of extreme frenzy, did most foolishly assail and batter poor silly sheep, instead of Agamemnon and other noble peers of Greece.

But let us once again give ear to his gay logic, which being sometime esteemed the schoolmistress of invention, and displaying the truth, this gentleman hath made thereof an art of lying and deceit, as thus:

Luther doth exclude all good works from the cause of justification.

Ergo, Luther doth extinguish all virtue, and abolish all moral and civil actions.

Again: Luther doth make faith only, being void of good works, the cause of justification.

Ergo, Luther doth require nothing in Christians but faith only.

I answer, that is a *fallax* and a sophistical lie, derived from the proposition that is termed in schools *secundum quid* to *simpliciter*. Furthermore, herein also he doth bewray his sophistical juggling; whereas by his legerdemain he conveyeth away the state of the question, which concerneth the things only, to the circumstance of the persons.

For whereas we (agreeing herein with Luther) do inquire the thing only, which is the instrumental cause of our justification before God, he in his answer doth describe unto us what manner of life they ought to lead that are already justified. And because it is most requisite that those which are justified by the free mercy of God through faith shall continually exercise themselves in good works, hereupon he concludeth, that Luther's proposition, wherein he affirmeth that faith only doth knit up the knot of our justification without all aid of works, is utterly false.

As though Luther's disputation concerned the actions and endeavours of them to whom righteousness is given, and not rather of the cause of justification only, or as though he did not as carefully require all faithful persons to the daily and continual practice of godly life, as any of all the bishops of Portugal do. But if you be so unskilful, Osorius, as you seem to be, you must learn that it is one thing to treat of the persons which are made righteous, and other thing of the cause that doth make them righteous. And therefore this is a deceitful and a frivolous argument.

The possession of the heavenly kingdom is promised to them which do good deeds; ergo, only faith doth not justify.

This conclusion is altogether false, and the sub-

tility thereof transposed from that which is not the cause, to that which ought to be the cause. Indeed, the inheritance of heaven is given to them which do good deeds, but not in respect to those good deeds which they do. But there is a certain other thing which doth both justify the persons, and the good works of the persons also; that is to say, which doth make the persons and the works good also. And therefore you do confound those things very unskilfully, which ought of necessity to have been distinguished.

If you will make this the ground of the question, to inquire of what behaviour those persons ought to be, which are called to the inheritance of everlasting life; Luther will never deny but that they ought to be such as must be conversant in this world, godly, holy, and unblameable, as much as may be possible. But if the state of the question tend to this end, to shew what manner of thing, amongst all the good gifts of God, that one thing is in us, which doth procure our justification in the sight of God, Luther will boldly pronounce that is *faith only*, yea, and approve the same with invincible estimonies of God's Scriptures. Neither will Osorius deny it without great reproach of error. Afterwards he proceedeth to his accustomed trade of lying.

Works do follow faith (as the Lutherans say), *not because they prepare a way to salvation (for they shall not of themselves be cited to judgment), but because they are derived from faith as by a certain way of procreation; for as the tree bringeth forth fruit by force of nature, so doth faith of necessity engender good works: which both propositions are false*; or else Osorius doth lie, for that wanted to make up the period.

But go to. Let us see what those two false propositions be, which the Lutherans do teach. The first is, that works do prepare no way for us to ob-

a salvation, because of themselves they shall never
cited to judgment. The second is, that works
follow faith of necessity; none otherwise than as
it by force of nature is engendered of the tree.
on these he hath given sentence that they are both
e.

But what reason allegeth he thereto? *Forsooth, ause works* (saith he) *do either procure unto us sal-ion or damnation undoubtedly.* And yet Osorius
eth not to keep his old wont to lie. *And hereof man ought to be in doubt, but that our deeds shall thoroughly examined apart by themselves by God's rp judgment.* Yea! say you so, Osorius? What!
ll they stand apart by themselves? what! naked
l unclothed of all succour of Christ? of the pro-
se and of mercy? Go to; and what shall become
faith then? shall she stand in the mean whiles
h her finger in a hole, like a mome in a corner
profitable? whiles (mercy being banished) men's
ds shall by themselves be arraigned before God's
gment-seat?

If this be true, why do we not raze and scrape
m out of all books the saying of St. Paul, "Not
ough the works of righteousness which we have
ne, but according to the greatness of his mercy
th he saved us." (Tit. iii.) For if salvation be
t to be measured by the law of works, and to be
ighed after the standard of judgment, what place
en remaineth for faith or for mercy? and by what
ans "is that hand-writing of the law blotted out
the cross and bloodshedding of Jesus Christ, if
yet we be holden fast yoked under the curse of
e law, and not delivered by grace? for what doth
e law else (if we dare believe St. Paul) but en-
nder wrath, and procure to be accursed?" (Col. ii.
m. iii.) not because the law is of itself ineffectual,

if it might be accomplished, but because we are all unprofitable servants, unable to perform the law.

And for your part, do ye think any man's works to be of such value, as, being thoroughly examined after the uttermost exaction of God's justice, can either endure the immeasurable horror of God's wrathful indignation, or by any means escape it? Surely David, that godly king and great Prophet, perceiving that there was no mortal creature but was overpoised and pressed down with this heavy burden and weight of judgment, beseecheth of God nothing more earnestly, than that he would not weigh his servant in the balance of his judgment. And therefore in another place he addeth, "If thou examine our iniquities, Lord, who may abide it?" Of this mind was he even then, when he was a most trusty servant of God.

As for Osorius, I know not whose servant he is, neither am I hereof any thing inquisitive; but what Lord soever he serve, I do not a little marvel at this, in what place of heaven this gentleman shall stand, whenas his words, deeds, yea, all his thoughts, when so many his lies, slanders, errors, blasphemies, reproachful speeches, furies, impieties (which, as it were to discharge his gorge, he hath belched out in his books without measure or end) shall come forth into brightness of judgment, and shall be severely measured by the plain and straight square of God's exact justice.

But let us now ponder by the rules of the Scriptures the pretty reasons taken out of the same, whereupon he buildeth his defence. And first of all, that sentence offereth itself, vouched out of the mystical Psalms, where the Holy Ghost doth witness, that God will render to every man according to his works. This sentence I suppose is to be found in the 62d Psalm, for Osorius had no leisure to note the place. And I

now not whether himself ever cited the same out of ne very fountains themselves, or rather scraped it ut of the musty ambry of Hosius, sinisterly applied y him there, and so this merchant would wrest the ame crookedly to fit his own drift.

After this St. Paul is vouched of a witness, but no place noted where the Apostle doth affirm "that all men generally, and every of us particularly, shall be summoned to judgment, where every one shall render account of the life that he hath led, and receive reward accordingly." You shall find this in the second chapter of the Romans. Hereunto is annexed another testimony of the same Paul: "All shall appear, and be arraigned before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every man may receive reward according to the desert of his life, and every man's peculiar work may be weighed and measured in the just and upright balance of severe judgment." Where is this, Osorius? Thou must seek for it, reader. The place is extant in the second to the Corinthians, the fifth chapter.

Here withal is also coupled that saying of Christ with like uncited place: "They that have done well (saith he), shall come forth into resurrection of life; but they that have done evil, to the resurrection of death." (John, v.) He had many other places to this effect besides these (saith he), if he listed to prosecute every of them; but because they were beyond number, the man being otherwise occupied in other studies pardy, seemeth well enough furnished with these few, which he hath picked out of Hosius (if I be not deceived), and so thought good to rehearse no more.

Well now, let us see what piece of work he meaneth to frame out of these places of Scriptures so raked together, and whereunto he bendeth his force. We shall all be summoned before the judgment-seat of Christ. This is true. Every person shall be

ability, at the least such as it is, after the small proportion and measure of their weakness?

This travail and endeavour, though it be far distant from that exact required perfection of the law, is yet nevertheless accepted in place of most full and absolute justification in the sight of God, who doth supply the want of our works with his own free imputation, for the faith sake in his Son only, which is not imputed for righteousness to them that do work, but to them that do believe in him. For what although the horrible rebellion of the ungodly, which walk not after the Spirit, but after the flesh, do procure unto themselves most just judgment of condemnation, yet shall this saying stand always inviolable notwithstanding, and remain assured for ever: "The righteous shall live by faith; and he that believeth in me shall not die for ever." (John, xi.)

But yet that promise (say you) doth abide most evident and unvanquishable, which doth promise resurrection of life to them that do live godly and good deeds. Go to; and what conclude ye hereof? *Ergo, faith only doth not justify us* (say you); nay, rather neither *faith only*, nor faith any way else taken, doth justify a man, or avail any thing at all to justification, if works, according to your interpretation, examined by themselves, by the weights and balances of God's judgment, shall make full satisfaction. But ye conceive amiss of the matter, Osorius, and therefore your conclusion is as ill-favouredly shapen.

Do ye expect a reason? Forsooth, because you fail in the rule topic; whereby we are taught to apply true proper causes to true effects. And therefore your consequent is faulty, and a sophistical cautel derived from that which is not the cause, to that which is the proper cause. Let us discuss the very order of your words. *And they which have done well*—what they?—*shall come* (saith he) *unto the resurrec-*

n of life, &c. First of all, ye perceive that the orks alone are not treated of simply, but the persons at do the works. Surely in judicial courts is no all observation used chiefly of the difference beixt the circumstances of the causes, and circumnces of the persons.

As when a servant shall commit the very same ich a son shall do, although the facts be of all rts equal, yet I suppose that the son shall find ore mercy in his cause, of his father being judge, an the servant of his master being judge; espeally where the judge is not constrained to yield dgment by any coaction, or express rigour of state and law, but is at liberty to use consideration the trespass, according to his own discretion. ven so neither do I think it all one, if a Christian an (I say, a true Christian man) shall maintain s cause before Christ his Redeemer, as if a Turk or fidel should plead before the same Christ his Judge. nd why? because the one is very much holpen by olding his faith to the promise; the other hath ne other aid to trust unto, but the rigour of the w.

But let us proceed, that we may come at the last the point that is shot at. I understand therefore these words of Christ, what shall betide of them the last that have lived well; that unto those that e found such in the judgment shall be given possesion of eternal life. I hear this well. But I would in know at the length, what the cause should be, hy this merciful Judge will vouchsafe to reward ose workmen so highly? For our controversy consteth not in this point, that reward is given; but this, for what cause reward is given: whether any desert, or without all desert? whether for the roper worthiness of the works themselves, which ou call good; or rather for the faith of the person,

from whence those works do obtain both to be called good, and to be esteemed for good?

You will say, that the spring of this together working, grace floweth unto us out of the fountain of faith, from whence all ability to do good deeds is so abundant within us, which being received afterwards through the bountifulness of Christ, fruits of holy works do issue out from us, which do make us worthy to be justified, and to place us in the possession of the everlasting kingdom. I do answer, that ye do neither speak as much as ye ought, nor that altogether true that ye do speak.

For albeit we confess, that all the good whatsoever we do, proceedeth from the bountiful gift of God yet this is far wide from the mark of our controversy now in hand; neither is this matter in handling now to know from whence the fruits of good works do spring; but after they are come unto us, the question is, how much they do avail unto us; whether they themselves through their own worthiness do work our justification before God, or whether they stand destitute of any other aid, whereby they may be justified themselves? Whether do ye think works of their own nature so effectual as to be able alone to endure the heavy burden of God's judgment, or that the operation of faith of the believer, rather than of the work, doth present the persons together with their works to God's free imputation, and so accomplish justification?

But I do hear a continual jangling of this Portuguese cuckoo chattering always one manner of lay in mine ears. *Not faith, but works* (saith he) *weighed in the balance of God's judgment do purchase either salvation or damnation unto us.* Where find you this? Out of the words of Christ, "And those that have done well, shall go into everlasting life; but those that have done evil, into everlasting destruction." I

answer, it is most true that the Lord speaketh, but most untrue that Osorius concludeth hereof. Christ comprehending the fruits of works together with the whole tree, and joining the causes together with the persons, doth encourage them with the hope of eternal life, which do yield their endeavour manfully to their uttermost ability to perform the rule of the Gospel; not defining what the proportion of their works do deserve, but declaring how bountifully and manifoldly he will requite their labours, which have suffered any kind of affliction for his name's sake.

Osorius framing hereof merely false propositions, doth with his crafty conveyance wrest and force those things to the works themselves only, which the Lord doth apply to his faithful that live virtuously; and so at length turning awry, that is to say, from the *concretum* to the *abstractum* (to use here the terms of sophistry), and severing the persons from the things, doth conclude disorderly after this manner of false conclusion:

Faithful and godly Christians living virtuously shall be rewarded with eternal life; ergo, good works by themselves, weighed in the balance of God's judgment, do deserve eternal life.

What can be more falsely imagined, or more foolishly concluded, than this lie? Indeed works are the fruits of Christian faith, and tokens, not causes, of salvation. Even as a tree that bringeth forth fruits; if the tree be good, it appeareth by the fruits, not because the fruit maketh the tree good, but because the tree maketh the fruit good. In like manner the deeds of the godly have nothing in themselves that may enable them to stand upright in judgment; but if they find any grace or reward, the same may not be ascribed to their own merit, but partly to mercy, partly to imputation, through the Son that is the Redeemer: to mercy, I say, which doth for-

give our evil deeds; to imputation, which accepteth our good works, though they be of themselves never so imperfect, as though they were perfect, and doth reward them with a crown of glory; so that the glory hereof is not now to be ascribed to men, but to God; not to righteousness, but to grace; not to works, but to faith; not to judgment, but to mercy.

For confirmation whereof, if we seek for authority, who may require any one a more faithful witness, or of more approved authority, than the Apostle? who being sent unto the Gentiles, as to his proper and peculiar charge, what doth he preach unto them? "Not by the works which we have done (saith he), but for his mercy sake he hath saved us." If words may obtain any credit with you, what can be spoken more plainly? if the authority of the witness may prevail, what more assured testimony can be sought for than Paul, that speaketh himself?

But Osorius lacketh not a shift of descant here, thinking thereby to craze the force of verity. For whereas Paul affirmeth that we are saved for his mercy's sake, he doth interpret this saying to be verified after this sort: *Because mercy doth endue us with ability and power to work, that hereof those godly deeds of piety do ensue, which may make us righteous before God; and that hereof likewise it cometh to pass, that all whatsoever true righteousness appeareth in us, doth proceed from the mercy and bounty of God, and not from our own nature.*

Such is the doctrine that he scattereth abroad every where in these books, and in those other also, which he hath entitled *De Justitia*, following herein (as it seemeth) his forerunner Hosius, who masking in the like maze, doth affirm that life everlasting is given to men so far forth through the grace of God, as it is delivered to men's merits, which do issue out of the mercy and grace of God.

But Augustine will help to unloose this knot easily; so will also all the most famous and ancient interpreters of the Greek and Latin church, who all together with one voice do so ascribe all our salvation to the mercy of God, not that which is obtained by doing good deeds in this corruptible body, but which consisteth rather in remission of sins, and which after this life will support the needy and naked weakness of our works (be they never so feeble) against the importable burden of the rigour of the law.

Of which mercy Augustine maketh mention in this wise: "Stand not in judgment with me, O Lord, exacting all things which thou hast commanded me; for if thou enter into judgment with me, thou shalt find me guilty; therefore I have more need of thy mercy than thy manifest judgment." Again in another place, treating of the last judgment: "He shall crown thee (saith he) in mercy and compassion. This shall come to pass at that dreadful day whenas the righteous King shall sit upon his throne, to render to every man according to his works. Who then can glory that he hath a pure and undefiled heart? or dare boast that he is without sin?" And therefore it was necessary to make mention there of the compassions and mercy of the Lord, &c.

And again somewhat more plainly, when he describeth what manner of mercy shall be in the day of judgment, he doth set it forth in this wise: "This is called mercy (saith he), because God doth not regard our deservings, but his own goodness, that, thereby forgiving us all our sins, he might promise us everlasting life." Hereunto also may be annexed the testimony of Basil, no less worthy to be noted, touching the merciful judgment of God towards his chosen people. You shall hear his own words as they are.

"For if the judgment of God were so rigorous and precise in itself, to render unto us after our worthiness according to the works that we have done, what hope were then, or what man should be saved? But now he loveth both mercy and judgment, that is, matching mercy equal with himself, to bear chief rule in the regal seat of judgment, and so bringeth forth every man to judgment; that is to say, if God's judgment should proceed of itself precisely and exactly, requiting every of us according to the deservings of our deeds that we have done, what hope should remain for us, or what one person of mankind should be saved? But now God loveth mercy and judgment; and reserving mercy for himself, he hath placed her before the royal throne of justice, as chief governess, and so citeth every man unto judgment."

You see here mention made of mercy and the grace of God; not that grace only that doth engender in us good works, but the same rather which doth forgive sins and sinners through the blood of his Son, in which orgiveness consisteth our whole redemption according to the testimony of Paul the Apostle: "In whom (saith he, Eph. i.) we obtain redemption through his blood, and remission of sins through the riches of his grace, &c."

If I needed in this matter to use a multitude of witnesses, rather than substance of authority, it were no hard matter for me to cite for defence of the cause, infinite testimonies out of Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, Bernard, and others. But what need I protract the time of the reader, in vouching a number; whenas it is evident enough already, I suppose, by those sayings spoken before, that our salvation can by no means obtain place in judgment without the mercy of God, and his free imputation. The first whereof

our sins need to be covered withal, the next even our best works shall want of necessity.

Whereupon that saying of Bernard, whereof we made mention before, as divers other sentences of his to the same effect, be very pithy: "Not to sin (saith he) is the righteousness of God; the righteousness of man is the free pardon of God." Of which pardon Augustine, very little differing from Bernard, maketh rehearsal in these words: "Thou hast done no good thing (saith he), yet thy sins are forgiven thee: hitherto thou hearest the work of mercy." Mark now for imputation: "Thy works are examined, and they are found all faulty:" and forthwith concluding, addeth, "If God should requite these works after their deservings, he should surely condemn thee. But God hath not given thee due punishment, but granteth undeserved mercy."

Thus much Augustine, even as though he would say, Our best deeds seem in none other respect good, than as far forth as they be upholden by his pardon and free imputation, who, if otherwise he should search all our works even to the quick, after the most precise rule of his severe justice, he should surely find nothing sound in our best deeds, many things loathsome and wicked in our works, all things in us altogether corrupt and defiled; wherein we do not so advance the mercy of God in his judgment, as though we would have all the parts of his justice excluded from thence.

But we do mitigate rather the fretting wound of his justice (which you do so stiffly maintain with your speech), applying thereunto the sweet and wholesome plaster of his merciful imputation. For who can be ignorant hereof, that God shall judge the quick and dead with justice and equity? And who, on the other part, is so blind, that cannot discern this to be most false, that Osorius maintaineth? who, raking

all things to amplify the estimation of pure righteou ness, doth so stoutly defend this point, that all o words and works are of such force and value this judgment, that of their own nature they a available towards the purchase of the everlasting i heritance, or else do procure us a ready downfall everlasting destruction.

Indeed he speaketh truly in respect of the co demnation of the unfaithful and unbelieving person and of them which, being estranged from faith, ha not acknowledged Christ in this world; and of su as, abusing their faith, have despised Christ; and them also, which, seeking to establish their own rig teousness, would not submit themselves to the rig teousness of Christ. Neither is it any marvel, if G do execute his justice somewhat more sharply again those persons, whenas their deeds being found guilt have no aid to plead for them, that may stand the in stead, besides Christ. For Christ is nothir else but a severe Judge to them that are not with the fortress of faith, as in effect the Gospel doth d nounce unto us: "Whoso hath not believed t Son, the wrath of God dwelleth upon him." (John, iii

But the matter goeth far otherwise with them th are engrafted in Christ by faith, of whom we read John, the same chapter, "He that believeth t Son hath everlasting life." Wherefore, as Chri appeareth not a Redeemer, but rather a Judge, t them which without the castle of faith seek to l rescued by the laws; so, on the contrary part, tho that shroud themselves wholly under the assur target of faith, and protection of the Son of Go shall not find Christ a rigorous Judge, but a me ciful Redeemer: the which sentence he doth veri himself by his own testimony and promise, whe prophesying of the time of his coming to judgmen "When you shall see the beginning of those thing

(saith Christ, Luke, xxi.), look up, and lift up your heads;" and so proceeding, yieldeth thereof this reason, "because then your redemption draweth nigh." Mark well, Osorius, he doth not say, Your judgment, but, your redemption, draweth nigh.

And why did he choose to put his disciples in remembrance of their redemption rather, keeping the name of judgment in silence? Verily, because there is so no judgment of condemnation to them which are of the faith of Christ Jesus, as there is no redemption for them who without the faith of Christ Jesus do wholly yield their service to the world and to the flesh. Whereupon we may hear him again debating the same matter touching the freedom of judgment, in the fifth of John: "Whosoever heareth my voice, and believeth on Him which hath sent me, shall not come into judgment, but hath already passed from death to life." And in another place, turning his speech to his disciples, whenas he could promise them no reward of more excellency, "And you (saith he) shall sit together upon seats, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." (Luke, xxii.)

What need I rehearse Paul writing to the Corinthians, "Do ye not know (saith he) that the saints shall judge the world?" And raising us up beyond the reach of earthly things to the excellency of angels, "Do ye not know that we shall judge the angels?" (1 Cor. i.) *What then* (will you say), *shall we not all come into judgment? shall we not all be arraigned before the royal seat of the Majesty?* Yes, Osorius; we shall all come to judgment. But Augustine will discover unto you a distinction of this judgment; that the one part thereof shall concern damnation, the other sequestration; whereby the goats shall be severed from the lambs, but the lambs not condemned with the goats. And therefore I do firmly believe, that we

shall come all unto judgment; but my assured hope and affiance is, that the elect shall not come into judgment of condemnation.

I know that all shall yield account; but this audit shall be so easy, and so void of all fear, unto them which are engrafted into Christ, as, on the other side, it will be most rigorous and dreadful to them which shall come forth into judgment without Christ and the wedding-garment. And why so? Verily, because whom faith doth clothe with her robes, the same doth Christ so shield, defend, and save harmless with his innocency, against all bitterness of tempestuous judgment, as though they should never appear before any judge at all, but pass presently from death to life.

And this truly, even this same innocency of Christ is that pure righteousness of Christians which the Father doth none otherwise impute unto us that believe in his Son, than he did once impute to the same his Son all our sins, when he suffered his passion for sinners. "And he (saith the Prophet) did bear upon his back all our iniquities." (Isa. liii.) On the contrary part, such as, refusing this anchor-hold of Christ, and trusting to their own tackle, will hazard the safety of their souls before the severe justice of God, otherwise than clothed with this wedding-garment, must needs suffer shipwreck of their souls, void of all hope to recover the haven of perfect felicity; and so being turned over to the furniture of their own store, must needs be bulged through, and overpoised at last with the burden of justice, which they could never reach unto in this life.

And hereof ariseth all that difference betwixt them which are joined to Christ, and the rascal rabble of infidels. For although in this just judgment a reckoning shall be made of all the deeds of all men before God, and likewise reward decreed undoubt-

edly according to every man's deservings; yet the order of this judgment shall far otherwise proceed with the faithful than with the reprobate. For such as will challenge their salvation as due unto them, for observing the righteousness of the law, through their own works, and not through faith and imputation of Christ; those men surely shall be rewarded according to the desert of their own works, under this condition, that whosoever have accomplished the rule of the law, with that absolute perfection that he ought to have done, shall live according to the decree of the law. But if he have failed one tittle in performance less than the law required, what may he hope for else, than, according to the sentence of the law (which holdeth all men fast chained under everlasting malediction, that have not continually in all the course of their life persevered upright and unblamable of all parts thereof), that no blemish, be it never so little, may be found in the breach of any one jot of the law, which may procure most heavy matter of utter condemnation unto him?

And even here most manifestly appeareth the justice of God; for he that of himself is altogether unable to attain perfect righteousness, and will likewise wilfully refuse the same, being offered unto him by another, if he suffer punishment for his own unrighteousness, hath no cause to accuse the law of injustice, but must refer his plague to his own infidelity. On the other part, those that departing hence with faith and repentance (I speak here of sinners which are truly penitent in Christ), do so prepare themselves, as men reposing all their whole righteousness in the only innocency of Christ, and not in their works, shall neither be impeached for their sins, which Christ hath healed with his wounds; and yet if they have done any good works, they shall be rewarded with the inheritance of eternal life, not for

the worthiness of the works, but because of his free imputation he doth vouchsafe those weak works, be they never so barren and naked, worthy to obtain the promised inheritance, not because they have deserved it, but because himself hath promised it.

I suppose these manifold and manifest sayings hitherto are sufficient enough to declare the truth, and discover the falsehood of all this quarrel of Osorius; nay, rather to shew how many sundry faults he hath couched up into one conclusion, how many errors he hath clouted together, and into how many absurdities he hath tumbled himself headlong. For endeavouring to prove against the Lutherans that there is none other way to attain true righteousness than by living virtuously, he seemeth to pretend a colour of a certain few sentences picked out of Scripture, such as himself scarcely understandeth, or hath ill-favouredly disguised, to make a show in his mask, and making no distinction meanwhiles betwixt the persons and the things, disposing nothing in its due place and order, but chopping and shuffling all things together in a certain confused hotchpot (as it were in the old unformed chaos), though they be as far distant as heaven and earth, jumbleth them together without all discretion, confounding the law with the Gospel, the persons with the things themselves; righteousness of faith with righteousness of works: neither noteth which are the natural causes of the things, nor which are the proper effects of the causes; but disguiseth the causes under the title of effects, and effects likewise misturneth into causes.

For whereas works are properly the effects of faith, neither are of their own nature good, nor can be esteemed for good, but through justification going before; yet our Osorius frameth his discourse as though the chief and especial bulwark of all our righteousness were built wholly upon works. And that which

he readeth in Scriptures shall come to pass according to works, the same forthwith he concludeth to be done for the works sake; as though heaven were now a due reward for our travail and labour, and not the gift of grace; and as though they that do work might claim it as due debt for their work's sake, and were not rather promised to them that believe for the Son, the Redeemer's sake.

But we have discoursed enough upon this matter: it remaineth that we pursue the track of the rest of his disputation: and because we have spoken sufficiently, as I suppose, of the one of those two propositions which he calleth false, and whereof he hath accused Luther to be the author, let us now ferret out the other, and see what vermin it is, and how it is able to defend itself.

First of all, whereas Luther hath noted this saying to be the chief pillar and foundation of Christian doctrine, that no man ought to ascribe the mean of his salvation in any thing else than in the only faith of Jesus Christ, afterwards he proceedeth to the other point: that the fruits of good works are engendered and do issue from this faith, even as the fruit is engendered of the root of a good tree; and that works do follow faith of necessity, none otherwise than as a fertile tree, budding out first his green leaf and beautiful blossoms, doth at the last, by course and force of nature, bring forth fruit.

The sentence Osorius judgeth to be heinous, and in no wise sufferable; and yet in the mean time denieth not but that good works do follow faith. *But he crieth out with an open mouth this to be false, that good works do follow Luther's faith.* But it is well yet, that we hear in the mean while that good works are engendered out of faith, but in no wise out of Luther's faith. I would therefore learn of you, Osorius, out of whose faith good works do proceed.

Forsooth, my faith (saith he) *is not Luther's nor Haddon's faith, if he be Luther's scholar herein.* Come hither, Osorius, a' good fellowship, that I may stroke that smooth shaveling of yours awhile. Truly I cannot choose but all to belove you, and believe you also when you speak the truth; for I suppose that the oracle of Apollo can be no more true than this oracle is, that works do follow your faith, as ye say. They follow, indeed, apace in great clusters: and because ye vouchsafe not yourself to express unto us what kind of works those are, it shall not grieve me to do so much in your behalf. And yet what need I make proclamation of them, whenas your own books do so abundantly and manifestly utter the same, as that no man can be so blind or deaf but he must needs see and hear them?

What? art thou desirous, reader, to have described unto thee, as it were in a painted table, what blossoms this pregnant faith of Osorius doth shew forth? Peruse his writings and his books, especially those invectives compiled against Luther and Haddon. Was ever man in this world that hath heaped together so many lies upon lies? hath compacted so many blasphemies and slanders? hath uttered so many errors? hath ever by writing or practice imagined, expressed, and vomited out so many taunts, reproaches, mad words, vanities, cursings, brags, follies, and thrasonical cracks, so much rascal-like scolding, mocks, doggish snarling, as this beast hath brayed out in this one book? wherein you shall never find Luther once named, but coupled together with some title of reproach, as outrageous, frantic, or mad.

If those trim monuments of your gay works do cleave as fast to your daily conversation, as they are rife to be found every where in your books, and the testimonies of your wit, I appeal to the judgment of

the indifferent reader, what consideration may be had of that your faith, which whelpeth out unto us such a monstrous litter: for if a good tree, growing upon a sound root, do not commonly bring forth fruits unlike to the stock; and if children do usually represent their progenitors in birth, in some lineaments of personage, resemblance of manners, or other applicable feature of nature (for the glead, as the proverb is, doth not hatch forth pigeons), it must surely follow of necessity, that either your works, whereof you vaunt your crest, do by no means follow your faith; or else we must needs adjudge you a man scarce of any faith at all.

And, therefore, to answer briefly to those glorious vaunts which you make touching works that follow your faith, and not Luther's faith; if you mean those works which I have rehearsed, I will gladly agree with you: but if your meaning tend to good works, truly your own writings will, without any other witness, condemn you for a great liar. But go ye to: let us allow this unto you, which you require to be granted, that is to say, that your faith doth necessarily draw after it good deeds, as the south-east wind doth draw along the clouds, yet what should be the stoppel in the mean space to bar good deeds from Luther's or Haddon's faith more than from yours?

Because (say you) *faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.* I do acknowledge this a very catholic maxim, and a sentence meet for a true Christian: but I wonder what monster these mountains will bring forth at the last. *But Luther's faith cometh not of hearing, for he doth not hear the words of Christ.* What words, I pray you? and where are they written? *Forsooth, where Christ* (as he saith) *doth promise everlasting life to them that repent, and doth menace hell and destruction to them that are impenitent.* Where is this? Seek it, reader.

And because Luther doth not hear these words of Christ, ergo, his faith cometh not by hearing, and therefore yieldeth no fruit of good works, but stark briers and brambles only.

Go to: and what doth your faith in the mean space, Osorius? Let us hear what grapes it produceth. *But my faith* (saith he), *that is to say, the faith of holy church, whenas it consenteth to the words of Christ; and whenas also Christ himself doth threaten destruction to the impenitent sinners; this faith, therefore, wherewith I do believe these words of Christ, causeth me to be repentant.* What do I hear, Osorius? Why, what needeth repentance at all, where so manifold and so great treasures of good works do flow so plentifully out of that rich river of faith; which works do prepare an assured way to perfect righteousness? For what man is he that dare presume to challenge the name of a righteous man, in respect of his unrighteous dealing? or who is he that repenteth him of his good deeds? But let us mark the sequel of this tale.

Again, whenas the same Lord doth say, You shall be my friends, if ye do the things that I command you; if I do give credit to Christ's words, and do earnestly desire to be received unto his friendship, I will employ all the power of my soul to fulfil all his commandments, &c. Truly I do commend you, Osorius, and account you a happy man also, if you perform in deeds that ye protest in words. But what needeth then to make any plaister of repentance, forasmuch as you do accomplish all God's commandments, as you say? *No; but I do apply all the power of my soul that I may accomplish them.* How so, I pray you? *Because I do believe Christ's words, and therefore yield my careful endeavour, that if I do any thing amiss, I may purge the same with repent-*

ance, and that I may observe all his good precepts to the uttermost of my ability.

Behold now, reader, the platform of Osorius' faith, which, by succeeding increasings of daily budding blossoms, yieldeth continual fruits of most beautiful and holy works, contained in the sap, branches, and bark of that pleasant stock. How cometh this to pass? First of all, because he is endued with that faith, which faith is proper and peculiar to holy church; then, because he doth believe the words of Christ; furthermore, because he doth prepare himself through this faith, that he may cleanse his sins with repentance; (and what shall become, in the mean space, of righteousness of works in the confession of sins?) lastly, because he doth address the conversation of his life, as near as he can, after the line and level of Christ's rules?

Go to: let us compare this platform of his faith, and the faith of Luther and Haddon, together. Osorius, a' God's name, doth credit Christ's words; Luther and Haddon, distrusting Christ, have given no credit at all to the words of Christ. Osorius, believing Christ, and esteeming aright of his words, gave himself to repentance, as became a good Christian man, and so inured himself thereunto, that he abhorreth his own wickedness, and is become obedient to Christ's commandments. These jolly fellows have ranged all their life long in such careless security, as men never touched with any remorse of repentance, or regard of amendment of life, after the doctrine of Christ. Avaunt, therefore, cursed Luther, and his companion Haddon, both birds of an ill feather, with this your unbelief, which could never be induced to have a will neither to believe Christ, nor to come to repentance, nor yet to accomplish Christ's precepts. You might at least have

taken example by Osorius's pattern, and thereby have learned faith and bitterness of repentance.

But go to now: because Osorius doth triumph so gloriously of the credit that he giveth to Christ's words, let us discuss the truth of his speech, and search out the difference betwixt this his faith, whereof he maketh such brags, and Luther's faith. Take an example. The words of Christ in the Gospel are these: "This is the will of my Father that hath sent me, that every one that seeth the Son, and believeth in him, shall have everlasting life, and I will raise him up in the last day." (John, vi.) And immediately after the same Christ redoubleth the same words again and again, thereby to imprint them more deeply into their minds: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth in me hath everlasting life."

Again, John the first, "To as many as believed in him, he gave power to be made the sons of God." And by and by, in the third chapter, "He that believeth in the Son, hath life everlasting."

And how oft do you hear in the Gospel the sundry sentences, and the notable titles and testimonies, wherewith the Lord doth advance the faith of his elect, and the wonderful commendation wherewith he doth amplify the force and efficacy thereof? "Thy faith (saith he) hath saved thee; be it unto you according to your faith." (Matt. ix.) "Be it unto thee as thou hast believed." (Matt. viii.) "Fear not, believe only." (Mark, v.) "Believe only, and thy daughter shall be made whole." (Luke, viii.) "If thou canst believe, all things be possible to the believing man." (Matt. ix.) "And he that believeth in me, shall do the works which I do, and greater works than I do shall he do." (John, xiv.)

You do acknowledge these words of Christ, I suppose, which you cannot deny. I demand of you

now, whether your faith, or Luther's faith, do agree better with the words of Christ? Luther's, that doth call back all things unto faith; or yours, that doth yield over all to the works of righteousness?

"Whenas the Lord, being daily conversant with the publicans (as the Gospel reporteth), doth prefer the publican before the pharisee; Mary Magdalen before Simon; banqueteth his prodigal son more sumptuously than his obedient brother: whenas he carrieth upon his shoulders his scattered and lost sheep; looketh narrowly for his lost goat; bindeth up the wounds of him that fell among thieves; offereth himself a physician to the sick more gladly than to them that were sound and whole: whenas he placeth harlots and sinners in the kingdom of God before the pharisees; when he requiteth their travail with equal wages that came to work the last hour of the day, with them that bare the brunt and heat of the whole day in the vineyard; when he compareth and setteth the last before the first; when he promiseth Paradise to the thief for his faith's sake only; when he fashioneth Paul, of a deadly enemy, to be an Apostle: whenas he doth not only receive to mercy the Gentiles, castaways by nature, excluded from the promise, void of all hope, reprobates for their idolatry, but hath them in greater estimation than his natural Son:"—

What did he mean else by all these examples, than to disclose unto us the secret mystery of our justification? which consisteth rather in forgiveness of sins than in doing good deeds; which is to be esteemed by the only mercy and promise of God, whereof we take holdfast through faith; and is not to be weighed by the value of righteousness, nor any merits of works. Therefore, since all your opinion doth so wholly dissent from this kind of doctrine, with what face can you affirm that your faith is con-

sonant with the words of Christ, and Luther's discrepant?

The Apostle doth in so many places, throughout his whole Epistles, thunder out, as it were, "that there is no righteousness but through the faith of Jesus Christ; that no salvation is to be obtained but by the Mediator the Son, through whom righteousness is imputed, not purchased by works; neither to him that worketh (saith he), but to him that believeth in Christ, that justifieth the wicked." And yet you, seeming not to be so much as acquainted with this righteousness by imputation, as that ye dare not once name this word imputation, do notwithstanding stand so much in your own conceit, as though Christ at his coming should find all faith in Osorius, but no faith at all in Luther.

If a man might be so bold with you, it were no uneasy matter to pick out divers other sentences out of Scripture, which would quickly crack the credit of your faith; as where the Apostle, writing unto Timothy, doth so manifestly prophesy, "That it should come to pass, before the end of the world, that many should depart from the faith, believing lying spirits and doctrines of devils, forbidding marriage, and the eating of meats, which the Lord hath prepared to be received with thanksgiving." These doctrines of devils, forasmuch as the lying spirit of Osorius doth so stoutly maintain, and bend all his force to uphold in this latter age of the world, as besides him no man more obstinately, what may be thought else, but that either he is departed from the faith, or that the Apostle is an open liar?

Again, where the same Apostle writeth touching antichrist, painting him out in his colours, as it were, and so lively expressing him to the apparent views of the world; "his throne, his wickedness, his juggling, his lies, his pride, his immeasurable

arrogancy, vaunting himself beyond all haughtiness of man's nature" (1 Thess. ii.); what may a man judge of these sentences? the meaning of the which can by no means possible be applied to any thing else than to the Romish see.

Again, in the Revelation of St. John, chap. xiii. where the same antichrist is set in open stage, "having the shape and countenance of a meek lamb, which, under the vision of false horns, should resemble the true lamb, and restore the image of the wounded beast to life and speech;" which place of Scripture, because it cannot be wrested any other ways than to that Romish hierarchy (which, bending to ruin at the first, was restored by that great arch-prelate of Rome), yet in this most apparent text of Scripture, if Osorius' faith be demanded, whether it may be applicable to the bishop of Rome, we shall find him as far dissenting from the purpose of this prophecy, as, if he were demanded the way to Canterbury, he might answer, A poke full of plums.

We have hitherto sufficiently enough declared, I suppose, that Osorius, for all his brags, is void of all aid to defend his faith; and so, for this time, I will commit the censure of those gay works, which flow so plentifully out of that glorious faith, to that Judge which shall display the hidden corners of darkness, and to the consideration of them who, by the view of his books, have skill to discern a lion by his paws, or rather an ass by his loll-ears. Now remaineth, at length, to discover briefly that which he barketh against Luther's faith.

Now let us see Luther's faith (saith he), *whether it can bring forth any lively fruit. It cannot, by any means*, &c. Lie on yet more, a' God's name. *First of all, because he teacheth that all works, appear they never so godly, are defiled with sin.* Nay rather, but that you were by nature of so corrupt a judg-

ment, that ye cannot frame yourself so much as to speak the truth, you would never have patched this lie amongst the rags of your leasings. Luther's disputation concerning faith and good works tendeth to nothing else but that which the Scriptures every where, the sacred Spirit of truth, and St. Paul inspired with the Holy Ghost, do by all means and reasons confirm, and which we all ought of very duty to embrace.

For Luther, endeavouring to make evident the doctrine of justification, and comparing our good works with the law of God, is enforced to confess the very truth of the matter; that is to say, that there is nothing so holy in works, but being of their own nature in some respect unclean and defiled, must needs be unsavoury in the sight of God, if without Christ they be racked with exact scrutiny of God's severe judgment. And hereof quarrel is picked forthwith against Luther, as though he should affirm that whatsoever works the very regenerated and engrafted in Christ themselves did work, were nothing else but mere sins and wickedness.

And because he doth abridge good works in that part only wherein they be falsely adjudged to be of value to justify before God, Osorius doth argue against him in this wise, as though he did utterly root out of man's life all civil and moral virtuous conversation, wherein a man cannot easily determine, whether he doth shew himself more injurious to Luther, or bewray rather his own blockish grossness.

No man ever taught more soundly, no man more highly commended good works, than Luther did, being separated apart from the doctrine of justification. And whereas he doth extenuate the force of works in the Treatise of Justification, he doth not therein so altogether derogate from works, as rather friendly advertise them, which through vain confi-

lence of works do challenge to themselves righteousness in the sight of God, and do depend so much upon the deservings of works, as though there were none other fountains from whence our salvation might be derived.

Luther therefore, using argument against those persons, doth boldly avow, that all our works are defiled, yet not simply, but in respect of their application, being considered without the faith of the Mediator; which being most truly spoken by Luther, is as sinisterly wrested by Osorius, as though he had spoken it simply, that there is no good or commendable thing in works, nothing in them acceptable to God, though never so dutifully or virtuously performed. And for this cause he concludeth at last, as with an unvanquishable argument, that, by no means possible, *Luther's faith could bring forth any fruitful works, like as that barren fig-tree, growing near unto the highway, whereupon grew nothing but leaves.*

But this is Osorius' own conclusion, not Luther's, a sophistical cavil concluding falsely, if St. Paul "doubted nothing at all to esteem all things sinful which were done without faith." (Rom. iv.) If it were lawful for Augustine to write in this wise, "Thy works are examined (saith he), and are found all defiled," why doth he rage so furiously against Luther, because he doth profess, that the deeds which we call good, are in none other respect to be deemed for good, than as they be valued by the faith of the Mediator?

The consideration of this doctrine, as it is of itself most assured, so doth it not tend to that end that Osorius imagineth, to discourage godly minds from virtuous endeavour; rather well-disposed persons are so much the more inflamed to embrace virtue, by how much they find themselves more bound to God's bountiful mercy; for, as I understand, nature hath

so provided, that faith working by love, should always be more effectual, than the law constraining through fear.

If this rule of Paul cannot yet be beaten into those buzzardly brains, how that our deeds be void of all praise and estimation, teaching you that every thing is sin that is wrought without faith; let Augustine yet prevail somewhat with you: "Believe (saith he) in Him that doth justify the wicked, that thy good works may prove good works; for I will not vouchsafe to call them good, as long as they do issue from an evil tree."

And therefore our Saviour himself, reciting and rewarding the good deeds of his faithful, doth not speak in this manner as though he spake generally; Thou hast fed the hungry, thou hast lodged the harbourless, thou hast refreshed the needy, and clothed the naked; but restraining all these things to the faith which ought to be towards him, "I was hungry (saith he), and ye fed me, and I was naked, and ye clothed me; I was in misery, in chains, and imprisoned, and you visited me, and gently refreshed me; I was harbourless, and ye lodged me, &c." So that he regardeth not so much the deeds themselves, which are indifferently employed upon the relief of the needy, as he esteemeth the faith which worketh those deeds for God's Son's sake, and his name's sake.

Wherefore forasmuch as upon this faith dependeth not only the justification of all mankind, but of all the actions of man's life in the sight of God, as upon this only root and foundation, what absurdity ensueth hereof to say, that all our works, as of themselves and their own nature, are filthy in the sight of God, unless they be sprinkled with the faith and blood of the Mediator?

Now these things being agreed upon, let us return

to the argument of Osorius. *The faith of Luther* (saith Osorius) *can by no means yield any good fruit.* Why so? *Because he doth say that all our works, seem they never so holy, are infected, and wholly defiled.* Go to; and what more? *Ergo, no lively fruits of good works* (saith he) *can ensue from Luther's faith, forasmuch as all our doings are corrupt and sinful, as Luther himself witnesseth.* I do hear you and answer you, that the antecedent is true, but the consequent most false; for to confess that to be true which Luther hath most truly alleged, that all our good deeds being viewed with the eyes of God's justice without faith, and without the Mediator, are of themselves no less abhorred in the sight of God than wicked sinners; yet is not Osorius' conclusion therefore true, that Luther's faith is the well-spring and seed-plot of all ungodliness.

The reason thereof is evident. For whatsoever actions or endeavours of man's life are of their own nature blameworthy, the fault of the same proceedeth not from faith, but from the poisoned corruption of our weak flesh; and therefore Luther, agreeing very well with Augustine, commandeth to take hold-fast of faith, that our works may thereby be made good works; forasmuch as whatsoever is not of faith, and is not only not shielded under her protection, deserveth not to be accounted for good, but also after the testimony of Paul is esteemed in the sight of God no better than very sin and offence.

This matter being confessed, a man may frame an argument against Osorius much more fitly after this manner:

Forasmuch as the law in her proper effect can do nothing but engender wrath, and was for this purpose published, that sin should appear much more sinful—

It followeth rather by Osorius' doctrine (who seem-

eth to maintain with the whole bent of his skill the glory of the law), that no good works are engendered of the law, but sin rather, as from whence more plentiful matter of wrath is raised to our destruction.

But Luther handleth the matter far otherwise. All whose divinity how much the more carefully doth enseal unto us the faith of Christ, which is the only mother and nurse of all virtuous deeds, so much the greater increase of good works must of necessity spring by his doctrine. And therefore (as I suppose) we have handsomely enough for this time wrung out of Osorius' fingers this choking bone, wherewith he hath kept all this stir against Luther, and thrust it into his own throat; *that Luther's faith is the well-spring and seed-plot of all wickedness, but his faith the fountain of all virtue.* But here comes another bolt out of the same quiver, as well made, and as wisely shot. Let us behold how near the mark he shoots withal.

Again, because Luther doth affirm, that the force of lust is so strong, that he believeth no man able to resist it; it is a common custom (I perceive) amongst many persons to extenuate and despise boldly original sin, and that decay of nature, in words; but I could never find any one that was able to suppress and utterly subdue the strength thereof indeed in this mortal life, except that only man, of whom it is written, "Which of you doth accuse me of sin?" unless we will couple this our Osorius next unto him, and make him his equal, who with singular and unspeakable courage doth fight against nature so stoutly (I think), that no force of natural corruption, no enticement of tickling lust, can drive him from his state of innocency.

But I will no more rip up the life and manners of Osorius. I will examine the force and vigour of

his arguments, and the unjointed joints and shivered sinews thereof.

Luther doth deny that man in this life is able to vanquish the strength of sin utterly, reigning in the flesh; ergo, no good works do proceed from Luther's faith.

Why do ye not by the same logic conclude likewise,

Ergo, there is nothing in the world besides the crow that is black, nor any skill in the learned that is not in Osorius' pack?

But go to; let us change the names of men, and let the matter remain, and in place of Luther let us use the name of Paul. Mark now as wise a reason, or rather the very same, only the names of persons being changed.

Paul complaining of the sin which doth encumber his flesh, doth protest, that in his flesh dwelleth no good thing; *ergo*, no good works are engendered out of Paul's faith.

For what difference is there, I pray you, betwixt the words of Paul and Luther's position, if ye compare them together rightly? whereas each of them, with one agreeable consent, has relation to the selfsame unvanquishable tyranny of original sin. But now let us hear how necessarily his consequent must follow of this wonderful reason, wherewith he would seem to prove that Luther's faith is the utter subverter of all good works, for in this wise crawleth forward that lying spirit out of his mouth:

But forasmuch as no man can enterprise any good action, unless he do first utterly cut off the kingdom of sin; but the kingdom of sin cannot be utterly cut off, if it be true that Luther teacheth: it remaineth therefore, that no man is able to work any good deed.

As touching the form of this argument, perhaps, the punies in sophistry may somewhat allow; but if

ye behold the matter thereof, certes the doctors of divinity will reject the same as faulty. *Unless* (saith he) *the kingdom of sin be first utterly cut off*, &c. Truly, I would not much stand with you here, Osorius; if you will first express unto us, aptly and distinctly, what you mean by this word kingdom: for whereas divines do agree, that there are two sorts of sin, which we call actual sin, which also they do distinguish two manner of ways, into sin reigning and sin rebelling, you must teach us whether of these two you mean.

For it is not all one thing to suffer thyself to be carried away with sin, and to yield thyself willingly captive into his tyranny, as to be vanquished of sin through weakness: for the first cometh of will, the next of infirmity. We are all many times overcome of sin, neither liveth any in this flesh but offendeth sometimes sundry ways; yet are we notwithstanding overcome against our wills, and drawing back as it were.

The most chosen servants of God are sundry times cast down through sin reigning in their members; but never yield over wholly as subjects to its kingdom. Very well, therefore, doth St. Paul counsel us: "Let not sin reign in your fleshly bodies." (Rom. vi.) And yet the same Paul did not always bring to pass the good that he would, but did work many times the evil that he would not; not he now, but sin dwelling within him.

These things being thus opened, let us search out the pith of the argument. *He denieth that virtue hath any place there, where the kingdom of sin is not utterly rooted out.* If Osorius do mean the kingdom of sin, as a king or a tyrant doth reign over his subjects, the major proposition is true, but the minor most false: for Luther did never teach, no not so much as dream, otherwise than that sin should be

suppressed as much as were possible. But if his meaning tend to this end, that no man can enterprise any good work, unless, the tyranny of sin being first brought under yoke, he have so tamed the flesh, that no motion so much may be felt to rebel within, that may wound or infect the conscience, how can Osorius make proof of that which he verifieth in his major? or confute that which he doth object against Luther in his minor? Or where shall he find that conqueror of sin, who having thoroughly mortified sin, and utterly vanquished the raging rebellion of natural corruption, dare promise reward of perfect righteousness unto himself?

Job, a man of all others famous for his uprightness of life, was yet so displeasant with himself that he seemed "to stand in doubt of all his works." Isaiah doth condemn "all his righteousness to be more loathsome than a filthy cloth." Who was more holy, or more acceptable to God than David? And yet besides that he dare not presume to offer himself to judgment, as being dismayed with fear of his secret conscience, he doth not spare frankly to pronounce, "that no flesh living can be found righteous in the sight of God."

The great Prophet Daniel doubted not to make his humble confession together with the people, saying, "that he had sinned with his forefathers." What shall I speak of Jonah and the other Prophets? and to let pass the other Apostles, what shall I say of Paul and Peter? St. John declaring, "that we all are trespassers in many things," doth not exempt himself out of the same number.

Next to the Apostles ensued the age of ancient antiquity and learned fathers, who, although with all their power and might, did valiantly maintain continual battle against the assaults of sin, yet could they never so surely encamp and guard themselves in so

firm a ground, but they should be undermined with the countermoiling of her outrageous pioneers, that, like dastards mistrusting their own strength, they should feel themselves enforced sometimes to forsake their standing, and flee for rescue to the only mercy and forgiveness of God, as to the only unpenetrable rock of their salvation.

And therefore St. Jerome in plain words doth note truly, "that though man did attain to perfection, he should yet stand in need of God's mercy, and that man's full and perfect perfection did depend upon grace, and not upon deservings, &c." No less effectually Augustine, writing to Boniface touching perfect righteousness, or rather of the imperfection of our righteousness, "Virtue (saith he), which is now in a righteous man, is said to be so far forth righteous, as unfeigned acknowledgment and humble confession of his own imperfection do admit the same to be perfect." Again the same Augustine in another place doth account "that man to have profited much in this life, who by profiting doth feel in himself how far he is distant from true perfection."

And because the Latin church shall not seem to want the testimony of the Greeks, let us hear the words of Basil treating of man's righteousness. "This is full and perfect rejoicing in God, whenas a man is lifted up not with any righteousness of his own, but knoweth himself empty and naked of true righteousness, and so to be justified by *faith only* in Christ Jesus." Whereby Osorius may perceive what estimate is to be made of our own righteousness, though it seem never so beautiful, which Augustine himself adjudgeth worthy of execrable curse, if it be examined besides the mercy of God. "But because (saith he) thou dost not narrowly and sharply search out offences, we do hope assuredly that we shall obtain some place for pardon in thy sight."

It is not needful to make a register of all the testimonies of writers (the matter especially being so evident, and so strongly fenced with multitude of authorities), whenas the consent and agreement of all writers is in no one thing more general and steadfast than in the abasing of perfection of works, and humbly craving pardon of our own imperfection. Whereupon Augustine, "Stand not in judgment (saith he) against thy servant, requiring of me all things that thou hast taught and commanded. For if thou enter into judgment with me, thou shalt find me guilty. I had need therefore of thy mercies, rather than thy severe judgment." I demand now what you conceive of the words of Augustine?

Surely, although I do not think that the man was void of wonderful willing endeavour, yet if he had been of all parts endued with that integrity of undefiled life, and had utterly rooted out the whole kingdom of sin, with the concupiscence thereof, and had obtained to be deemed praiseworthy in respect of absolute accomplishing the commandments of God, his soul would never so humbly have disclaimed from God's judgment, and submitted all comfort of pardon to the only free mercy of God.

Let us annex hereunto the same Aurel. August. altogether disagreeing from Osorius, where he setteth down the same much more plainly in his book *De Spirit. & Liter.* "I said (quoth he) that it was possible for a man to be without sin, if he have a will thereunto, and God's assistance withal; but I never said that there ever was, or ever should be, any one who in this life could be so perfect, except that One only, in whom all creatures shall be quickened, &c."

Of what force therefore can this your wind-shaken crutch be, more than catholic, which you have scraped out of Hosius Roffensis in Cicero (as I suppose), whereupon your lame crippled works

do rest so boldly? namely, that a man may so order his life in this rotten tabernacle of the flesh, after the square of righteousness, by the assistance of God, as having thoroughly conquered the kingdom of sin, he may easily accomplish all the commandments of the law?

And therefore to answer at a word for all, what shall I speak else, than as Jerome reported to Ctesiphon, when he wrote against the heresy of Pelagius? so shall I set Augustine against Osorius, and St. Jerome against Sir Jerome: "Thou dost say, that the commandments of God are easy (saith St. Jerome); and yet thou canst name no one man, which hath performed them all, &c." And so the same St. Jerome proceeding forward: "Utter no such blasphemy against the heavens, whereby thou mayest delude the minds of simple folk with these words, It is and it may be; for who will grant unto thee, that a man may do that which never man could do?"

And again the same Jerome, "What is our wisdom? nay rather what ought our wisdom to be, which are not perfect? Our simple confession that we are imperfect, and that we have not yet achieved or attained full perfection. This is the true wisdom of man, to know himself to be imperfect. And I will be bold to speak it, that the perfection of the best and most righteous, whiles he dwelleth in this fleshly dunghill, is altogether imperfect, &c." What need I allege any more in a matter so manifest of itself, so thoroughly confirmed with testimonies, and so plainly and notably discernible by the daily examples of man's life?

But amongst the rest of this innumerable overflowing multitude of sinners, here shall be a reply made (I believe) of the divine integrity of this one gentleman, Osorius, of his wonderful conversation, absolute holiness, angelic chastity, culverlike simplicity,

linked together with a more than seraphical humility and incomprehensible innocency; who alone amongst the children of women hath beautified the whole world with such brightness of righteousness; who carrieth about him all virtues fast locked in the sacred chest of his breast, and daily numbereth them; who hath so quenched the boiling froth of original sin; hath so utterly subdued and brought into bondage the whole empire thereof, even at one push; hath of all parts so absolutely fulfilled each tittle of the commandments; hath tamed the flesh, and all the concupiscence thereof; hath suppressed his affections; hath so well disposed order, addressed the whole course of his life, and even now haled up on high with a certain outstretched reach of mind beyond the heavens, and wrapped now into the fraternity of St. Francis himself, is inflamed with unquenchable desire of divine zeal, that he will not once tread awry so much, nor will be blotted with one spot of crime, or suspicion of crime, be it never so little; will not yield to any temptations of Satan, or infirmity of the flesh; will not be seen with one blemish or suspicion of sin, no not one solecism or incongruity, no, nor yet idle speech in all his words, no disorder in his whole life and conversation; out of whose mouth shall issue no idle word nor lie; no (I dare boldly say), not one erroneous doctrine, no contumelious cavil in his books, no rascal-like slander, no sycophantical outrage; but all things shall be found within him so attempered and qualified with a certain marvellous peaceable modesty and lenity, that no defect may be found needful to be added to fill up a full bushel of perfect righteousness.

And because thou shalt not wonder, reader, by what means this our most reverend prelate hath climbed up to this immeasurable excellency of general righteousness, and with what pillars he under-

proppeth the same, and learn withal how available and effectual this most sacred sacrament of confession is, vouchsafe, I pray thee, to hear Osorius himself telling his own tale.

I do call to witness (saith he) *Jesus Christ, my Lord and my God, that by the means of this comfortable confession, sundry times frequented, I have escaped from infinite wickedness: wherefore if I have at any time subdued lust; if I have forsaken voluptuous filthiness; if I have been desirous to embrace chastity; if I have been enlightened with any sparkle of godly zeal, I do wholly ascribe the effectual operation thereof to the same sacrament, through the which the Holy Ghost hath imparted unto me great store of his grace, &c.*

What a test is this! If being first overwhelmed with innumerable iniquities, he have attained that righteousness at the length, through the virtue of that most sacred sacrament, insomuch as he hath shaken off the yoke of all concupiscence, hath cut the throat, and cut off the head of the kingdom of sin, what need hath he then to repeat his confessions so often? when the wound is whole, what need any plaster or further surgery? If all sin be abolished, to what purpose serveth daily custom of confession, and to what end is absolution craved?

But if he feel yet somewhat lurking within him, that forceth him betwixt whiles to run again so oft to confession, and to the drugs of absolution, how is it that he affirmeth so boldly, that the kingdom of sin is wholly conquered in us, so courageously fighting against Luther's doctrine in words, whereas in very life he agreeth altogether with Luther?

Finally, if Osorius dare presume so stoutly upon his own conscience, as having utterly crushed in pieces the kingdom of sin, that he is now no more acquainted therewith, what may prejudice him but

he may forthwith frankly justify himself with the Pharisee, and say, "I thank thee, O Lord, heavenly Father, that I am not as other men are, nor like unto this publican Luther, and those silly sheepish Bucerans: I do fast twice in the week, I give the tenth of all that I possess; yea, besides all this, I do also daily inure myself to holy confession, &c." But hereof enough: let us proceed to the remnant rabble of his raked lies as they follow.

Furthermore, who be holy and unblamable before God? Even those truly which are void of all crime: but, according to Luther's doctrine, you cannot be void of crime; for he denieth that sin is extinguished, and affirmeth that the flames of all abomination do broil out thereof, as out of a hot flaming oven, scorching and consuming all things, by means whereof no man can be found unblamable, and without spot. The subtilty of this sophistical cavil tendeth at the last to this end:

God hath chosen us (saith the Apostle), *that we should become holy and unblamable; but, according to Luther's doctrine, no man can be holy and without fault in this life.* Therefore hereof ensueth an unavoidable conclusion: *Because no man living is clear from offence, therefore neither Haddon, nor any of all the Lutherans, can be reckoned amongst God's elect.*

Pack ye hence, therefore, as banished outlaws, all ye vile Lutherans; pack ye hence with all your torn and ragged works into the hells of Osorius' damnable curse. For the gate of election is not opened to any, but unto Popes, Osorians, Pighians, Hosians, Eckians, and other the like lordlings, in whose most pure and choice behaviour no drop of filth can be found worthy of reproach.

If Osorius himself had not been so shameless beastly, as to blaze abroad this trifling argument, it

would have loathed me to have rehearsed the same in this place, nor would I have vouchsafed any answer thereto, but that I thought good to give the reader a taste of his blockish ignorance, that he might smile at it awhiles, or at the least learn by this to esteem of all other his puppet reasons almost in all his book, for scarcely any sounder matter is scattered in any part thereof.

First of all, the Apostle doth teach that "we are elected and chosen, that we should become holy." This is true: whereby you may perceive, Osorius, that whatsoever holiness we be endued withal, doth neither go before, nor accompany election, but that it ought to follow altogether, not in order of time only, but in respect of the end and effect thereof. For the Apostle doth not say, God hath chosen us because we were holy, or should afterwards prove holy, but that we should become holy; so that God's election is now the cause, not the effect, of our good works. And if good works do follow election in order of time, I see no cause to the contrary, but by the same reason our justification should likewise necessarily follow; forasmuch as the consideration of them both is all one.

For whom God hath chosen, the same he hath justified; and with the same grace that he hath chosen us, he is said also to have justified us, by one self-same mean, and to one self-same end. For God hath chosen us, if ye ask here the cause of his free mercy, according to the good pleasure of his will; if ye seek the mean, in Christ Jesus: if ye look for the end, to work good deeds, not for the good deeds' sake, nor for any our deservings, but to the praise of the glory of his grace.

Truly none otherwise fareth it in the matter of justification. For whom God of his free mercy hath chosen, the same also he hath freely justified, not by

any other means than in Christ Jesus; not because he foresaw that we would be holy, but to that end, that we should walk circumspectly and holily in his sight.

But what importeth this saying, that we "should become holy and unblamable?" Peradventure Osorius be of the opinion, that the Catharres, Celestines, and Donatists were imagining, that herein our full and absolute regeneration of our renewed nature was signified unto us, and that we should accomplish such a kind of thing as the Grecians do call τό ἀναμαρτήτον, without the which God's election and our justification could not by any means consist.

Verily, I could wish with all my heart, that we all would direct the course of our life in such sort according to this puritanism of Osorius, and that we were all endued with such integrity and angelic innocency that no part of our life might be defiled with blemish or just reprehension. But what shall we say? Such is the condition of man's life, such is the weakness of the flesh, that every man hath his infirmity. And we have not as yet so put off the nature of man altogether, that we should be forthwith transformed into angels.

Go to then: what if it come to pass, that in this brittle estate of our frailty, any of us do falter and fall down? are we therefore excluded forthwith from our election? or have we by and by lost the benefit of our justification? I do not think so, Osorius. For in what sense shall the election of God be said to be permanent, if it may be cut off, and have an end? or how shall it be called steadfast and assured, if it hang upon the uncertainty of our frailty?

But do not the true elect (say you) fall at any time into deserved rebuke? What then? shall every one that is worthy rebuke, be forthwith cast off from his election? A' good fellowship, Osorius, what

if this fall happen before baptism? You will say that baptism doth wash it clean away. What? and shall not faith and Christian repentance cleanse our offences after baptism likewise? If there be no forgiveness of those trespasses which we Christians do commit after baptism, to what end is that article in our Christian creed, wherein we confess remission of sins? If no offence be made, to what purpose serveth pardon? Surely, where nothing is blameworthy, their pardon may go play.

Let us see now, will you now despoil us of an article of our faith, and withal bereave us of hope of remission, that erst boasted so boldly of your strong belief in the words of Christ? But you say, *God did choose us, that we should be unblamable.* I do hear you, Osorius, and allow your objection, if you will likewise accept of mine answer. Whatsoever is forgiven to the guilty by pardon, and purged by forgetting and forgiving, there is nothing remaining to terrify that person from imputation, or make dismayed for any controlment. For, that we may be so bold to glory as Paul doth (Rom. viii.), "What is he that shall accuse the elect of God? God is he that doth justify, who shall then condemn us?" We may lawfully add hereunto, who shall control us?

You see therefore in what wise God's elect do appear now excusable and righteous, not so much through the cleanness of their deeds, as through the bounty of Him that imputeth. "Not from the beginning of unrighteous nature (to speak Augustine's own words), but by conversion from sin to righteousness; not because in our good deeds remaineth nothing blameworthy, but because it doth please the fatherly clemency to exact sharp and narrow trial of them whom he hath chosen in his Son." And thereupon the Apostle, noting the same thing, saith,

"Whom he hath chosen in Christ Jesus, that they should become holy and unblamable, &c."

Wherein you have both the cause and the end of our election. The cause is Christ, or the grace of God in Christ: the end is herein signed, that we should become holy and unblamable. For he speaketh not in this wise: he did choose them which had led an uncorrupt life, to the end he might engraft them in Christ. But he did choose us in Christ Jesus first, that we should live holy and unrebukable. *But by what means unrebukable* (say you), *whenas the very elect themselves cannot be free from fault, as Luther doth say?* The answer is plain and easy.

Whereas Luther doth deny that God's true elect are free from all guilt, he seemeth therein to have regard to the frailty of man's nature, and making a comparison thereof, doth set the same directly opposite against the severe justice of God's law. This weak nature bending her force as much as she may against the assaults of sin, although she get the upper hand sometimes; yet, besides that she yieldeth over very oft as vanquished, even then chiefly, when she hath obtained the mastery, she doth never yet express the immaculate sincerity and undefiled uprightness in maintaining the battle; but some default may be found in her most perfect obedience; and so pimples will yet stick fast in the flesh, that they may be easily espied; for curing whereof she shall be constrained of necessity to pray in aid for the general triacle of the church, "Lord, forgive us our sins, &c."

So that Augustine's words may well be verified here, "why is the possibility of nature so much presumed upon? It is wounded, maimed, troubled, and utterly destroyed; it needeth a true confession, and not a false purgation, &c."

Furthermore, where the Apostle maketh this addition, that we should become holy and unblamable,

he seemeth not therein so much to respect the natural perfection of innocency (which I doubt whether may be found in the very angels), as the zealous mind, godly will, and earnestly-bent affection of every of us in this life, and uprightness in every our several vocation, meaning nothing in this place else than as he did in another place, where speaking of the vocation of widows, "commandeth them to be instructed to lead an unreprovable life." (1 Tim. v.) Likewise, making mention of bishops, saith, "that they must be unblamable, and have a good testimony, lest they fall into reproach and reproof of the slanderer." (1 Tit. iii.) Again, setting an order for servants, "commandeth them to have regard to their calling, lest the name of God and the doctrine of their profession should be brought into obloquy." (1 Tim. vi.) In like manner to Titus, the second chapter, appointing a rule of comely conversation, "he doth exhort all persons that every one so behave himself in his vocation, that the word of God be not blasphemed, and that the adversary may be ashamed, having no just quarrel to accuse us." And again to the Colossians, the first chapter, "that he may deliver you holy and undefiled, and unblamable in his sight, &c."

Which sayings tend not to this end, as though man's nature could put on that perfection, whereby she might be preserved from falling at any time afterwards by frailty from the state of integrity, but provoke us rather thereby to take heed, that our will be no more in thraldom under wicked rebellion, and so voluntarily yield over the members of the body to sin, or by any means bring herself in bondage to wickedness.

And this is the meaning of the Apostle (as I suppose), that we are therefore chosen of God, not to be delighted in mind with the concupiscence of the flesh, to fulfil the lust thereof; but to become holy,

hat every of us in this world should demean ourselves in our calling soberly, uprightly, and godly, as eseemeth the chosen and holy ones of God.

Whereby you may sufficiently perceive (if I be not leceived), that those sentences which Paul hath vritten concerning holiness, and Luther touching naural infirmity, are not so repugnant one against the ther, but they may both be admitted well enough. For hereof ariseth no repugnancy, but that in outward conversation and observing the rules of our function duly, it may be said after a simple manner of speech unfeignedly; that is to say, in the sight of God a man may demean himself honestly, in whose nature, notwithstanding, some such filth may cleave, as may of necessity compel him to cry out with that elect vessel of God, "Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death?" (Rom. vii.)

But Osorius, perhaps, will chant us a higher note, not with this miserable Paul, "Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me?" but will descant (I suppose) with that blessed Pharisee, "I thank thee, O heavenly Father, that I am not as other mortal men are, &c." But let us go forward, and pursue the reliques of this notable monument: and since we are come now to the Treatise of Predestination and Free-will, let us mark well what stuff this ranger hath brought out of his forest, and what dogs he leadeth to course other men's game withal.

OF PREDESTINATION AND FREE-WILL.

Luther affirmeth, that free-will is a thing in name only, or a name without substance; that man is the patient, and not the agent; that he is drawn, and doth not purpose or deliberate any thing; that man is an instrument only, and as it were a saw or axe, which God doth frame and force whither he will, and whereunto him pleaseth; and that man hath no power nor strength reserved him either to do good or to commit wickedness; insomuch that we are not able not only not to do good or evil, but also not to think any thought by any means of ourselves. Moreover, when I name Luther, I understand also withal Melancthon, Bucer, Calvin, and the rest of your jolly fellows, whose opinions and writings tend to this effect at the length, that no difference at all may seem to be betwixt man and any other tool or instrument.

In very good time, Sir, blessed be this hour, wherein we are come now at the length to the most cumbersome and crabby treatise of Free-will, which, being heretofore so oft tossed to and fro in common schools, in assemblies, and disputations of divines, after so many combats and turmoils, hath now at the list found out a champion (hope I), through whose only force and activity being defended and shrowded, as it were, under the target of Ajax, she shall be able to endure and withstand all the assaults and countermoils of all heretics whatsoever.

For whereas heretofore this unsearchable gulf hath encumbered and entangled the wits and studies of so many notable clerks, cardinals, bishops, and priests; the bottom and depth whereof could notwithstanding never yet be attained unto; I suppose the only let thereof hitherto hath been, for that Osorius was not hatched as then, nor produced to be proctor in this cause,

But now since this upstart wrestler is skipped over the old barriers, and hath catched the collars in hand, may any man doubt but that (the whole force of the enemy being utterly discomfited and compelled to flee the field) the majesty of free-will having been long time wounded and weakened with grievous malady, yea, and through feebleness even yielding up the ghost, shall presently recover health, stand upon her feet, and be strong?

For this lusty gallant disdaineth to encounter as Bythus did sometime with Bacchus, or as Ecerinus with Pacidianus, or as Hercules against two, or as Horatius against three brethren at once, or with one man hand in hand only; but of valiant courage challengeth the field against four choice and tried soldiers at one chop together, to wit, Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and Calvin; yea, with them also against the whole army of Lutherans.

Against whom, nevertheless, if Osorius durst have cast his glove when they lived amongst us, or if they were present now to answer the challenge, and defend the cause, no doubt the lusty cracks of proud Jack Bragger would carry but a small countenance to move the godly to be displeasant withal.

But as to rake the dead out of their graves, and to pick quarrel against ghosts and spirits, is the common guise of every rascal varlet; so to the discreet and well-disposed hath it been accounted most filthy and contemptuous; yea, most to be abhorred in our Osorius at this present, who in all this his discourse of free-will alleging no one thing against them, but that which in their writings and books is fully answered and satisfied; yet (as though they had made no answer at all) crawleth he forward nevertheless, patching together his rotten and moth-eaten trumpery, wherein neither is any thing of his own invention, nor any new stuff, but that he hath some-

forcible whirlwind of accusation, rangeth the field without judgment, and out of all array; and after a certain confused manner of talk doth wrap up and mingle all things together, as it were, under one confused heap: we, on the contrary part, will so temper our answer, that, as near as the matters will permit, we may dispose in some reasonable frame the chief pillars and arguments of his accusation, which himself hath set down most disorderly; and therefore, in my simple conceit, the whole substance of all his accusation whatsoever may be gathered into four or five principal places chiefly, which he seemeth to find fault with almost in Luther's doctrine, as matters full of absurdity, and which he objecteth against Luther in this wise:

1. That Luther affirmeth, that there is no free choice or freedom in the will of man.

2. That all things have their beginning through absolute and unavoidable necessity.

3. That impossible things are commanded by God.

4. That men are damned for the things which they commit, not of their own free and voluntary motion, but compelled by fatal necessity.

5. That God is to be taken for the original and author of all mischief and wickedness.

For into these few places, as in a short catalogue, may be divided all whatsoever is comprehended in this huge mass of Osorius' invectives, which being in this wise placed, it remaineth that we frame our answer to every of them particularly, as opportunity and place shall offer them in the discourse, and so to purge and wash away, as much as in us lieth, all his cavillations and sophistical subtleties.

For thus would I wish thee to be persuaded, friendly reader, that, besides natural scolding and mere cavil of words void of all substance of truth, there is else nothing of all whatsoever he doth brabble in all this dis-

course, yea, and that also stroking himself rather with vain conceit of his own opinion, than of any grounded knowledge or judgment at all.

And first as touching *free-will.* Instead of a proof and testimony, he allegeth Luther's own words; and yet the same also, neither doth he allege whole as they be, nor fully, nor doth he couple the first with the last, nor directeth to any certain place of the author. But go to. What manner of heinous crime is this wherewith this Portuguese inquisitor doth charge Luther so grievously and cruelly? Forsooth, it is this, that he did dare mutter against *free-will,* saying, *that it was a thing in title only; and whiles it followeth his own nature, it doth nothing but sin deadly.* And where is this written? In the volumes of Luther, I suppose, or else in Sibyl's leaves. Seek there, reader, or elsewhere if thou wilt.

For as our reverend master inquisitor assigneth no place to the reader, so (I think) he never did read in Luther the thing whereat he cavilleth; nor thinketh that it concerneth his credit at all to utter whatsoever him listeth, in what sense, with what phrase of speech, by what authority, or with what testimonies it be bolstered, so that somewhat be suggested whereat he may frame some quarrel. But proceed on, and what followeth? *Then afterwards the same Luther correcting himself,* what saith he further? *I have erred* (saith he), *I spake untruly, that free-will is a thing in name only before the time of grace; but I should have said simply, that free-will is a feigned device, or a title without all substance.* Luther, in his assertions written to Leo the Tenth, the 36th article.

Well, and what is it at last, that this master inquisitor will frame unto us out of this? *Ergo, Luther is an heretic, who despoileth man of all his free-will, and*

travaileth chiefly to this end, to affirm that man's mind is always holden captive, his will fast bound, all power of working taken away, insomuch that we can do neither good nor evil, nor can think a thought so much by any means. And this doth not Luther teach only, but Melancthon also abundantly; yea, much more plentifully Calvin doth debate the same. I do hear you, Osorius, and do answer, not I for Luther, but Luther shall answer fully for himself.

And first touching that which we term man's choice, whether ye construe it to be reason or will, surely Luther did never deny. The same dare I boldly affirm in the behalf of Melancthon and Calvin also. Certainly these men were never so reasonably mad, as to despoil man (whom they define to be endued with reason) of reason and of will. For by no reason can the operation of will be sequestered from that part where the use of reason resteth. However nature was corrupted through the first original of sin, yet remaineth nevertheless that thing after a certain sort within us still, which we received of the tree of knowledge of good and evil; but thus must be noted chiefly in what wise it remaineth, not that it can avail any way to salvation, but that it hurteth rather thereunto. And therefore as concerning those natural properties of will, Luther was never so foolish, nor any of all the Lutherans, as to exclude that will from nature by any means, which nature itself had engrafted into men.

Let this therefore remain unshaken in this controversy as touching the substance of free-will, that the essential substance thereof, united together with sensible reason, doth always cleave inseparably to nature, which neither Luther denieth, nor any of all the Lutherans did ever deny. What is it then (will you say) that Luther did deny in *free-will?* I will tell you, so that your understanding be able to conceive it.

It is out of all controversy that Adam, in his first creation, was endued with a wonderful and absolute freedom of will, to the upholding of which freedom of will the grace of God was not wanting at that time, without the which he could not stand fast in that good will wherein he was created, though he would. Now to have a will to stand fast was not given him, but he was left in the power of his *free-will*, and so left, that if he would have stood fast, he had never been evil, if he would not have been evil.

And yet neither could he be good through the force of his own free-will, without God's special grace. But what did he? Being thus left in the power of his own *free-will*, when he neither would stand fast, nor could fall without sin; by sinning (abusing his own freedom), he brought to pass, that he both lost and cast away himself, and his freedom withal; and yet not in such wise, as that there remained in him neither sense, nor feeling, nor use of will; but he so lost it, that, whereas he was before immortal and free, now hath he both lost his freedom, and also his immortality and righteousness withal. Whereby it came to pass, that the wretched man (by losing that pure freedom of good will which he received in his first creation) purchased to himself and all his posterity most miserable and lamentable bondage.

Now therefore being clogged and fastened to this state of bondage (as it were clogged in clay), albeit after a certain sort we retain still that power of understanding and appetite, whereby the mind of her free motion is able to discern betwixt sensible objects; yet can we never of ourselves aspire again to that uprightness and immortality which we have lost; for being now fast yoked, and sold under this yoke of servitude, we do serve such a servile thraldom in this flesh, that we can turn ourselves to no one side,

through any force of freedom, but we shall always be the bond-slaves of sin and death, unless the grace of Christ do help us, and set us at liberty.

Whereby you may easily perceive, Osorius, what is the state and condition of *free-will*, to wit, that in one sense it may be taken not altogether free, and again, in another sense, not otherwise but free. For if ye call back the nature of mankind to its first creation, and then will demand generally, whether there be no free-will in nature, I do answer, that nature itself was created upright at the first, and that God, the good Creator, endued it with *free-will*, but that man himself became an enemy to that freedom, and destroyed the same in nature utterly.

But if you will proceed, and make a further question, and demand what kind of will (after sin entered once) was in man towards natural evil things, and towards deceitful good things; I do answer, that man's will (which they call *free-will)* is altogether prone and inclined to wicked and evil things; and here you have the bare title of *free-will*. But if you demand how man's will is affectioned to good and godly things, Luther doth affirm that it is neither free, nor effectual of itself, or inclinable thereunto, and will boldly confess that it is bond, servile, and altogether captivated, unless it be holpen: not because man's will is unable to will or to attempt any thing of itself, but because of her own power it is not able to will well, or to do well, in those things that appertain unto God; where again you may see the name of free-will, but void of use or substance.

But as concerning the proper quality or operation of freedom, albeit it retain the name of *free-will* in the church in respect of the title, because it seemeth always free either to righteousness, or free from sin, yet ought it always to be holden in such sort free, as not being always good, yea rather, never good in-

, unless it be governed by the goodness of the ghty God; which thing Augustine doth notably ess, saying, "Free-will (saith he) is nothing h, unless God do govern the same." And im- ately after, "To this effect is thy will, which is l free, apt and sufficient, that, by doing ill, it meth a damnable bond-maid, &c."

earken, Osorius: if it be a bond-maid, now is t free then: if by doing ill it be damnable (for as Augustine reporteth of itself, it can do no- ; but evil), wherefore is Luther condemned for g that free-will doth sin deadly, when it work- what it can of itself, &c.? or what can yourself, ius, discern other than a title void of substance, at *free-will* wherein you can find nothing effec- to the purpose, that is to say, to the work of tion?

rasmuch therefore as it is so, what request is it this accuser maketh, who contendeth so fri- ly against Luther for the moonshine in the r, and for a title only? whether is it because he h away will from men, or freedom from will? uching the substance of the matter, there is no rel against Luther. The whole controversy th then about the form and quality of will. l, then, Luther doth not deny the will of man do understand), but the freedom of will only.

e it so, Osorius; yet this may not suffice in the ser, that he which is guilty shall make a simple l only. But it behoveth to consider diligently hat sense, and with what words, denial is made; liberty he meaneth, and in what manner of per- , and in what things, that liberty may be known e. For neither doth Luther so utterly abandon the nature of man all freedom, as though there no freedom at all, or as though it were so fast ed with iron ropes, that it could move itself to

no use. Albeit (I say) he do deny that will is free, and confess it to be a thing of name and title only, yet doth he not affirm this so to be simply a title, as though man had no will at all, or as though it were never, or never was, and never should be free.

And therefore in the same article he doth very learnedly annex these words of restraint, *post peccatum*, "after sin;" which words of Luther our Osorius doth very craftily dissemble, and skip over. Besides this also is added thereunto an exception of time, to wit, *ante justitiam et gratiam*, "before righteousness and grace." By which plain words you might (as you are otherwise sharp-witted enough) have easily discerned that *free-will* is not so simply nor altogether taken away, neither from all men, nor out of all order of nature, seeing as the state of Adam before sin was most perfect in that integrity of free-will; also seeing as, after grace received, free-will is mighty in those persons who are made free through Christ.

As for the rest, who as yet sticking fast clogged in that old puddle of sin, are not yet come to be regenerated by grace, in these persons if question be moved, what free-will is in them, and of what efficacy in her own nature, Luther doth answer truly, that it is a thing of title only, and that it sinneth deadly, when it worketh what it can of itself, though she endeavour the best that she can, meaning thereby, that albeit *free-will* continue to be called *free-will* after her first denomination and state, yet that she hath utterly lost the very substantial operation thereof, and so lost the same, that whatsoever enterprise it attempt, yet can it not avail one jot so much to the very substance of the matter, until the first nature, being renewed by faith, be fashioned anew into a new creature.

Well then, and what heinous matter at the length

containeth this sentence that may provoke you to bark so cruelly? or what have you espied in this *free-will*, that may avail you or any other person to Godward? If there be any thing, declare it, I pray you; if there be nothing, wherein then hath Luther offended? who, perceiving, as truth is, that *free-will* is altogether ineffectual to profit us, doth therefore make small account thereof.

But your Catholic stomach is somewhat squeamish, perhaps, at the sound of that hyperbole of Luther, not usually frequented in your schools, whereby he doth so abase *free-will* to be nothing else but a title and a forged fantasy amongst natural causes. As touching Luther's frequenting of hyperbolical speeches, admit I would somewhat yield unto you, yet since the Scripture itself doth not altogether unacquaint itself with such kind of figures, reserving always the truth of things, what waywardness is this of those men not to vouchsafe in Luther to express certain words with some sharp vehemency of speech, whenas they themselves meanwhiles, either for very blockishness do not mark, or for very malice do not reform, not only the most frivolous barrenness of words, but also the most outrageous excess of speeches wherewith their whole doctrine swarmeth every where?

And what marvel is it then, if Luther, inveighing against those so monstrous outrages of doctrine, were somewhat hot sometimes, after a certain more vehement manner of speaking?

But if any man adjudge him worthy to be reprehended in that respect, I would fain have the same man required, if he will not vouchsafe to impute that his heat to the vehemency of God's Spirit (which after the purpose of his good pleasure directeth his instruments as him listeth), that he will yet at the least bethink himself of how great importance the cause was wherein Luther travailed at that time,

and weigh advisedly the manifold darkness and errors of that season; and withal enter into a deep consideration of the unmeasurable injuries of his adversaries.

Luther did then maintain the most just quarrel of God's grace and mercy against the innumerable droves of drowsy monks, who having overwhelmed the glorious majesty of the grace of the Gospel, did of an incomparable, shameless, excessive impudence extol above moon and stars, yea, beyond all compass of reason, the force of man's *free-will*, in such wise that nothing might bear palm besides man's merits only, and the works of *free-will*, the mercy of God being utterly banished and exiled. Or if they did at any time admit grace to be cope-merchant, as it were, with *free-will*, lest they might seem utterly to exclude grace; yet did they so admit her, as they did the article of justification.

Wherein, as they did with most vain practice enforce this one point continually, to wit, that faith only without works could not justify; even so, and in like manner in this question of *free-will*, they would needs have this to be granted, that the grace of God was not the only foundress of good works and of our election, but a servant rather, or at the most a companion of *free-will*. Whose unmeasurable error forced Martin Luther to that vehement sharpness of speech, and not without good cause. And yet, in all that his heat of words, what can any man, I pray you, find, being not otherwise led by corrupt affection, that is contrary to the natural truth of things? or that is not in all respects faithfully agreeable with the very spirit and words of God's Scriptures? *Free-will* is denied to be of any value, not because it is of itself nothing (if you respect the substance of it), but in respect of the operation thereof, it is said to be altogether ineffectual to that work,

whereunto it is supposed to be conducible; not much unlike to that figurative phrase of speech, wherewith Paul doth esteem of circumcision and uncircumcision to be nothing worth; wherewith Isaiah the Prophet doth term idols and idol-makers to be nothing; and wherewith Jeremiah, beholding the earth with open eyes, said he saw nought; or as a man might say, that Osorius doth say nothing at all, whenas otherwise he is over-lavish of tongue, if you regard his words and syllables; but nothing at all to the purpose, if ye consider his arguments.

Sembably *free-will* is called a feigned device amongst things, or a title without a substance, from whence ariseth no prejudice to man's nature, only the corruption of nature is discovered hereby. "For it is undoubted (as Augustine truly teacheth), that we do will, when we will, and that we do work, when we work. But to be able to will, and to be able to work, He bringeth to pass in us, of whom it is said, God is he that worketh in us both to will and to do, giving most effectual power to our will, which said, I will bring to pass that you shall do." And again in another place, "Thinking (saith he) we do believe, thinking we do speak, thinking we do all whatsoever we do, &c." Lo! here you have the title of *free-will*. And forthwith in the same chapter, "But to the attaining the way of righteousness, and the true worshipping of God, we are altogether of ourselves insufficient; for all our sufficiency herein proceedeth from God, &c." where you may easily conceive the substance itself, which Augustine acknowledgeth to be none at all in *free-will*, but affirmeth boldly to consist wholly in God.

Albeit neither doth Luther himself (when he termeth *free-will* to be a fantasy, or device in things) simply and barely affirm the same to be so; but annexeth thereunto an addition, namely, "*post pecca-*

tum, et ante gratiam;" that is to say, "after sin, and before grace:" whereby the godly reader may understand, that those persons are not noted here, whom either the grace of Christ hath vouchsafed into freedom, or whom, after grace received, Christ will crown in glory to come.

For there be certain distinct differences of times and persons (if you know them not, Osorius), which ought chiefly to be observed; wherein if you be as yet unskilful, ye may repair to your M. Lombard, who will lead you to a description of *free-will*, dividing it into four branches, as it were.

Whereof the first is, the same that was created jointly with man's nature, at man's first creation, sound and perfect; the second, which after man's fall was thrown down in them that were not regenerated; the third, which is proper and peculiar to the godly, after their conversion unto grace; the last, which shall be accomplished in those that shall be glorified. As touching the first and last whereof, the divines make no question at all, as I suppose. Again: If you will assign *free-will* to the third branch, Luther will nothing gainsay you, whose disputation concerneth those persons chiefly, who after sin, and before their conversion, being wounded with original sin, have not as yet recovered health in Christ Jesus through the triacle of better grace.

In which sort of people, if you be of opinion that the state of *free-will* ought by any means to be defended, I would fain learn of you first, whether ye will invest those persons with *free-will* plainly, perfectly, whole, and not diminished, or otherwise? If you will attribute such a freedom unto them, it remaineth then, that by way of definition ye expound the difference betwixt the state and condition of the first man before his fall, and this latter state and condition after his fall.

But if you will dismember it, and will grant unto

m certain imperfect dregs thereof only, neither l Luther vary much from you herein, so that ye k yield some distinction thereunto, and utter inly and distinctly what kind of liberty you mean; what things you settle it, and how it ought to be ten; what this word *free-will* importeth, and to at actions of man's life it ought to be referred; d withal will unloose those crabbed knots of equivotions wherewith ye seek to entrap the truth.

For whereas the actions of man's life are not all one sort or kind, some whereof proceeding from ture itself be natural, others altogether faulty and rrupt; others politic and appertaining to manners, e moral, called good. Again: some others are spiriil, and consist in the worshipping of God; it behoved u here to make manifest unto us, which of those tions you do mean. If you speak of the first kind, rtainly even unto these, by the very law of common ture itself, we are all fastened and bound of nessity, whereby we are bereft of the greatest part of ir freedom.

For what freedom can be so mighty in man's will to preserve man so, that he never need to sleep, t be always watchful; that he never be sick, but ways healthy; never receive sustenance, not to diest the food received, not to provide for his household, not to be careful for himself and his family, not be busied abroad, not to rest at home, not to jjoy the common air, not to live, not to die, not perform the other duties appertaining to man's fe; whereunto we are forcibly drawn by course of ature, not so much by allurement of will, as by ery constraint of necessity.

I come now to the use and handling of civil trades nd foreign disciplines, and to other deceitful actions nd considerations of the same kind, which are daily equented in man's life. In the which, albeit Lu-

ther will confess many things to be contained that are subject unto *free-will*, yet will he not otherwise grant thereunto, but that even in the self-same, the understanding mind is many times deceived, will defrauded, and freedom altogether overthrown. And yet do we not for that cause utterly extinguish will or freedom, nor wrap up and entangle the mind, nor spoil reason of counsel, nor dispossess man from his ancient inheritance of choice or will, howsoever the cruel outrages of sin have weakened and wasted the sinews and strength of nature, being well created at the first, yet remaineth nevertheless that natural power of the soul, not only in those that are renewed in spirit, but in them also that are not regenerate, in respect of those actions especially, whereof I made mention before.

But if the question be removed to those actions which do not belong to the natural and common conversation of life, but appertain to the spiritual worshipping of God, and concern the kingdom of Christ; who cannot here easily discern that *free-will*, before it receiveth grace, though it be garnished with never so gorgeous a title, hath besides a glorious title only, nothing else, whereby it may defend itself from servile bondage, or raise itself up to attain the true freedom of salvation?

I do not speak here of that freedom, Osorius, which is properly opposite to constraint and compulsory violence, whereof we vaunt all in vain; nor of that natural power of the reasonable soul, which we seek not to shake off, nor yet of man's will being regenerated, which we do not disable; finally, nor yet of those actions wherewith this sensible life is beautified; but I speak of those affections which are ascribed to the spiritual life of the person that is regenerate in Christ; whereupon, according to those five distinctions aforementioned, as many several

kinds of questions do arise, which for avoiding confusion must be severally distinguished.

First, if a question be moved of the freedom of nature being pure and sound, as it was before the fall of Adam, who doth not know that the state of that will was most pure and free? "And it is not to be doubted, that man's *free-will* was absolutely perfect in his first creation, but that man by sin lost the same freedom altogether."—*Augustine.*

Secondly, if the question be removed over to the substance, and to that part of man wherewith the mind is endued with understanding and appetite, as if this be the question, whether man's will, which is called free, were after the fall of Adam utterly extinct, and of no substance, we do answer here with Ambrose, "that the judgment of will was corrupted indeed, but not utterly taken away." And again: "The devil did not spoil man of his will utterly, but bereft him of the soundness and integrity of will." For although man's will and the understanding part of his soul was miserably corrupted through original sin, yet was it not so altogether abolished, but that there remained some freedom to do; free, I call it, in respect of those things which are either naturally carried to motion without judgment, as brute beasts, or which are forced by coaction against nature, as stones.

By this therefore that is spoken, it appeareth, that will (wherewith we are naturally endued in respect of the essential and natural disposition thereof) doth always remain in man's nature, how corrupt soever it be; yea, and remaineth in such wise, as, having always a free and voluntary operation in natural causes, without all foreign coaction (unless it be hindered), and a natural sensibility also, and capacity (as Justin termeth it) in heavenly things, if it be holpen.

And this is it that St. Augustine's words seem to import to my judgment, where, speaking in the defence of *free-will*, he useth these words: "Believe (saith he) the holy Scriptures, and that will is will, and the grace of God, without help whereof man can neither turn unto God, nor profit in God." Again, in his second Epistle to Valentine: "The catholic faith doth neither deny *free-will* applicable to good life or bad life, nor doth esteem thereof so highly, as though it were of any value without the grace of God, either to turn from evil to good, or to persevere steadfast in good, or to attain to everlasting goodness; whereas it feareth not now, lest it may faint and decay, &c." And again, in another place: "I confess (saith he) that will is always free in us, but it is not always good."

But the manner how it is said to be always free, must be learned of the same Augustine: "It is either free from righteousness (saith he) when it is the bond-slave of sin, and then it is evil; or it is free from sin, when it is the handmaid to righteousness, and then it is good, &c."

It appeareth therefore by this twofold freedom of Augustine, that man's will is always free both in good things and in evil things; but we ought to conceive of this freedom in this wise, not that she hath power of her own strength to make choice of good or evil, namely, in spiritual matters, as our adversaries do dream. But according to Augustine's interpretation, when will is naught, it is of her own disposition naught; when it is good, then is it guided by grace; not unwillingly, but voluntarily, without compulsion; yet free notwithstanding always, whether it be good or bad, because it is always voluntary, and never constrained.

And this much touching the property and natural disposition of man's will, which whoso will deny

seemeth, in my conceit, to do even all one, as if he should deny that man is a reasonable creature; for I see no cause why reason may be more sequestered from man, than will ought to be severed from reason; which two things are so united together with a certain natural affinity, and are so mutually linked together with an inseparable knot in the reasonable soul, that reason can neither perform any exploit without will, nor will enterprise any thing advisedly without the guiding of reason. Therefore as judgment belongeth properly to reason, so to will and to work appertaineth properly to will, whether it be to good or to evil; the one whereof respecteth the substance of will, the other is peculiar to the disposition thereof. But as this lively reason being enclosed within certain limits and bounds hath its proper and peculiar objects, so that it is unable to raise itself beyond the compass of natural and vital causes, unless it be enlightened; even so will, being straitened within the same limits and bounds of natural causes, hath no power at all in itself either to attempt or achieve those spiritual good things, unless it be holpen.

Forasmuch therefore as reason and will do in their own right exercise their activity and dominion in natural things only (as I said before), as it were, in their lawful provinces, hereof springeth the third question, whether there be any such freedom in will, as to be able of itself to embrace or eschew those things, which are governed by the external senses and by reason?

Whereunto the answer is very easy; for it is not to be doubted but that the mind and the will (out of which two *free-will* is derived) do yet still retain some certain sparks of freedom, such as they be, even in the forlorn nature; for the mind after a certain sort is able to think, to purpose, to take

counsel, to judge, to allow, or disallow; in like manner also will doth enjoy her certain freedom in those things whereunto sense and reason do direct; for it is as able to will or not to will, to choose or not to choose, to desire or to forsake, to stay his purpose or to change it, to move hither and thither, and after a certain manner to exercise itself in its kind to external discipline; that is to say, to work external honest actions, agreeable with the law of God, and to eschew the contrary.

Which thing besides that many other things do approve to be true, as well the sundry examples of ethnic people, as also the whole political estate doth verify; so is it true also that the same is not performed without God's guiding; which thing Nazianzen did notably advertise and express in his oration: "I know (saith he) that the goal is not attained by the quiverness of the person, nor the success of battle by prowess, nor conquest achieved by fighting, nor yet safe and sure road always at skilful sailor's commandment; but it is the only work of God to give victory, and to conduct the ship safely into the happy haven, &c."

But forasmuch as these actions are referred more properly to politic reason than to divinity, nor concern Luther's discourse very much, it shall be needless to bestow any great labour herein.

Fourthly, to approach somewhat nearer to those things which are peculiar, and belong chiefly to the doctrine of divines: and, first of all, if question be moved whether man's *free-will* do bear any stroke in actions merely evil and corrupt, the doing whereof doth defile man in the sight of God, our answer herein will forthwith be supplied with the words of Augustine: "God doth not help us to commit sin (saith he); but in that we fall from God, cometh from our own corruption. And this is our corrupt will."

And again, where he reciteth the objection of Julian, writing against the two Epistles of the Pelagians: "Did the *free-will* of the first man perish therefore (saith Julian), to the end it should compel all his posterity to sin in their flesh of very necessity?" To whom Augustine maketh this answer: "Which of us dare say that mankind was utterly spoiled of *free-will* by the sin of the first man? Freedom perished indeed through sin, but it was that freedom wherewith man was created in paradise, free to enjoy full righteousness with immortality; for the which the nature of man standeth in need of God's grace according as the Lord himself doth testify, saying, "If the Son do deliver you, then shall you be free indeed; free, I mean, to live well and uprightly; for so far is it off, that *free-will* did so altogether perish in sinners, that by the same *free-will* men do offend, especially they that take pleasure in sin, and which, being delighted with the love of sin, do with pleasure greedily follow their own lust."

And in the third chapter, "We do not say as they report that we say, that all men are constrained to fall into sin through the necessity of their flesh, and, as it were, against their wills. But, after they be grown to that ripeness of years, that they may discern the inclination of their own mind, and find themselves fast holden in sin, through their own consent, and so suffer themselves to be carried headlong from sin to sin wilfully and wittingly: this will now, which is free to evil things, wherein it taketh pleasure, is therefore not free to good things, because it is not made free, &c."

Add hereunto the words of the same Augustine, to the same effect discoursing upon the words of the Apostle: "To do evil, thou hast *free-will*, without the help of God, albeit that will is not free: for of

whomsoever a man is holden bound, to him is he a bond-slave." And again in another place: "To fall (saith he) cometh of ourselves, and of our sluggishness." Moreover, writing against the same Pelagians, "That person hath *free-will* to do evil (saith he) either whom Satan allureth to take pleasure therein by covert or open suggestion, or who that persuadeth himself thereunto."

Finally, if a man might tarry still in alleging the testimony of Augustine, what can be clearer than these words: "*Free-will* being captived, hath no power to work any thing but sin, and is altogether unable to work righteousness, unless God give it a free passage; whereby you may perceive how man's will is at one time both free and captive; to wit, free to do evil, inasmuch as pursuing lust with voluntary delight, needeth not any foreign coaction to work evil, which also Luther doth not deny; but in no respect free to do good, unless it be set at liberty by God's grace, and, to speak Augustine's words, unless it be guided to every good action of doing, speaking, and thinking.

And where be these jolly fellows now, which do so stoutly yield to man's will equal freedom to do good, or evil, in this corruption of nature? and yet this might be granted also after a sort, so that it be interpreted accordingly; for if they mean of will regenerated, it is tolerable enough, neither will Luther be against it; all whose discourse of *free-will* tendeth not to any other will, than to that whereof mention hath been made out of Augustine, which, being without grace, is altogether ineffectual of her own nature to do any thing but to sin.

And hereof springeth at the length the whole substance of the fifth question; wherein the chief and spiritual state of Luther's discourse consisteth; to wit, touching spiritual motions and actions; touch-

ing heavenly things and works appertaining unto God; touching spiritual righteousness; inward worshippings, faith, repentance, conversion, love, and new obedience, &c.

As if the question were demanded now, not of the substance of reasonable will, whether after the fall there remain in man a power of understanding and appetite to those things, which nature hath made subject to man's wit and capacity, or whether man have any freedom of will to corrupt affections? but rather that the question be after this manner, whether man's will after sin do retain still that force and strength of freedom in those spiritual things before rehearsed, as that it be effectual of itself before grace; or, being holpen by grace, could prevail so far forth in spiritual things, as that through grace, and the natural force of *free-will* working together, it might become sufficient cause of itself to enterprise spiritual motions, and withal to put them also in practice? For all those things must be duly considered, Osorius, if we will shew ourselves upright and handsome disputers of *free-will*.

In debating of which question, if ye will permit our confession to be coupled with the authority of the most sacred Scripture, we must of necessity hold this rule fast, which teacheth, that albeit man's nature is fallen from the integrity of that excellent and absolute freedom, yet it is not overthrown into that miserable state of servility, which is proper to brute beasts; neither that it is so altogether despoiled of all the power of the first creation, as having no sparks at all of her ancient dignity remaining. For the nimbleness of the mind deviseth many things with understanding, digesteth with reason, comprehendeth with memory, debateth with advice, gathereth in order with wisdom, inventeth arts, learneth sciences, recordeth things past, observeth things present, and

provideth for things to come. Sembably will doth choose and refuse the things that seem either agreeable to reason, or profitable to the senses. So that by those qualities appeareth sufficiently (I suppose) the difference that is betwixt us and brute beasts, and insensible creatures.

Which actions being naturally engrafted within us, yea, without grace, albeit they proceed from the voluntary motion of the understanding mind, yet because they extend no further than to this present life, and perish together with this mortal body, serve but to small purpose, yea, even then chiefly when we make our best account of them. Moreover, although they be after a sort free of their own nature, yet stand they not always in such an unchangeable integrity, but that reason is many times deluded by great errors, will overcharged with waywardness, and the power of the mind suffereth many defects.

Almighty God, many times by secret operation communicating his handywork together with these actions, doth apply the wills of men hither and thither, whereunto it pleaseth him, confoundeth their devices, advanceth their endeavours, not after the free imagination of men, but accordingto his own free decree and purpose. And this much hitherto concerning those objects and external operations only, which concern the common preservation of this present life, and which perish together with the same.

But yet truly, as concerning either the enterprising or accomplishing of those spiritual motions and operations, forasmuch as they do far exceed the capacity of man's nature, the Scripture doth utterly deny that man (being not as yet regenerated) is naturally endued with any force or ability of will since the first creation; but that all those gifts are utterly lost through the greatness of sin, and that by this means, ἀδυναμια, imbecility and weakness of nature

is by propagation descended upon all men, and nature itself corrupted with miserable faultiness, yea, and not with faultiness only (that doth exclude us from those everlasting good things), but besides this also, that through this corruption of nature hath succeeded, instead of that ancient integrity, a certain rebellious contumacy and filthy infection of diabolical seed, which doth deprive us of all heavenly knowledge, and carry us headlong into all manner of abomination; whereupon the doctrine of Luther is not unfitly confirmed, wherewith they do conclude with Augustine most truly as against the Romish doctors, that *free-will* is not only weakened in us, but utterly extinct also, and so thoroughly defaced, that if we be at any time enlightened with any sparkle of regeneration, the same ought wholly to be ascribed to the grace of God, and not to *free-will*, nor to any strength of ours; and (to speak the words of Augustine) "neither wholly, nor yet of any part." For upon this point chiefly dependeth the whole variance betwixt us and the Papists touching *free-will*.

These things therefore being in this sort discovered, which ought indeed to have been distinguished at the first, for the better demonstration of the manifold diversity of questions, I will now return again to Luther's position, who doth profess, that *free-will* is a thing of title only, and a name or title without substance; wherein, if Osorius shall judge any word to be mis-spoken and blameworthy in him, he must then first answer me to this question. Forasmuch as *free-will* is not all alike in the persons that are regenerate, and in them that are not regenerate; and forasmuch as liberty also is to be construed in human actions after one sort, but taken after a contrary construction in spiritual exercises; he must, I say, tell

which even then especially, when it stood in most perfect integrity, could neither help you nor herself; nay rather, which brought you and herself both to utter destruction? The Lord crieth out in a certain place by the mouth of his Prophet, "O Israel, thy perdition is of thyself, but in me only is thy help, &c." (Hosea, xiii.) If there be no help elsewhere, than in the Lord only, upon whom alone all help dependeth, what is there left then in *free-will*, that we miserable wretches may trust unto?

If you be ignorant thereof, Master Osorius, the Prophet will forthwith declare it unto you. Forsooth, what else think you but utter destruction? For inasmuch as one man by one fault only, wherein he alone offended, did through his freedom of will (whenas yet it was most pure and sound) throw headlong both himself and all his offspring into so horrible thraldom, from most absolute and most perfect majesty of freedom, what other things will Osorius then gape after out of this his *free-will*, since nature is altogether defiled now, who hath made so often shipwreck of his freedom, and of all his *free-will* also, and standing, as it were, in despaired case, is enforced daily to run to the second table of penitentiary confession for relief, but utter perdition, unless he take holdfast by faith of that right hand of God, whereof St. Augustine doth make mention before?

Therefore let this great proctor of *free-will* take good heed, lest, while he accuse Luther too much, he commit a more execrable fact, and bewray himself a more deadly enemy to God's grace than the other may seem an adversary to *free-will*. For if this controversy here debated, touching the merit of salvation, tend to this end only, to sift out from whence the cause thereof ariseth, to wit, whether from the only grace of God, or whether from *free-will* as a necessary and inseparable copartner therewith, truly,

things which were not (saith he), God hath
l, &c."
Paul do affirm that the things which are, were
o at the first, and that truly; how can Osorius
y, that will was any thing worth in them which
t were not? I will rehearse unto you the saying
ır Saviour in the Gospel, where, setting us forth
hold ourselves, as it were, in a glass, "Let the
(quoth he) bury their dead; come thou, and
h the kingdom of God." Tell us here, Oso-
in what sense did Christ call them dead, whose
s were not dead, if their life were endued with
vill able to come unto God in any respect, how-
r they seemed to be alive in the judgment of
)
t, and if they had no life in God, how then
free-will be lively and forcible in the dead?
): and how can the dead by any means restore
elf to life? May it please you to hear Augustine
ng of the same matter: "Man cannot rise
(saith Augustine) of his own accord, as he fell
tarily; let us take holdfast of the right hand of
which he reacheth out unto us, &c."
that I would wish you to consider with yourself
ddly, what thing it is which we ought to receive
rist's hands, without *free-will* first, and what
rards of *free-will* without Christ, for the which we
: to be thankful to him for them both. For if,
ling to the testimony of Augustine, "there
one other cause of our destruction greater than
free-will, by abuse whereof man lost both it
imself," by what reason will you prove that to
ınd, which Augustine affirmeth to be utterly
or how can you restore life to that thing,
unto you are indebted for your own death?
what relief can you find towards the purchasing
rnal life from nature being so utterly despoiled,

our *free-will* ought to be referred to him, being the author thereof.

But this is not enough, Osorius; for question is not demanded here, whether God be the author of all good works, which no man will deny; but the question is, whether those things which belong to the purchasing of our conversion and salvation in the sight of God, do so proceed from God the author thereof, as that his only grace do work the same altogether in us? or whether *free-will* also doth work any thing together with grace? For herein consisteth the chief knot of all the controversy, which shall be debated afterwards more at large in place fit for it by God's grace. In the mean space let us mark how Osorius goeth forward.

For unless God had restrained me from rushing wilfully into wickedness; unless God's Spirit had forewarned me with his counsel, that I should not throw myself headlong into everlasting calamity; unless he had strengthened me with his wholesome and strong protection, and made me able to work the good work that he commanded me, I should never have been able either to think a good thought, or to do a good deed; and all mine endeavour employed either to the purposing or accomplishing my work, should have been utterly ineffectual.

What need I answer much hereunto? Neither could Luther himself (if he were alive) speak or profess any sentence more godly, if a man regard the words, and not the meaning of the man. For what can be more truly or more substantially spoken, than that *free-will* can work nothing but wickedness, destruction, headlong ruin, and everlasting wretchedness? nothing but noisome thoughts, unlawful imaginations; finally, nothing that is godly or good, except it be guided by the grace of God? which grace doth restrain from wickedness, doth recover

rom destruction, doth direct from wandering, doth eform with wholesome counsel, and bring into the ight way those that go astray.

Truly, if the matter go thus altogether, as the rords import, that is to say, if the very fountain and erfection of all our actions, thoughts, and devices, ending to godliness, and poured abroad into our ives, do issue unto us from no where else than from he only well-spring of God's grace, what other bility then shall be left in wretched *free-will* to work any good work (if Osorius be the man he would seem to be), but an unprofitable and naked name only?

But lest peradventure he may seem to be hired by the Lutherans to write so effectually in the defence of grace, our catholic bishop returneth again to the patronage of *free-will*, endeavouring to prove by his divinity, that the work of our conversion doth not so altogether depend upon grace only, but that *free-will* also must play his part withal. And why so?

Because (saith he) *it is in our power not to consent to good counsel, to reject it being offered, to refuse courtesy, and through wickedness and outrage to tread under foot proffered grace.* And who doth deny but that we may so do? Nay rather, what else doth *free-will* at all, when it worketh after her own nature, but by resisting and refusal throw headlong into error? Luther himself witnessing the same. But, for more credit of the matter, Augustine shall answer for Luther: "In that we turn ourselves away from God (saith he) cometh of ourselves, and this is evil will; but in that we turn unto God, we cannot, except he stir up and help us thereunto. And this is good will." Thus much Augustine.

"*We may therefore resist* (say you) *and withstand the holy commandments of God according to the operation of our free-will.*" Indeed, there is nothing

more easy, neither needeth any help hereunto. Again: *We can give our consent unto, and embrace God's commandments also.* Surely this is true, if the grace of God do guide us; but if God's grace do not govern us, we do then utterly deny it, Augustine agreeing with us herein.

"To sin (saith Augustine) we are not holpen by God; but to do well, or accomplish the commandments of righteousness thoroughly, we are not able, except God help us." And immediately after: "If we be turned from God, it proceedeth of ourselves, and then we be wise according to the flesh; God therefore doth aid men being converted, and forsake them being revolted; yea, he doth not only help them being converted, but helpeth them also that they may be converted." Thus much Augustine.

Go to; and what will Osorius' logic conclude hereof at the length? Forsooth, if every man of his own free power be able to dissent from and consent with the grace of God, it appeareth then, that *free-will* is not altogether ineffectual. For to this effect, I suppose, will he direct the force of his argument; but I do answer again with Augustine, "That the same might be so construed and granted well enough, if it were not spoken by them whose meaning is apparent. For admit that man himself may will, and may condescend, and yield, and do somewhat in his conversion and spiritual works; yet hath not man this power of his own natural strength, neither in whole nor in part; but he receiveth that strength of Him which worketh in man both to will and to do."

And therefore the reason that Osorius frameth here of not rejecting, and of condescending, if he mean of natural gifts, Augustine doth plainly declare, that this is the very error of Pelagius. If he mean of the power of grace, he gainsayeth Luther nothing at all, who did never so despoil man's *free-*

will of freedom, but that, being manumissed and advanced by God's grace, it was able to do much; and again, he did never so uphold this freedom, but that man might of his own proper strength refuse grace, being at any time offered; for neither Luther nor any other did ever dream, I suppose, that grace was so necessarily thrown upon man's will in his conversion, as that he should be enforced to retain it, being offered, whether he would or no, like as when a mark is imprinted into the flesh by a hot iron, or as stones that are violently whirled out of a cross-bow.

But this is generally affirmed, that the holy Spirit of God doth by his secret operation work such an effectual influence on the minds of the faithful, that the grace which he offereth may be received, not with unwilling will, but that will may with gladsome cheer delight to embrace it with most earnestly bent affection; but if it happen to be rejected, the fault thereof to spring from out of the corruption and malice of the flesh.

If Osorius will not be satisfied yet, but will urge still with this his argument, that every person, according to the proportion of his *free-will*, may freely retain or refuse the grace of God, if he will; I will then answer briefly and resolutely, that the deceit of this subtle syllogism is framed of the *fallax*, to wit, *à divisis ad conjuncta*, as the logicians do term it. For albeit will (being severed from God's grace) be of itself free to reject God's calling, yet is it not after the same sort free to obey God's calling, unless it be altogether upholden by the aid of God's grace. Let us now see further the remnant of his disputation.

I do stand at the door (saith he), *and knock: he doth not say, I do break open the door, or I do rend abroad the hinges, and do violently rush in, but, I knock only; that is to say, I do admonish, I do foretel the danger ensuing, I do foreshew hope of salvation, I promise to*

give aid, and I allure unto me with fair promises. Indeed, Osorius, he standeth knocking at the door, and they to whom it is given do open unto him; but unless it be given unto them, they open not at all. Therefore in that he doth knock, this is proper to the calling; but in that an open entry is made, this is to be peculiarly ascribed to election and grace. So likewise he doth not heave the doors off the hooks, nor rusheth in forcibly; and yet, although he press not upon with any foreign force, he worketh notwithstanding a secret effectualness, and draweth them unto him whom he hath chosen, and entirely loveth, through inward operation of voluntary will. "Neither is any man good, that will not be good (as Augustine reporteth); yet, to have a will to be good, must the grace of God needs be assistant; because it is not written in vain, 'God is he that 'worketh in us, both to will and to do according to 'his good pleasure;' and the Lord doth first frame and fashion the will, &c."

Therefore, whereas it is said that God doth knock at the gate of our will, I gladly yield hereunto; but to say that he doth no more but knock, this I do utterly deny. In like manner, whereas you say that he admonisheth, that he foretelleth danger ensuing, that he feedeth with hope, that he promiseth aid, and that he allureth with reward, truly these are not untruly spoken, Osorius. But ye speak not all, nor as much as should be spoken; and therefore herein your halting bewrayeth itself plainly. For you are flown into a *fallax*, which the logicians do term *ab insufficiente causarum enumeratione.*

True it is, that the grace of God doth knock, doth forewarn, and doth allure. What! doth grace therefore nothing else but knock, forewarn, promise, and persuade? doth it not also create within us a clean heart? doth he not renew a new spirit within our

owels? doth he not pluck out of our flesh the stony eart, and engraft instead thereof a fleshly heart? 'ea, doth he not also alter all our whole nature? I ean all those inward natural qualities, doth he not ake them pliable, and, as it were, out of an old eformed lump, new-fashion it into a new creature? oth he command those things which he willeth by lmonishing only, by calling, and by persuading nly? doth not God's grace give also that which he ommandeth? And where in the mean whiles lurkth then the law that is written within, in the hearts f the faithful?

When we hear these words in the Gospel, "No nan cometh unto the Son, but he whom the Father raweth;" tell us, a' good fellowship, doth he which raweth, nothing else but admonish, but call, but llure? "What is he (saith Augustine) that is drawn f he be willing? for the willing are led, and none are rawn but the unwilling. And yet no man cometh, ut he that is willing; but to this willingness He oth draw us by wonderful means, who is skilful to vork within, even in the very hearts of men; not o make the unwilling to have faith, but to frame the nwilling pliable to be willing, &c."

If it be so that the heavenly grace by inward opeation do make men willing, that before were not villing, I would fain learn now whether grace do nohing else but knock only? Go to; and whiles grace s a-knocking, who is it within that openeth? *Freeill*, I suppose. But now forasmuch as this *free-will* s poured into all persons indifferently by a general nfluence, as much in one as in another, why do not ll alike open to the heavenly grace when the Lord loth knock? forsooth, because they will not (you will ay), yet doth the wheel run nevertheless as round as t did before.

For I demand again, why some seem to be willing,

whiles others are unwilling? what else think you to be the cause hereof, but because God doth open their *free-will* first, which do open unto God, that they may be able to open, otherwise it could never open unto him? Whereby you may easily perceive, that *free-will* is not the porter to let in grace, so much as the very gate itself, and that it doth not else open, but as it is first opened by his means which doth knock; and that it applieth not any way else, but as it is made pliable, and so made pliable that it may seem rather to be drawn than to be led; never going before grace, but following altogether; and to speak the words of Augustine, "never as a foregoer, but as an handmaiden of grace only in every good work."

If you will deny this to be true, what argument shall I better use against you than the words of your own mouth? For what meaneth it else that you yourselves of the Romish synagogue, at the beginning of your matins, pray daily to the Lord, *Domine labia mea aperies—Lord, open thou our lips*—if they open of themselves, and are not rather opened by him? And in what sort do you then desire the Lord to open your lips, that your mouth may shew forth his praise, whom you affirm to do nothing else but knock only? Why therefore do ye not rather amend your book, that your prayer may be agreeable with your desire, and sing another song in this wise, Our *free-will* shall open our lips, O Lord, and our mouth shall chant forth thy praise?

What, then (will you say), *is it not in our own power to move our lips?* Yes truly, Osorius, there is nothing more easy than to move them to contention, to quarrelling, to lying, to blasphemous communication, to noisome talk, and vain tittle-tattle. But I will in no wise grant that we are able to move our lips, or to open our hearts, of our own will, to shew forth the praise of God.

All which notwithstanding tend not to this end, as though *free-will* did work nothing at all: yes, it worketh surely; but how it worketh, and how it is wrought, because Osorius doth not declare sufficiently, Augustine shall make plain unto him: "Not they that are carried of their own motion, but as many as are carried by the Spirit of God, they are the children of God. Here will some man say unto me, Then are we plied, and do not ply ourselves. I answer, Yea rather thou dost both apply thyself, and art applied: and even then dost thou ply well, if thou be plied by God's Spirit, without whom thou canst do no good thing; even so also thou dost apply thyself of thine own free-will, without the help of God's Spirit, and then doest thou evil. To this end is thy will, which is called free, prone, and effectual; that by doing evil is become a damnable handmaid, &c." Which words you must interpret to be spoken of Augustine in this wise, not that will doth work nothing, but that it worketh no good thing without God's help.

And that you may conceive the same more effectually, hearken what the same Augustine teacheth in his Treatise *De Gratia et Lib. Arbit.* "It is undoubtedly true (saith he), that we do when we do, and that we will when we will; but He bringeth to pass in us to will and to do, giving to our will most effectual ability, which hath said, I will make you that you shall be able to do." Briefly to conclude, it shall be lawful for me to speak the same, and in such wise, touching opening which, and in what wise Augustine spake of doing; when the Lord doth knock, we do open with a *free-will* indeed, because, when we do open, we do it freely and willingly; but that we may be able to do so, not we, but he doth open our hearts first.

Whereby you may perceive to what end this our

discourse tendeth, not that *free-will* hath no place, but that it be void of merit, unworthy of praise, and to be taken for no part of any cause; not because we despoil her of all manner of motion, but we do distinguish the manner of motion in such wise, that all the praise of well-doing be ascribed unto Him, unto whom only all is due, whatsoever we will or can, as Augustine reporteth, and that in this respect *free-will* is endued with no activity, whereupon it may vaunt her force. "For so shall we live more out of danger (saith he), if we yield over all unto God, and not commit part of our actions to him, and part to ourselves, &c." And again, in the 13th chapter of the same book: "I grant indeed that we will and work, but God worketh in us both to will and to work according to his good pleasure. Thus it behoveth us to speak and believe. This is godly, this is true, that by this means our confession may be humbly and lowly, and all attributed unto God, &c."

But I hear what this arrogant haughtiness of *free-will* doth whisper against this humble confession.

If all this (saith he) *be the work of God, and no power be left in man's endeavour that may procure furtherance to our conversion; ergo, since there is nothing left in us to do, what are we then, other than as good as stones and stocks?*

Which argument Osorius hath gathered (as he saith), not out of St. Paul, but out of Luther's brain-sickness. I would have marvelled if Osorius could have gathered any argument from any without some reproach, or could have reproached any man without a lie. But thus to do is not to gather some thing from another, but to lie rather; not to dispute by arguing, but to play the part of a captious scoffer. But to let pass this drunken scoff, as which neither furthereth his cause, nor impaireth Luther's

estimation, we will turn our talk again to the matter. *Luther is here therefore cited for a drunkard, who by blazing abroad Medusa's head doth enchant men into stones and flints.* And why so? Forsooth, because he doth deny that we do aspire to the favour of God of our own strength, but affirmeth that all whatsoever we do take in hand, or bring to pass towards the attainment of salvation, we obtain the same wholly through the only work of God's grace, which worketh all in all in us.

Hereupon Osorius crieth out forthwith, *That will is fast tied, bound, and restrained with everlasting fetters, so that men must of necessity be changed into stones, rocks, and stocks.* So that it is much to be feared, lest, by this argument, he turn Peter also into a stone, because Christ called him a stone; and lest he change Christ himself, Peter's master, also together with Peter, into some stony substance, because Paul calleth him a rock, and because the Prophets do nominate him the corner-stone. It is also to be feared, lest he bewitch into stones all the whole ancient race of the Old Testament; of whom we hear the Prophets speak in this wise: "And I will take away from their flesh their stony heart, &c."

If the prophetical Scripture do accustom to resemble the properties of personages by some similitude of dumb creatures, after an usual phrase of figurative speech, may it not likewise be lawful for us to express the hardness of man's nature, unless we enchant men forthwith into stones, stocks, and flints, I beseech you? Or because we profess that *free-will* is altogether ineffectual in those things which appertain unto God, and to work or understand things which pass beyond the reach of man's capacity (unless it be plied by God's Spirit), is there no force therefore in *free-will* to work in other things, or to work in those things which belong unto God, being holpen and as-

sisted by the grace of God? And will you so frame your argument from the proposition *secundum quid*, to conclude with that which the sophisters term *simpliciter?*

Wherein, though you be a bishop, your fatherhood seemeth to me to have committed a double error: first, because you conceive not the sense of those men sufficiently whom you quarrel against; next, because you deceive yourself in the self-same assertion, which you do maintain. For those men, which do call back all the causes of actions from *free-will*, attributing them to God's grace only, do not conceive of it after such sort, as though the mind, being endued with heavenly strength, when it is made pliable, doth not apply itself any thing in the mean space. For even as God's secret grace, through Jesus Christ our Lord, is not poured into stones, stocks, or brute beasts (as Augustine doth truly record), but unto him which was created in the image of God; even so God doth not work in this his own image as he worketh in a stone, or after the manner as huge heavy burdens are drawn by man's policy; in the which abideth no inward operation (as Aristotle saith), which may avail to motion. The matter goeth far otherwise here, and the natures are far unlike. True it is, that the heavenly grace doth draw us indeed, not through any force of external coaction, as blocks and images are drawn; but God leadeth and boweth, which way him listeth, every person inwardly by his own will, nor plieth he any man otherwise than voluntarily.

It is well then (say you). *If will do nothing but when she will, and if it will always first before it do, how then shall will be said to work passively, which both willeth always those things which it doth, and doth nothing but that which it willeth?* The answer is easy. Will indeed doth nothing, but when it willeth,

this is true; for otherwise it could be no will, unless it did do willingly and voluntarily. But yet neither doth will always all those things which it willeth. And again, to be able to will, it is always made pliable first. By the one whereof may be understood the instrument or tool of action; by the other, the cause of action.

Wherefore, whenas will is taken away after this manner, that it yield to the guiding of the workman in the manner of a tool, by what means can it be called either free, which serveth as bound? or how can it be said to do, which, in doing, doth always suffer, and is driven? And yet it doth not so always suffer by doing, that it never doth any thing of itself; and again, doth never so do in those things which appertain unto God, but that it is made pliable to do. And therefore the manner how it doth and how it suffereth, must be advisedly considered. For we do confess that both are true after a certain sort, as Augustine testifieth in his book *De Correp. et Gratia:* "Let them not deceive themselves therefore (saith he), which say, To what purpose are we taught and commanded to eschew evil, and do good, if we cannot do it, but as God doth work the same in us to will and to work? Nay rather, let them understand, if they be the children of God, that they are made pliable by God's Spirit to do the things that ought to be done, and when they have done so, to yield thanks to Him, by whom they were made to do so. For they are made pliable, because they should do something, not because they should do nothing, &c."

Which saying doth make evident unto us, that each of these two are to be found in *free-will*, both that it is made to do when it doth well; and again, that itself also doth, when it is made to do. So that herein is no contrariety at all, but that it may

both demean itself by suffering, and also by doing; (and to answer for Luther in Luther's own words,) to wit, after divers and several sorts, and after the common phrase of speech in divers and several respects. For in respect of the work itself, whereas will occupieth the place of an instrument or tool, it both doth and is made to do, even as other tools do in any matter whereunto they are applied.

But if you have relation to the efficient cause or workman, to whose use it serveth instead of a tool, in this respect the will of man demeaneth itself altogether sufferingly, as the which in respect of procuring of God's grace (from whence issueth all motion of good will), it worketh nothing at all, but simply obeyeth and suffereth. For in any good work, what is man's will else, than an instrument of the Holy Ghost? voluntary indeed, because it is moved whithersoever it is moved of her own accord, yet is it an instrument notwithstanding, because of things well done, it is neither the cause itself, nor any spark of the cause in respect of the worker, but a servant rather, and a handmaid only; whose service the Spirit of God, being the worker, doth apply to do those things which it pleaseth him to have to be done in us, for the accomplishing whereof it ministereth no help at all as of herself.

But the papistical generation cannot digest this by any means, to whom sufficeth not that *free-will* shall be taken as an instrument, or, as it were, a workshop only, unless it bear as great a stroke, or rather greater, with God's Spirit working together with it; nor do they think it sufficient that the whole action of our election and regeneration be ascribed to the only free mercy of God, unless we also, as fellow-workmen, be coadjutors of this work together with God. For even the same do Osorius' words import manifestly, which follow in this wise:

Do ye not therefore perceive (saith he) *by Paul's own words, that* free-will *is approved by his authority, which Luther doth practise to overthrow? For to what end would he have called us fellow-workers with God, if none of us did further the work that God worketh in us? to what purpose would he have admonished us to work our own salvation, if to do it were not in our own power?* "We are together God's labourers," as Paul reporteth (1 Cor. iii.), where I know that the word συνεργοὶ doth signify together labourers. But what is this at the length to the purpose? do you not here plainly put the old proverb in practice, to wit, I ask you for garlic, and you offer me onions; I desire to borrow sickles, and you, like a churlish neighbour, deny that you have any mattocks?

How careful the Apostles were in planting the doctrine of the Gospel, we are not ignorant, nor do deny; and it is not to be doubted, that God's providence used them as most choice instruments to address and husband his vineyard, yea, and that not without singular profit.

But we make no inquiry here as now how much man's industry did bring to pass by the outward preaching of the word, or whom it profited most; but the question is here touching the fruit of inward conversion, whether *free-will* of herself do work or not work any furtherance towards the embracing of faith, towards repentance, towards spiritual righteousness, towards attainment of salvation, and towards the regeneration of life; so that the state of the question be now, to wit, whether man's mind and will, being of the self-same nature that it was when we were first born, be endued with any actual or effectual power able to work together with God's holy Spirit towards the beginning of our conversion, and entering into our godly consideration of good

purposes and actions of inward obedience? wherein many writers do vary in judgment and opinion, yea, that not a little.

But Osorius' proposition alleged here of *the Apostles' together workers* maketh nothing to the purpose, nor availeth to the maintenance of *free-will* a rush. For to admit that the Apostles were together workers with God, yet that these same together workmen should be hired to work in this vineyard, and sent abroad into the Lord's harvest, proceeded not of their own voluntary motion or *free-will*, but of the free election and calling of God only. Against this their ministry (as far forth as concerneth their own persons), even then when they laboured most earnestly, was extended no further than to the outward preaching and dispensation of the word; for as touching the inward conversion of the hearers and nourishment of their faith, this was the only work of the Holy Ghost, and not of the Apostles. "Paul did plant, Apollos did water." But what doth this help to *free-will*, whenas "neither he that planteth, nor he that watereth, are any thing at all, but God only who giveth the increase?"

And what is the reason then why they are said to be nothing? Is it because he that planteth, and he that watereth, and he that plougheth, doth nothing at all? Was Paul nothing? or did he not work at all, who being continually travailing, is reported to have laboured more than all the rest? or shall we say that the rest of the Apostles did nothing, which did employ not their travail only, but shed their blood also in furthering the work of the Gospel? Yes verily, wonderful much, if you respect the outward ministry of preaching the word and their function.

But we do inquire of the inward operation of conversion and the renewing of the mind, which is the

ally work of God, not of *free-will*, nor of man's outward endeavour. Godly preachers, indeed, do pierce into the ears of men with outward voice, and set down before them the words of faith and truth; and yet thus to do, springeth not of their own *free-will*, but from the free calling of God, whereby they are led to do the same; but to believe the doctrine inwardly, to become faithful hearers of the wholesome word, is the only work of the Holy Ghost, who by secret inspiration doth dispose the minds, doth renew the hearts, doth inspire with faith; finally, of unwilling doth make willing: so that here is no place left now for *free-will* to challenge, but that He only possess the whole, which only worketh all in all, who, thrusting out workmen to preach the word, doth frame the wills of the hearers, that they may believe. Whereupon I do answer to that subtle argument of Osorius briefly and plainly in this wise:

Whosoever worketh together with another, worketh actively, and not passively only.

The ministers of the Gospel are together workmen with God: ergo, the preachers of the word, when they work with God, do not suffer passively only.

I answer, that in the major proposition should have been added these words, *per se, et in iis quæ agit*, that is to say, *of himself, and in the things wherein he worketh.* For the thing that of his own power worketh together with another's help, doth somewhat indeed in those things which it doth, and is not wrought only. That is true; and for the same purpose the minor proposition must be denied; for the *free-will* of God's ministers doth neither work in preaching the word *per se, of itself*, except it be holden by God's Spirit, nor doth proceed any further even when it is holpen, than to the outward action of preaching. But as concerning the inward fruit of preaching (namely, nourishment of faith and

the operation of conversion), all this action proceedeth from the Holy Ghost, and not from *free-will*. And this seemeth to be the very meaning of Luther, to wit, having respect to those things only, wherein *free-will* cannot challenge to be any mean of effectual operation, either in working or in together working, nor can make any title of claim therein, nor prescribe to be any partner with the Holy Ghost in the work.

It remaineth that we arm ourselves against the other subtlety of Osorius, which he coineth out of the Apostle's words.

St. Paul, writing to the Philippians, doth counsel them in a certain place to work every of them their own salvation with fear and trembling.

I do hear it, and I await what this chop-logic will stamp out hereof.

Ergo (saith Osorius), *we are able to work our salvation of our own* free-will.

I do answer, the antecedent is true, but the consequent most false, and altogether savouring of Pelagius' error, nor agreeable with the antecedent. For this word *working*, which the Apostle useth, doth not signify any such thing as may uphold the force of *free-will*, or declare it to be the efficient cause of salvation, as though it did depend upon the dignity of our works, but is only a word of exhortation to comfort them "to go forward diligently, and to persevere carefully in the course of our salvation, where they were now settled" (Phil. ii.); and withal teacheth them further, how they ought to persevere *with fear* (saith he) and trembling, to wit, exhorting them to take unto them the fear of God in humbleness of mind, which might hold them always conversant in good works, whiles they made haste to attain the goal of salvation.

Finally, that no man might cavil, and say that this

virtue of perseverance did far surmount their weakness, he addeth forthwith, calling them back, as it were, to a better hope through confidence of greater help. "For it is God (saith he) which worketh in you both to will and to work according to his good pleasure, &c." If God do work in us, Osorius, both to will and to work, what is it then that *free-will* can will or do? Furthermore, if life everlasting be the gift of God, not for the work's sake, which we have done, how shall salvation be obtained by good works? wherefore you trip twice in your argument. First, whereas you place salvation in good works; then whereas you derive good works out of man's *free-will* as from the spring-head thereof. For thus ye conclude: *If it were not in our own power (to wit, in our* free-will), *which both are false and most frivolous.*

And yet after all these manifest tracks of Pelagius' plain footsteps, not unlike that crafty varlet Syrus in Terence, which cleareth himself to his master as unacquainted with the marriage of his son; even so, lest he should seem to be defiled with some spot of Pelagius' error, addeth immediately, *What! are we such as will consent with Pelagius? Did we say at any time that we were able to work any godly or praiseworthy work through our own strength and industry?* If you will abide by your words, Osorius, you have so said indeed. For he that doth avow, that it is in our own power to work our salvation, what doth he mean else by these words but that we be able of our own strength to work somewhat worthy commendation? But whether he agree herein with Pelagius or no, let the indifferent reader judge as seemeth him best.

But I pray you, Sir, by what means do you affirm that to be in our own hands, which you deny again to be in our own power? or how can ye defend them both, but you must needs make a lie in the

one? or what slippery device will you use here to cover your lie withal? *You say, that salvation is not obtained by our own strength, but through God's grace working within us.* And why then chafe you so maliciously against Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and Calvin, which affirm the same that you do? But a little erst ye confessed the thing, which ye do now deny. Be steadfast therefore, and set down your mind whereunto you will stand, that we may know once where we may find you. If you affirm that all consisteth in our own hands, then do you not agree with Pelagius, but you go far beyond him; if you ascribe all to the grace of God, what needeth any more scolding?

But you will divide your meaning, perhaps, and will allow to God's grace such a part of the work, that *free-will* may also occupy some part withal. Yet do ye not untwine this mesh notwithstanding; for if you will so cut asunder this ship, which can by no means be unjointed, and will yield over the forepart thereof to man's guiding, and the poop to God's tuition, surely St. Paul will gainsay you every way, which yieldeth the whole interest of both, as well the former as the hinder parts, to God, whether Osorius will or no; declaring, "that it is God that worketh in us both to will and to bring to pass all things according to his good pleasure." But you will find out some mean thing, peradventure, betwixt both, which you may attribute to *free-will*. But even here again you shall be driven back, whereas you may hear Paul pronounce, "That it is God that giveth the increase;" so that now not only the original of good-will, but the increase also of well-doing, the accomplishing, proceeding, and successes also, flow from out of the Holy Ghost, and not from man.

If it be so then (will you say) *that God's grace doth work all in all in us, to what purpose serveth the* free-will *that is naturally engrafted within us? or, being holpen by grace, how is it said to do any thing if you shall think that it ought not to be accounted in any respect a partner in working a good work?* For answer whereof, I would wish you to hearken not to the words that I speak, but unto Augustine. It is most true, Osorius, that whatsoever good work is wrought by us, the praise thereof ought to redound wholly not to our *free-will*, but to God's grace, which performeth all whatsoever is performed by us godly and worthy praise. For that is it that the words of Augustine import, that true and humble confession doth require in us; that is to say, that we refer all unto God: and yet this grace of God doth not so work all that which is proper to itself, by herself only, as working in us without our *free-will*. And again, it neither worketh so together with our *free-will*, that any portion of praise or reward should be ascribed to *free-will*, for any of all whatsoever is due unto God.

And therefore whereas Augustine, in his book *De Gratia et Libero Arbit.* doth affirm, "that neither grace without *free-will*, nor *free-will* without grace, is sufficient;" we do confess both to be true; for either of them worketh with the other, I confess it, but yet after a certain several sort. For the grace of God worketh, when it helpeth man's *free-will*, yet it worketh in such wise, as that it is never wrought by another; it doth so help *free-will*, as being never holpen by *free-will*. Furthermore, it doth so help, but that it is always free not to help if it will. In fine, whenas God's grace doth work most effectually by helping man's will, yet worketh it not so with man's *free-will*, as standing in need of the help of

what his fleshly will was able to do, to the uttermost of his power, either in refusing faith when it was given him, or in forsaking it when he was holpen.

Upon which matter let us give ear to the testimony of Augustine: "When it was said unto Peter (saith he), I have prayed for thee, that thy faith may not faint, darest thou presume to say that Peter's faith should have failed, though Peter himself would have wished it to have failed, considering that Christ prayed that Peter's faith might not fail, as though Peter would have willed any thing else, than as Christ had prayed for him that he should will? Whereupon appeareth that Peter's faith did not depend so much upon his own will, as upon the prayer of Christ, who did both help his faith and direct his will. And because his will was directed of the Lord, therefore could not the prayer made for him be ineffectual. And therefore when he prayed that his faith might not fail, what prayed he for else, but that he might be endued with a most free, most valiant, unvanquishable, and most perdurable will in the faith?"

Thus much Augustine. And therefore Jeremiah the Prophet, crying out unto the Lord most worthily, "I know, O Lord (saith he), that the way of man is not in himself, neither is it in man to walk, and to direct his own steps;" which words meseemeth that Luther did note not altogether indiscreetly, whose words, if I would here set down, I cannot see which part thereof Osorius would be able to confute. For in this sort doth Luther argue: If man's ways and man's steps be not at his own disposition, how shall the way of the Lord and the paths of the Lord be at man's direction? And hereupon, deriving an argument *à comparatis*, as they term it in schools, added forthwith, How then is man able to dispose himself to good, whenas he is not able of himself to

make his ways evil? For otherwise if he be able, how then did the Prophet say that he knew "that man's way was not in himself?" or how is it that in the 16th of his book of Proverbs, the wise king, being inspired with the same Spirit, confesseth, that he knew as he testified? "The heart of man (saith he) purposeth his way, but the Lord doth direct his steps."

Albeit this is not spoken to this end, as though we did affirm that man's will is no ways free towards wicked things; for who knoweth not how frail and prone the disposition of man's will is always to catch hold of evil, though from doing thereof it be many times hindered? The comparison tendeth to this end only, that if man's *free-will*, being hindered and bound, seem many times less free to put in execution evil things, how much less freedom, think you, doth it enjoy towards the things that further unto godliness? Forasmuch therefore as this appeareth to be most true by the evident testimonies of the Scriptures, and experimented by the continual course of men's actions and conversations, let us hear what Osorius doth object against Haddon.

But I say thus, that all good men, all godly men, all men most endued with heavenly gifts, do testify that in this sentence of thine lurketh heinous wickedness, unshamefaced impudency, detestable madness, and most execrable treachery. Unless your so manifold lies hitherto dispersed abroad, and, as it were, clouted together in one lump, unless your shameless face, Osorius, and that your impudent usage in lying and blanching your monstrous vanity (the like whereof can scarce possibly be found in any writer, surely more monstrous in no man), had long since disabled all the substance and credit of your talk, in the judgment of all good and godly men, you

might happily have found some one, which would hath soothed this your communication.

But now having uttered scarce one true sentence throughout all this work of yours, with what countenance and with what face dare you speak in this wise? *But I say this, &c.* And what doth this famous speaker tell us at the length? *I do say this, that in this sentence of Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin, lurketh heinous wickedness, unshamefaced impudency, detestable madness, and most execrable outrage.* Go forward then, and tell us first without a lie (if you can) what they have uttered in their words. *Forsooth, because they stand stiffly herein, that man's mind is always holden captive, his will fast chained, despoiled of all ability to do, insomuch that we can neither do good nor evil, no, nor think any good thought by any means. Finally, this is the effect of their opinion, that there is no difference betwixt us and any other tool or instrument, &c.*

Truly, I should have marvelled much, Osorius, if that lying spirit in your mouth, if your wicked lips and deceitful tongue could have uttered any thing unto us without a lie, or have made a lie without railing. Yea, Sir, is the wind in that door? Who that assigneth free and voluntary power to do good, not in our own will, but in God's grace; who that ascribeth all our actions (especially those which be godly) to the direction and disposition of God; who that affirmeth that our will is neither free of itself without God's grace, and that it doth nothing else but sin deadly, when it worketh after the disposition of her own nature, doth he so despoil man naked altogether of all will, as though it could do nothing at all, or purpose nothing at all, or as though he made no difference betwixt man and any other instrument or tool? Who that endeavoureth to prove manifestly by the Scriptures this thing chiefly, that all the thoughts

of man's heart and all his senses always are prone and inclined at all times to wickedness, doth he seem to affirm that man is void of all feeling of thought?

Tell, a' good fellowship, the man that doth that which is in his own power, or the man doing that which is in his own power, doth nothing else but sin; doth this man now nothing at all, whiles he sinneth? or whiles he imagineth mischief, doth he imagine nothing at all? And how then, I pray you, doth Luther spoil men of their will? or how is he reported to bind man's will fast in everlasting chains, in such wise as that it cannot only not do, but also not think, any good or evil?

But Luther doth not deny that it resteth in man's free-will *to make his ways evil.* And what inconvenience is there in this sentence, if the meaning thereof be taken in the right sense, as it ought to be? Truly, if our ways, either good or bad, were simply and absolutely at our own disposition, how is it that the Scriptures teach "that man's steps are directed?" or how is it that the Prophet doth "deny man's way to be his own?" or how read we in the holy Proverbs, "that when man hath prepared his heart most, yet it is the Lord that governeth the tongue?" How often do we find the old proverb to prove true, that man doth purpose one way, and God doth dispose another way? How rife are the examples of some persons, which with halter in hand, and knife ready bent to dispatch themselves of their wretched lives, or which have practised to drown themselves, have not accomplished the wicked fact that they devised even then, when they were most willing thereto? Surely God's divine providence doth wonderfully dally with man's thoughts and imaginations, deluding, overthrowing, making frustrate, transposing beyond all expectation of man, the things which we have most firmly determined.

And what freedom is this at the length, which is always constrained to serve at another's appointment, the strongest force whereof being many times hindered, must always depend upon the permission and commandment of the higher power? which thing Augustine doth very well declare: "All wills are subject (saith he) to the will of God, because they have no power, but such as he granteth. The cause therefore that maketh this and is not made, is God; other causes do both make and are made, as are all created spirits, but chiefly such as are endued with reason." And again: "Our wills are so far able, by how much God would have them to be able, and foreknew it. And therefore in whatsoever ability they stand, they are undoubtedly able; and whatsoever they shall do, they shall surely do, because he did foreknow that they should be able, and should do, whose foreknowledge cannot be deceived, &c."

And again in another place: "Neither is it to be doubted that men's wills cannot resist the will of God, but that he must needs do what God will; forasmuch as he doth dispose the wills also as he listeth, and when he listeth. Therefore to will and to nill, is so in the power of him that willeth and nilleth, that it neither goeth beyond God's power, nor hindereth his will, but is many times hindered by the power of God, and always overmastered, &c."

But that is somewhat more hard which is objected out of the same article, that will is so fast bound that we can think no evil thought by any means. For so doth Osorius cite the place; wherein he doth first cast a mist before the reader's eyes, and then deal injuriously with Luther; for he doth neither faithfully nor fully rehearse the words of his article: he is also no less injurious to Melancthon and Calvin, whom he allegeth as partakers of the same opinion. Albeit I know right well, that they do not vary from Lu-

ther's meaning, yet did they always of very purpose refrain from this kind of speech. Where did Melancthon ever write, that all things are performed by unavoidable necessity? Where did Calvin say, that *free-will* was but a device in things? Who ever heard Bucer say, that man was not of power to think evil? Not because they varied from him in meaning and judgment, but they chose rather to qualify, with some more plausible kind of style, that which seemed to be propounded by him somewhat more roughly.

But to return again to Luther's words: I do acknowledge herein not your new-furnished cavil, Osorius, but the ancient rusty canker of many others against Luther, as of Leo, Roffensis, Eckius, Johannes Coclæus, Albertus Pighius, John Dreidon, Alphonsus de Castro, Andrew Vega, Peter Canisius, and such-like, which do neither read Luther's writing with judgment, neither consider his meaning, nor confer the first with the last, but catch here and there a word half garbled for haste; and out of these being sinisterly construed, if they find any one thing more than other fit to be quarrelled withal, that they snatch up, that they urge stiffly, and are always raking their nails upon that scab, as the proverb saith. And because, amongst all his other assertions, they can pick out no one sentence more odious in the judgment of the simple people, it is a wonder to see what a coil they keep here, and how viperously they gnaw and turmoil this one sentence, wherein he said, that man's will having lost her freedom, is now of no force at all, not so much as to think an evil thought.

And in this respect surely I cannot but marvel much to see the indiscreet disorder of some, but chiefly the singular shamelessness of Osorius. For albeit Luther, in so many of his commentaries, sermons, books, and answers, doth urge this one point always, and every where travail earnestly to prove

that man's *free-will* (being void of grace) availeth to nothing but to commit sin, yet doth Osorius so frame all his writing against Luther, as though Luther did teach that man's *free-will* could not so much as think an evil thought.

And from whence doth he pick this quarrel? Out of the words of Luther's article before mentioned, I suppose. But forasmuch as Luther doth in the selfsame article openly profess, that *free-will* of her own nature availeth to nothing but to sin, and that all the imaginations of the heart do (of a certain natural inclination) rush headlong into evil, in what sense can that man be said not to be able to think an evil thought, which is always occupied in imagining evil? But I believe he will press upon us with Luther's own words, wherewith he affirmeth that no man of himself is of power to think a good thought, or an evil thought, &c. Well, let us hear what conclusion this logician will coin out of these words.

Man's mind, whether it think well or evil, doth neither of them both of her own power; ergo, man's mind of itself can neither think a good nor an evil thought.

I do here appeal to your logic, Osorius, what kind of argument is this; by what rule make you this consequent? What, because the substance of the matter doth depend upon the first causes properly, will you thereupon conclude, that the second causes do therefore nothing at all? or because the freedom of doing is restrained to the first and principal cause, to wit, to the only majesty of God, that therefore man's will is no cause at all, because it is not free? and that therefore it can think no ill thought by any means, because it doth it not of her own strength and liberty, as though to do a thing properly, and a thing to be done of her own proper power, were all one to say.

So then by this reason the Jews, which crucified e Lord of glory, shall be said to do nothing, beuse all the outrage whatsoever they kept was dermined before by God's unsearchable counsel. In :e manner Pharaoh, in withholding the people of rael, and Nebuchadnezzar, in spoiling them, may : said to do nothing, because the heart of the one as hardened by the Lord; and because the other, ading his army into Egypt, was constrained to ange his will in his journey, and bend his force ainst Jerusalem. Likewise neither the ship whiles e saileth, nor the pilot within the ship, do any ing at all, because their course, whether it be formate or unfortunate, is not always directed after eir own will, but as the winds and the tides do ive them. For what doth Luther's disputation *free-will* enforce else, but that he may refer all e order of doing to God's free disposition only? Neither doth he despoil man of will altogether, which oth only disable will of freedom; neither is it a good onsequent to say, because man's will is denied to be ee, therefore that man is altogether destitute of ill, because it is not free, but always captivate, ound, and an handmaid, as the which in evil things either always servant to sin, or in good things handaid to grace, even as an instrument or tool is alays at the bestowing of him that worketh withal. or what should let but Luther may as well call *free-ill* by the name of a tool, as Isaiah doth name the icked by the name of saws in the hand of the Lord; nd as well as in many places in Ezekiel, those hearts re called "stony hearts, which the Lord doth proise to soften and mollify with his grace." (Ezek. i. xxxvi.)

And yet I will not much trouble Osorius herein. or whether will be free unto evil, or be servant unto vil, it maketh little to the present purpose, nor will

stand Osorius much in stead. This is undoubtedly true, that man's natural strength (be it free or be it bond) is more than strong enough to all wickedness. So were all these storms raised against Luther needless also, considering that he doth so frankly oftentimes, and in many places profess in plain words, that man's mind is always prone and inclined to all evil cogitations, considering also that he doth confess every where, that to think evil is as properly natural to man's will, as that of itself it neither can nor doth acquaint itself with any thing else, but with evil thoughts. And I think it is not so needful to stand much upon the name of freedom, especially since we do agree upon the truth of the matter.

And it may happen that Osorius is deceived in doubtful construction of the word, or rather deceiveth others therewith, taking the same in another sense than Luther understood it. For whereas some things are said to be free of necessity in respect of outward coactions, some free of necessity in respect of bondage, will may right well be called free after the first manner of necessity, as the which is never constrained to will unwillingly that which it willeth, be it good or bad. "For compulsory will (as St. Augustine saith) is no will." According to the latter manner of necessity, man hath never power over his own will so, but that (which way soever it is carried) it always obeyeth his commandment of whom it is carried, albeit it doth always serve both voluntarily and willingly. Whereupon St. Paul, discoursing upon the evil which he would not, but did it nevertheless, saith, that he did it not, but imputed the doing thereof to sin dwelling within him, and to the law of his members, the force whereof being greater than his own strength, did draw him into bondage, though he strove against it.

And surely that is the bondage that Luther did

an according to Paul's saying, when writing of nd-will on this wise: "Man's will (saith he) is er this sort common to use, as is a horse or a ast; if God do ride upon it, then it willeth and eth whither God will have it; if the devil sit upon then it willeth and goeth whither the devil will ve it; nor is it in his own choice to run to either of se riders, or to get either of them, but the riders contend for the having and keeping of him, &c." Osorius do see any mean betwixt these two riders, vould fain have him shew it. He will say, perhaps, it betwixt these two there is a mean in will, whereby ll is able to apply itself to this or to that. Augus- ie doth make answer, "that the very beginning of is applying, if it be towards good, ariseth not thout God's good will and grace; if it be towards il, then it springeth not but out of evil." Even as rnard doth teach, that "the whole beginning must ascribed to grace."

In fine, to shut up the matter in few words, as ncerning Luther's proposition, wherein he denieth at *free-will* is of power to do good or evil of itself, o things seem worthy to be noted here: the one ncerning the power of doing, the other concerning e freedom of power. If we inquire of the power will, how effectual it may be to good or evil of r own natural force, neither Luther nor any other ll deny the property of will to be otherwise but at it may will the things that it willeth, neither that e force of will is so altogether blotted out, but at it may apply when it is applied either to good or evil; and that it doth so far forth not apply, by w much it is either destitute of grace, or aided by ace, after none other sort than as the horse doth ar his rider; he traverseth in his ring, and runneth s race; he sweateth under his rider, he travelleth s ground, is very nimble, chaffeth and champeth

upon the bridle, cometh aloft, yerketh out with his heels behind, he runneth round in his career backward and forward, and performeth all other qualities and properties of his kind, which are subject to his senses. All which motions, if you respect the natural quality and force of the horse, seem to be not altogether out of his own power: but if ye respect the liberty of motion, the activity thereof will appear to consist not so much in the natural power of the beast which is ruled, as in the power of the rider, which doth manage him.

Even so ought we to judge of man's will, whose natural inclination if you regard, and what it may do of her own strength, who will deny that the property of will is to will; but to be able to will is proper to ability. For of will it proceedeth that we will, but of ability it cometh that we perform. So with our will we will, with our mind we conceive, and with our ability we do perform. And, as Augustine saith, "thinking we do believe, thinking we do speak, and thinking we do whatsoever we do." And in another place the same Augustine doth confess, "that nature may be of power not only to do evil, but also to have faith, hope, and charity; yet, to have all these, he doth affirm to come of grace altogether." Wherefore we agree well enough together as touching the ability of will.

But to let pass this treaty of ability, if questions be moved touching freedom of will, because hereupon hangeth all our controversy (for neither do we inquire here what the property of will is? or what will can do properly? but what every man may do or not do in all things, by the freedom of his own proper will), Luther doth answer forthwith, that the name of freedom seemeth to be a name of more majesty than that it ought, or may agree conveniently to any thing properly, but to the only majesty of God, or

to him whom the Holy Ghost hath made free by grace.

But the great proctors of *free-will* are wont to object, that in some sense this is true indeed, that there is no power absolutely and fully free, but the only omnipotent power of God's majesty; yet nevertheless as we call angels immortal, men holy, wise, and good (though we acknowledge God only to be truly immortal, only wise, and only good), so nothing withstandeth, but we may call men after their certain manner free: I do answer, angels indeed are called immortal, and that truly, because they obtained that state of their Creator at the first, besides that also they never lost that state of immortality wherein they were placed, although some fell from the blessedness of immortality. But as for our freedom, the condition and state thereof is of a far other condition and kind.

For albeit man in the beginning was created in the free estate of will through the benefit of his Creator, which he might have retained still without any contradiction if he would, yet did he lose the same freedom and paradise withal, by his own default; so that he turned that blessed estate into misery, and his freedom into bondage, that being out of paradise now, by how much we are sequestered from all felicity, even so far seem we to be cut off from all freedom, without the grace of the Redeemer. For shipwreck being once made of universal blessedness, I can see none other remedy, but that freedom must be drowned withal.

Therefore the self-same thing which doth open paradise, being shut fast against us, must of necessity restore freedom again, which cannot by any means be brought to pass through force of nature, or through any power of our own. It consisteth only in the grace of the Redeemer, as our Redeemer him-

only which might breed offence, cloking meanwhiles those things fraudulently which do wipe away all misliking. He doth set down in his Assertion thus, that it is not in man's free power to think a good or evil thought. Again, in the same Assertion, the same Luther doth not deny that all men's imaginations of their own inclinations are carried to all kind of naughtiness, and that *free-will* can do nothing of itself but sin.

On this wise, with like heat of disputation rather than of any error, he calleth *free-will* sometimes a feigned or devised term, not to be found indeed any where, making all things to be governed by unavoidable necessity; which *vehemency of speech* many men do cast in his teeth reproachfully now and then. And yet in other places again, expounding himself, he doth grant, without all *hyperbolical speech*, that in inferior causes *free-will* can do somewhat; and withal doth frankly affirm, that it can do all things, being assisted with grace. And why is he not holden excused as well for this, as snatched at for the other? why do the adversaries shut fast their eyes, and blindfold themselves willingly at matter well spoken, and never look abroad, but when they list to carp and cavil?

Was there ever any so circumspect a writer, whose latter diligence and more attentive heedfulness might not always amend some oversight escaped at the first, either in exposition or judgment of things? The more that Solon the sage grew in years, the more he increased in knowledge; and may it not be lawful for us to increase understanding with our age likewise? Surely Augustine could not excuse the errors of his youth, neither shamed he to confess in his age the oversights that escaped his pen in youth unadvisedly, and not only to reform them by overlicking them (as the bear licketh her whelps), but also to

ame his Epistle to Hilary, that may well be ga-
d and framed into an argument in this wise:
e life of liberty is the perfect soundness of will;
n doing evil, man's will is not sound: *ergo*, in
g evil, man's will is not free. For even so are
aught by Augustine's words: "The life of
ty (saith he) is the soundness of will; and by so
h every man is more free, by how much his
s most sound."

lbeit I will not strive much about the contention
erms, if any man be minded to name the choice
ill applicable towards good or evil, to be volun-
rather than free, he shall not err much in
udgment: neither will I be offended, if a man
ay (as Augustine doth), that man's will is free
rds evil things, so that he hold the meaning of
ustine, as well as the words. For I am of this
d, that when Augustine doth name man's *free-*
and couple it to grace, he calleth it free in this
ect, because, being free from all forcible con-
nt, it bendeth itself through voluntary motion
way whereunto it is directed, be it to goodness
ugh grace, or to evil through natural lust. And
his sense, according to Augustine's meaning, the
fession of Augsburgh doth expound man's will to
ree, that is to say, yielding of his own accord.
self-same do Bucer and Melancthon also, and
also doth Calvin not deny, who doth neither
e much about this term of freedom, and doth
nedly also profess, that the original cause of evil
ot to be sought elsewhere, than in every man's
will.

But as concerning Luther, for that he doth upon
e occasions sometime express his mind in writing
ewhat roughly, wherein afterwards he discovereth
meaning in a more mild phrase of speech, it was
seemly in my conceit to rack out those things

changeable decree of God's predestination, do commit the successes of things to hap-hazard and blind chance, and to free affection of man's will; or of them, which, setting aside all chanceable events of fortune, and all power of man's will, do refer all things to the assured governance of God's infallible foreknowledge, guiding all things after his own pleasure in most staid and stable order?

And yet doth not Luther so root out all *free-will* altogether, and all chanceableness of fortune, but that he doth admit the use of them in some respect, to wit, in respect of inferior causes, although in respect of higher causes, and in those things which concern salvation or damnation, he believeth surely, that no force of *free-will*, nor yet any chanceableness of fortune, do prevail any thing at all.

Forasmuch as this is the chief ground of Luther's doctrine, what else may the well-affectioned and indifferent reader (I pray you) conceive of this his assertion, than that which may magnify the glory of God, extol his omnipotency, may establish the safety of the faithful, depending upon the free promise of God through faith, and not upon the worthiness of merits through *free-will*, may terrify the wicked with a wholesome fear of God, may restrain them from outrage, may comfort us against death with life that is in God, against misery with grace, against infirmity with strength, and against destruction with God's mercy, may raise up the godly to love and embrace their God? The fruit of all which things as the godly reader may easily reap by this doctrine, let us see now, on the other side, what poison Osorius doth suck out of the same, as one that seeth nothing in this assertion, *but horrible wickedness* (as he saith), *shameless arrogancy, detestable madness, execrable outrage.* And now would I fain hear

now he will confirm this proud affirmative, so vehemently uttered.

For (saith he) *this being granted, I do say, that laws are abolished, decrees put to silence, sciences rooted out, learning extinguished, peace and tranquillity disturbed, and utter confusion made of all, right and wrong, without all order.* If Osorius require this at our hands, that whatsoever his lavish tongue shall rashly rove at large, be coined for an unreprovable oracle, then is this matter soon at an end; but that world is gone long since, Osorius, wherein this Pythagorical proverb, αὐτος ἔφη, "the man hath spoken," was taken for a law. We think it not now enough to hearken to all that a man will speak, but to consider what, and upon what ground, a man speaketh.

Well, and what say you unto us at the length, Osorius? *That laws will decay, statutes be put to silence, sciences rooted out, learning extinguished, tranquillity disturbed, and right and wrong confounded together.* Certainly, you have heard of this man here many high and absurd speeches (gentle reader); but hear yet much more absurdity. *I say furthermore, that hereupon doth follow, that man is spoiled of sense, bereft of advice, and deprived of reason, and driven to that pass, as no difference may seem to be betwixt him and a stone thrown out of a man's hand.* And yet have you not heard all. Osorius crawleth forward still, and is come now (as it seemeth) into some main plain, where he purposeth to make us a course of his harsh eloquence. *I say also that the holy commandments of God, his precepts and statutes, his exhortations and threatenings, rewards promised for well-doing, and punishment threatened for malefactors, were all in vain prescribed to the posterity by God's word.* O heaven! O earth! O sea of Hercules!

But is there any more yet? Tush, all these be

but trifles yet; for over and besides this ensueth so heinous a fact, more horrible than tongue can speak, or heart can think, so unspeakably filthy, and so monstrously strange, that all the rest being laid together, may in respect of this be accounted scarce worth the speaking. And what is it, a' God's name? *Forsooth, that Luther or Melanathon, Bucer or Calvin, or whosoever was the first founder of this doctrine, besides that he doth thereby turn all states and commonweals quite upside-down, he breaketh yet further into such unmeasurable impiety, as that he doth imagine God himself (the most holy of holy ones), and our most dear Father (to whom no iniquity can by any means be imputed), to be the author of all wickedness and cruelty.* We have heard a tedious catalogue of heinous absurdities, *which* (as he saith) *must needs ensue upon Luther's doctrine.* And if it be not true, *he requireth us to make him a liar, as that either Luther never spake so, or else to teach him that Luther's doctrine may well be maintained.* As though there were any such pith in all this your railing. Mr. Osorius, that might not easily be confuted, or any such weakness in Luther, that might not much more easily be defended: yea, and so defended, as that neither he may seem to have taught the doctrine of *necessity* without good consideration, nor you able to deface the same without great peril of committing horrible sacrilege. I speak now of *necessity*, not that *necessity* that is called violent coaction, but of that which is named of undoubted assurance and absolute infallibility: not that *necessity* which the schoolmen call *consequentia*, but which is called *consequentiae*, or *ex à potiori*. For *necessity* is neither taken after one only signification amongst the divines, nor yet amongst the logicians and philosophers, whereof I suppose you be nothing ignorant, at the least you ought not to be ignorant thereof surely.

Therefore they that have employed their studies somewhat more carefully about the scanning of this matter, have defined *necessity* after this manner to be such a thing as cannot be altered, a certain settled and firm unmovableness, which cannot be changed by any means from that which it is. Of this necessity, Aristotle hath set down two principal beginnings, the one internal, the other external. Then also distinction is made of this *necessity*, which is moved by force of the internal cause and inward propriety of nature; so that some things may be called simply and absolutely necessary; as God, and those things which being changed do imply contradiction; as if a man would say, that four were not an even number, that four and three were not seven in number; and this is called *geometrical necessity*, which will not admit any change by course of nature.

There is another *necessity*, called *natural necessity*, which albeit be of herself the beginning of her own motion, yet it consisteth not in so simple and absolute an estate, but followeth only the usual course of her own nature. And after this manner fire is said to burn of *necessity*; the sun is continually carried about in his course of *necessity*, which cannot choose but do as they do, according to the propriety of their natural disposition; yet do they not follow their natural inclination so absolutely and unavoidably, but that God may hinder and alter their disposition, or make them cease from their natural operation.

Such a kind of *necessity* to sin we say that man is clogged withal, since the fall of Adam, if the Holy Ghost and grace be absent; for of themselves they cannot but sin, albeit there is no let in their nature, but that they may be holpen or changed, and otherwise altered; as we see come to pass in those that

are regenerate in Christ. That *necessity* therefore, whereby wicked men are said to be led to sin, is not so absolute and unavoidable, but they cannot choose but sin; for as soon as the Holy Ghost and the grace of Christ cometh, this *necessity* is utterly cut off. And thus much of that internal *necessity*.

But the *necessity* that springeth from external causes is also divided two manner of ways, whereof the one is violent, and is called *compulsory necessity*, as when a thing is forced to move or to stir against its own nature. And this *necessity* can by no means fall into man's will, for it is impossible that will shall will any thing unwillingly. The other is stable and infallible, or of the hypothesis, or by reason of the consequence which logicians do take to be *in sensu composito*, and not *in sensu diviso*. Now this *necessity*, called of the *consequence*, is on this wise; as when a thing may be true by occasion of the *necessary* coupling together of one proposition with another, though the thing that is concluded for true be not necessary of itself.

And in this respect we do affirm, that all our actions are done of *necessity*, not by the force of the inward cause, or else their own nature, that is to say, if they be considered apart, and referred to their next cause, to wit, unto will. Even so will being considered apart, in its own nature, from the exterior beginning, to wit, God's providence and foreknowledge, is said to be free in its certain kind; so that it is endued with a certain facility to incline itself to whether point it will, although it be not able of itself to move and incline at all but unto that part which God did foreknow; whereby you perceive, Osorius, in what sense this *necessity*, which we do affirm, is not always absolutely tied to our

tions, as far forth as they do proceed from our own ill, but through the coupling and conjoining of God's edestination with our works, which thing to be en so, the divines did seem to signify *per sensum mpositum* and *necessitatem consequentiæ*.

Description of Free-will, and the Things appertaining thereunto, after the Rules of Divinity: taken out of Augustine, Peter Lombard, and others.

The Definition of Free-will taken out of Augustine and Lombard, Lib. ii. Dis. 24.

Free-will is an activity of reason and will, whereby good is chosen through the assistance of grace, or evil, if grace be absent;

or thus,

Free-will is a faculty of the soul, which can will good or evil, discerning them both.

1. *What Free-will is.*
   - Will: Is a thing properly pertaining to reason, whereby man doth discern good from evil; what is to be desired, or what to be eschewed.
   - Free: Freedom is a thing properly pertaining to will, whereby of voluntary appetite, without foreign coaction, it may either will good or evil; but to will good cometh of grace, which maketh to will and to do.

2. *In what things Free-will doth consist.* (Five things chiefly to be considered in Free-will.)
   - In God first and chiefly,
     - Whose will is of itself simply and absolutely most free from all bondage of sinning, and all infection of sin: for God cannot of his own nature sin; not because any force restraineth him, but because of his own nature he cannot so will; so that God is both holy of necessity, and yet this necessity doth not seclude free-will from God, in whom all necessity, joined with all freedom, is resident.
   - In blessed angels,
     - Whose state and condition is this, that their will is made steadfast and unchangeable in all goodness, not of themselves, but through grace.
   - In man's nature, and that four manner of ways according to the four-fold division of man's state.
     - 1. In the state of innocency.
       - Whose freedom was once such which could both sin and not sin.
       - And in this sense the ancient writers must be understood as often as they speak of man's free-will, that is to say, of the freedom of man's nature.
     - 2. In the state of blessedness,
       - or of his heavenly country, as schoolmen term it, when man shall be endued with a freedom that cannot sin by any means.
     - 3. In the state of life after sin and before regeneration by grace.
       - In which state man hath no free-will to do any thing, but to sin deadly, as Lombard saith; and of this state meaneth Luther, writing of bond will.
     - 4. In the state
       - In which state man hath freedom not to sin, except venial sin, as saith Lombard. But although Augustine
   - Not in respect of things present nor things past, because present things and things past be of this quality, that being done, they cannot be undone, nor things past can be

4. *Of what things Free-will taketh its denomination.*

1. From necessity of the action, which is called the freedom of nature.

[illegible] in all states; but this necessity must be distinguished and proportioned by its principal causes, whereof [illegible] are moved of their own nature and of inward operation. And those [illegible] necessity, which alteration nature does not admit; and this necessity pertaineth nothing to Luther's disputation of free-will.

Or be not simply and absolutely necessary, but after the common course of nature, as fire doth burn of necessity, the sun is always moved, and other such like, being natural things, which yet are not of such necessity but may be hindered by God, and so cease from operation.

Either violent, which is called the necessity of external coaction; as when things are constrained to move, or to do contrary to their nature, as stones and heavy things, as the schoolmen call necessity, in respect of the consequent, not of the consequence, or *in sensu diviso*, and not *in sensu composito*; and from this necessity the freedom of man's will is utterly excepted.

Or stable and infallible, by reason of the consequence, not of the consequent; or *in sensu composito*, not *in sensu diviso*. This necessity of the consequence, not of the consequent, is to be understood, when a thing may be true in respect of the necessary affinity of proposition from proposition, although the thing concluded be not necessary of itself; or true *in sensu composito*, which otherwise is false *in sensu diviso*, or false *in sensu composito* which otherwise is true *in sensu diviso*; as if a man say, that white may be black, by distinction of contrary times it may be true; but joining the times and *in sensu composito*, it cannot be true.

Some have external beginnings; and of these there is two manner of necessities:

2. From sin, or from bondage of sin, which is called freedom of grace. And this freedom is attributed to them only, which are made free by grace, wherein if they mean of the imputation of sin, it is true; but if they mean of actual sin, it is false.

3. From misery, which is called the freedom of glory; and this freedom had free-will in the state of innocency once, and shall have the same much more perfect hereafter in the state of glory.

5. *How much Free-will is impaired in man through sin.*

It is wounded in its natural qualities, to wit, in reason, in understanding, in memory, wit, &c. Despoiled altogether in things as be heavenly, and appertaining to God.

And this much well agreeth with the doctrine of Luther.—*Lombard*, Lib. ii. Dist. 25.

Since we have now laid this foundation for [illegible] better furniture, to be able to make answer, [illegible] will now address ourselves to our adversary's arg[illegible]ments; wherein although he observe no course, n[illegible] form of common disputation, let us yet help h[illegible] lame logic as well as we may. And first of [illegible] touching the overthrow of laws (wherewith becau[illegible] it liketh master Osorius to urge this point chief[illegible] before the rest), let us give our attentive ea[illegible] to his words, and mark well how cunningly he ar[illegible]gueth. *But I say* (saith he), *that by this doctrine [illegible] Luther (whereby he doth teach that things are directed to their end by necessity), that laws are subverted, decrees put to silence, and right and wrong confounded together.*

And why doth he not add this much more also, that whole commonweals are overthrown? Well, go to, I do hear very well what you say, Osorius; but I have not heard yet any substantial argument, whereby you prove this that you say to be true. Certainly there be at this present within Christendom many nations, many provinces, many kingdoms, many dukedoms, many cities and commonweals that favour Luther's doctrine; wherein I appeal to your own conscience (speak it if you can), have you ever heard amongst all these (I say not of any one commonwealth or city), but of any one little village or civil family, that hath been any one jot defrauded of the benefit of their laws, or become less provident for the common quiet of their country, by following Luther's doctrine?

Although we have not yet received from Spain and Portugal into our commonwealth your bloody laws of inquisition, embrued with Christian blood, and do suppose also that no discreet commonwealth will ever receive them; yet through God's inestimable providence we be not destitute of politic laws, nor of honest sciences, nor of vigilant counsellors.

Wherein albeit our gross capacities may seem unworthy to be compared to the fine and pregnant wits of Portugal, yet, howsoever they seem, we are by their direction sufficiently enough instructed to discern betwixt the limits of right and wrong, and not to confound them; neither have we ever confounded them, as far as I know: what manner of hotch-pot you make of them in Portugal I know not. Forasmuch therefore as common experience teaching the contrary doth most manifestly convince you of open lying, with what face dare you so boldly affirm, that through this doctrine of Luther, *laws are subverted, counsels put to silence, and confusion and disorder of right and wrong to have entered in?* Whereof you never saw any proof, nor yet can tell a dream so much of any attempt practised in any commonwealth. And therefore I marvel what kind of leasing you will coin at length to make this cavillation of yours to carry some show of truth. I suppose verily, that being disfurnished of proof and records, and found an open liar in matter so evident, you will shrowd yourself under some close covert of Pelagius; to wit, that where the use of the law consisteth of two points principally, that is to say, in advancing virtue, and in punishing vice, hereupon Osorius will frame an argument after this manner and form:

Laws are ordained in vain, unless there be ability to perform them. But there is no ability to perform by the doctrine of necessity which Luther doth teach: ergo, laws are ordained in vain by Luther's doctrine of necessity.

I do answer, the major proposition were true, if this bondage or *necessity*, which doth prejudice ability, were natural, and of itself faulty; that is to say, if we had been created without this ability by nature, and had not thrown ourselves into this inextricable labyrinth of yielding through our own default. But

as now having heaped upon ourselves this *necessity* of sinning voluntarily by our own purchase, and having made *necessity* (as Augustine saith) of a penal offence; for good cause therefore laws are of *necessity* established, which may by some lawful means reduce us to nature, or at least retain us in some covenable order of life, not overpassing this also withal, that where the major treateth of the obedience of man's laws, in the minor that *necessity* (which Luther doth teach) ought not to be referred to man's laws, nor the discipline of external life, but to the obedience of God's laws only.

Moreover, for that I have promised to help to underprop Osorius' logic, which is of itself very ruinous, and ready to fall to the ground, I will not refuse to frame by some order and form the remnant of his allegations into arguments, that the reader may more easily be instructed what answer to make to every of them particularly.

The freedom of man's will being taken away, the force of laws, precepts and rules of good life, and all ordinances of civil discipline and statutes, do cease. The necessity which Luther teacheth doth abolish all freedom of man's will: ergo, this doctrine of necessity being allowed, laws decay, good statutes and ordinances, and all endeavour of good and godly life, are extinguished.

First, in your major proposition, this word *freedom* must be distinguished, namely, to be taken either as opposite to coaction, or opposite to bondage: if in the major, you understand of coacted freedom, then is the major true; for whosoever taketh away freedom from man, doth also despoil him of will. But if you understand of bond freedom, then even by this means is your major clean false.

Next we deny your minor with Augustine, wherein

also this word *necessity* must be distinguished, which being divided into two parts, the one which is called *compulsory necessity*, the other, which is said to be of the *consequence*, as *ex hypothesi*, whereof the first never any of our writers did deny; the other can none of all your doctors deny; which consisting of the foreknowledge of God, by a certain unmovable conjunction of causes, and binding *necessity* to things foreordained by God, doth utterly abolish fortune and chance, but doth not take away will, nor withstandeth the freedom thereof, as there is no contradiction, but one self thing may be called both voluntary and necessary also; for freedom of will is not taken away through *necessity*, but through coaction. As for example: when we say that God liveth everlastingly, and ordereth all things uprightly, we do confess that both these are peculiar to God's nature of *necessity*, and not by any foreign coaction.

After this manner in the book of Exodus: whereas Pharaoh did endeavour to stay the children of Israel from departing out of Egypt, we must needs confess that he did it of *necessity*, in respect of God's secret appointment; and indeed he neither could will nor do otherwise; but in respect of his own inclination, which was the very peculiar and nearest cause that moved him to stay them, no necessity of coaction forced his will to this unwillingly; but that which he did, he did voluntarily; and with no less earnest willingness of mind did he bring to pass the thing which his greedy affection had willed before.

Although a man may be constrained to do something many times against his will, yet can he not be framed by any means to will a thing that he would not; for the will that willeth not, is not now called will, but unwillingness, nay, rather nothing at all. And for the same very cause, because there is no

such thing at all in the course of nature, nor to be found any where, therefore hath it no denomination nor usual name of speech, whereby it may be expressed in Latin; of the same sort also are the other arguments touching arts and sciences, whereof he cavilleth so much after this manner:

If all things that happen be referred to the power of God, and are done of necessity, according to Luther's doctrine, which bindeth all the actions of men to necessity, it would hereupon follow, that all sciences should be overthrown, all endeavour of man utterly frustrate, nor any industry of men (were it never so skilfully employed in husbandry, to buying and selling, to traffic, to provision for the family, to surgery and physic, or any other actions of man's life whatsoever), shall profit nor be available.

I do answer this to be most true, that the operation of all things ought to be referred to the will and providence of God, as to the chief and principal cause, by which providence all things are ordered of very *necessity*. But this *necessity* taketh not away ability to endeavour from men, but causeth only that men's actions are not chanceable. For albeit the things that God willed do necessarily come to pass, yet doth man's will nevertheless yield her diligent endeavour, which will the providence of God doth not take away, but governeth. Indeed man's will doth work, yea, and freely worketh, that is to say, worketh voluntarily not coactly; yet it worketh so, as if God help, it worketh well, if God do not help, it worketh ill. And yet, whether it work well or ill, it always worketh of *necessity*; neither doth will employ her ability any jot less, being governed by God, but rather is encouraged to work so much the more earnestly, because the things come to pass necessarily, whatsoever God's will hath foreordained to be done by the industry of man.

Certainly this saying of Luther is undoubtedly rue, that nothing happeneth in all the actions of nan's life, either well or evil, either without God's nowledge or without his will, or else without his lirection. And yet, because the successes of those hings are uncertain unto us, therefore following the ule of our will and reason, and withal obeying the vill of God (who commandeth us to do our endeaour), we do apply all our diligence earnestly to work, commending in the meanwhiles both ourselves and the success of our travail to the tuition of Almighty God, at whose especial commandment all things come to their end necessarily, and obey his direction of very *necessity*. Whereby you perceive that our endeavours and travails do nothing less decrease, or wax more dull to work, because they are foreknown, and directed by God; but our will is by so much more encouraged to work, because we will obey God's will, who commandeth to work.

And therefore that sophism of yours is altogether sophistical and deceivable, not much unlike to that which we read in Origen, in his second book against Celsus; where the sophister, to dissuade the sick body from counsel of physic, frameth this argument: "If thou be predestinate (saith he) to recover health, thou shalt surely be whole, whether thou take physic or no; but if thou be predestinate to die, the physician shall both lose his labour, and thou cast away thy money to no purpose." Whom the sick person perceiving to be towards marriage, with the like sophism (driving out, as it were, one nail with another), answereth after this manner: "If it be thy destiny to have issue of thy body, thou shalt have one, whether thou marry a wife or not marry a wife; but if thou be predestinate to be childless, thou shalt surely be childless, though thou marry a wife never so much." The deceit of this sophism lurketh herein: because

our endeavours and imaginations ought not to depend upon an uncertain certainty, which may be applicable to good or evil, indifferently or upon changeable adventure, the success whereof we know not, but must be ordered by a direct assured rule of reason.

For albeit on the one side it may so come to pass, that he that marrieth a wife shall have no children, yet on the other part, forasmuch as it is impossible to have children without the union of man and woman, therefore that ought to be yielded unto, that seemeth consonant to reason, not that which the argument concludeth; *videlicet*, therefore he must not marry a wife. In like manner fareth it with the other argument concerning the physician. Although it may so come to pass, that no physic may help me; yet because it is most agreeable to reason, that unless physic be administered, health will not be recovered, I will follow herein the most approved rule of reason, and will not wilfully throw myself by an uncertain *necessity* of destiny, into that which seemeth impossible, or at least less agreeable to reason.

Wherefore, as these assumptions be false, thou shalt in vain marry a wife, and thou shalt use physic in vain. In like manner I answer, that Osorius' argument is sophistical, where he argueth, that *our endeavours are applied in vain, and that we do travail in vain. Well, to go forward to the other trifling toys of this sophister.*

Another argument touching rewards and punishments. Forasmuch, as virtue and vice do proceed from out the free choice of will, it cannot be but that he which doth bereave will of her freedom, must also despoil the life of man of due reward for virtue, and punishment for vice.

Luther, by binding all things to necessity, doth bereave will of her freedom: ergo, by Luther's doctrine it doth come to pass, that neither punishment shall

be executed upon malefactors, nor virtue advanced with condign reward.

The very same argument did Pelagius long since use against Augustine, though not in the self-same words, yet all one in effect. I answer the parts thereof. And first concerning freedom of will mentioned in the major, how it ought to be distinguished, hath been declared before already. Then if in the minor you respect that kind of *necessity* which forceth us to yield, whether we will or no, your minor is false. As touching reward for virtue, and punishment for vice, Celestius the Pelagian urged against Augustine in the same wise: "Man is not to be blamed (saith he) for committing the sin which he can by no means avoid." Augustine maketh answer, "Nay rather (saith he), man is therefore faulty, in that he is not without sin, because by man's free-will only it came to pass, that he should fall into that *necessity* of sinning, which *necessity*, by his own will, he cannot withstand."

Whereby you perceive, Osorius, that *necessity* of sinning is neither utterly abolished from man's nature, and that malefactors are duly punished notwithstanding for their offences. By what reason may this be justified (will you say), since the judgment of our choice (whereby we fall into sin) is not free, but subject to thraldom? Be it as you say; but through whose default this servitude came first, is already declared. Again: whether offence be committed through free or servile choice of will, it maketh little to the purpose for the qualifying of the punishment, so that it appear to the judge, that the fact was committed of wilful and corrupt lust and affection. But you will say again,

If the offence be voluntary, ergo, the doing thereof consisteth in our own power; for whatsoever is voluntary, seemeth to be within the compass of our ability.

I answer: to will, we have indeed naturally in us; but to will well, we have not: so that ability to will is of ourselves, to wit, we are able to will; but to will well is not in the power of will; for this soundness of will Adam lost (when he had received it) through his own abuse.

As touching rewards, I answer: albeit our deeds deserve not to be rewarded, yet doth God righteously reward them whenas he doth crown his own gifts in us: neither doth it follow hereupon, because God doth reward good works in us, that therefore those good works are our own, as proceeding from us through our own strength and ability; but because he hath vouchsafed to make those gifts to be ours, and because he poureth those good gifts into us, therefore worthily are those good gifts rewarded as his own. And yet neither is this reward given as due to desert, in respect of the worthiness of the work; but of his gracious liberality, which he hath bountifully poured upon us undeserved before, to make us obedient unto him.

Briefly, if this answer, though of itself very plain and manifest, shall seem but of small credit with you, I will bring you Augustine for an umpire betwixt us sufficient enough (I trust), who being long ago assailed with the same objections by the Pelagians, shall for the better maintenance of his own credit fully answer these cavillations of those heretics like unto yourself. For the Pelagians did object against him in this sort: if it be true, that all things from the beginning are determined to their end by God's fore-ordinance and decree, and that men's wills are directed by God, to what purpose are laws made, and punishment ordained for malefactors? why are men rebuked, reproved, reprehended, and accused? for what do we that we have not received? what marvel is it if we be disobedient to God, whenas

he that commandeth to obey hath not given will to obey?

Even as Augustine hath answered this objection long since, so let Osorius content himself to be answered in as few words: "For correcting of vice (saith he) punishment is ministered for two causes: first, because no man is evil, but by his own default, for the evil that he worketh is evil voluntarily and of his own accord; and although it ought not to be doubted that man's will ought to be subject to God's will, whom man cannot let to work what him best liketh, forasmuch as, when him listeth, he frameth man's will to work after his will; yet here is no cause to the contrary but that man should receive due punishment for the offences which himself committeth wilfully, seeing that he is the worker of his own sin, for no man sinneth against his will. The other cause why transgressors are worthily punished, is because the trespassers either are regenerate, and such being cleansed before, and falling again to their former filth of their own accord, cannot plead for defence, that they never received grace, as men who through their own free-will have made frustrate the grace of God once received, by their own wickedness. But if they be not regenerate, yet is that damnable original sin worthily punished, that will, through anguish of punishment, may conceive desire to be regenerate, if at least the man that is so chastised be the child of promise; that God, by outward using this mean of scourge, vexation, and chastisement, may by secret inspiration fashion and frame the will to obedience, &c."

And thus much hitherto concerning laws and ordinances for rewarding virtue, and punishing vice in civil government. There followeth now another absurdity, to wit, where he saith, that by Luther's doctrine man is altogether despoiled of understand-

vertisements ministered; in vain are blessings and cursings set down in the Scriptures.

But no man will say that these are commanded in the Scriptures in vain: ergo, this doctrine of Luther is false and execrable, whereby he leaveth none other ability to free-will but only to sin, and whereby he bindeth all things to necessity.

This major must be denied, being nothing else but a most manifest cavillation, to wit, tending to this effect, as though God commanded us to do nothing, but that we might of our own selves perform; whereunto Augustine answereth in this wise: "O man, in the commandment learn what thou oughtest to do; in the punishment learn thy weakness through thy own default; in the prayer learn from whence thou mayest obtain, &c." By the law of commanding and forbidding, therefore, according to Augustine, we come to the knowledge of our sin and infirmity, not of our own strength and power, yet is not the law therefore commanded in vain; for to us that ask in the Son's name, and acknowledge our infirmity, is grace promised, which worketh in us both to will and to do. According as the same Augustine doth record in the same place: "Let us remember that he doth say, Make unto yourselves a new heart and new spirit, who hath said, I will give you a new heart, and I will give you a new spirit. How is it then that he that saith, Make unto yourselves a new heart, saith also, I will give you a new heart? Why doth he command, if himself will give? why doth he give, if man be the worker? but because he giveth the thing that he commandeth, and helpeth him whom he hath commanded, that he may do it? For through grace it cometh to pass, that man is endued with a good will, which was before of an evil will, &c." Therefore by this argument of Augustine appeareth that this word of admonition,

exhortation, or of rebuking, used in the Scriptures, is as it were a certain mean or instrument, which the Holy Ghost doth use in converting the will of such as are not yet regenerate, and in beautifying the first issues of his good gifts in such as are regenerate, that they may grow to a more ripeness through repentance, through faith, and through prayer. And by what wrest of logic doth Osorius gather ability of free-will out of the holy ordinances, seeing Augustine doth in so many places so directly gainsay him, but especially in his second book against the two Epistles of Pelagius, writing in this wise: "I can see nothing in the whole Scriptures, given by God in commandment to man, to prove that man hath free-will, that may not be found either to be given of God's liberality, or required to set forth the assistance of his grace." This much Augustine.

Briefly, to knit up the matter in a word or two. If you will know to what end commandments, covenants, and exhortations are delivered by God, learn this out of St. Paul, if Augustine cannot satisfy you, that is to say, because, after the knowledge of good and evil is once received, we are therefore under the law of *necessity*, and because also we are under the law, whether we be able or not able to perform, the law speaketh unto us of *necessity*, that if we be able to perform them, we should live by them; and that if we despise them, every mouth should be stopped, and all the world be culpable before God. And withal that such as are not yet regenerate in Christ, understanding how much is commanded beyond their ability and power, may flee to prayer, and seek for the Mediator, and call upon him for assistance of grace. On the other side, such as the Holy Ghost hath endued with more bountiful gifts of his gracious liberality, may with more earnest bent affection

yield themselves thankful to God, who hath given them strength to be able to walk in his ways. Whereby it is come to pass, that neither the *necessity* of the commandment is made frustrate by our imbecility, nor man's endeavours any thing weakened by the *necessity* of infallible certainty, nor yet freedom of will disabled by God's providence; all which you do most falsely report to ensue upon the doctrine of Luther.

I come now at the last to that great and heinous matter, the very chief and well-spring of all the other absurdities, to wit, wherein Luther maketh God to be the author of all mischief, and chargeth him with unrighteous dealing in this argument forsooth. For whereas Luther doth attribute the successes of all things, be they good be they evil, to God, as to the chief and principal original, and doth conclude all things under the absolute *necessity* of Providence, hereupon the adversary doth gather three monstrous inconveniences.

The first, that by this means men have not freedom upon their own wills.

The second, that men are not authors of their own sin.

The third, that God doth execute his judgments upon men unjustly for the sins, whereof they be not the authors, but God. Whereupon Sim Suttle argueth from destruction of the consequent on this wise:

OSORIUS' ARGUMENT.

God doth not take away freedom from man's will, nor is author of evil; but every man is author of his own evil: neither is God injurious to any man in executing his punishment upon him for his offence: ergo, Luther's doctrine is wicked and heinous, which teacheth the absolute necessity of doing good or evil by

he foreknowledge of God, and whereby he imagineth God to be the author of wickedness.

There are extant in the Scriptures many famous and notable testimonies touching the truth of God's predestination and foreknowledge of things to come, which neither Osorius nor all Portugal are able to gainsay; whereupon *necessity* of all the actions which we do must needs ensue, in respect of the *hypothesis*, as schoolmen term it. But as touching his glorious assumption of the heinous inconveniences concurrent withal, that is most false: for, first, neither doth the freedom of man's will perish so, but that men may always willingly and voluntarily choose that which they will; neither is any man charged with such *necessity*, as the force of constraint may compel him to do that which he would not. And it may come to pass, as is mentioned before, that the things which be necessary upon the *hypothesis*, being done without the same *hypothesis*, may seem to be chanceable, and not necessary.

And by what means then is will bereft of freedom, unless, peradventure, because God (seeing man's will inclinable to all wickedness) doth not restrain it when he may; for this cause he may be said to take away freedom from will. But this withstandeth our disputation of necessity nothing at all; for although this freedom be holpen to good, yet remaineth the same nevertheless free to wickedness in the sense spoken of before. *But he might have holpen*, you say. Indeed, nothing was more easy; for what cannot his omnipotency bring to pass without any difficulty? But what then, I pray you? *Ergo, God is unrighteous, because when he could give grace he would not.*

Truth indeed, if God did owe this grace to any man of duty; but by what law will you aver that God was bound to give this grace of duty? First,

God did at the first creation endue the whole nature of mankind with *free-will*; so also, if he did suffer mankind afterwards to be directed by the same free-will, I pray you, what unrighteousness was there in him hitherto as yet? *But ye will say, that this free-will is spoiled and ineffectual to work spiritual good things*—through whose default, I pray you? through God's default or man's default? If it were man's default, for what cause then is God accused, as either unjust for not giving assistance, or cruel for punishing the sin, which every of us do commit of no coaction, but of our own voluntary will?

But besides this, he chargeth God to be the original cause of all mischief. If that be true, then must this needs follow, which were execrable to be spoken, that wicked men are unrighteously damned, as whom himself had created, to the end they should be damned, and so doth punish them for the offences whereof himself was author and procurer at the first. For this is Osorius' objection; for remedy whereof, I perceive that I had need to go circumspectly to work, lest God be disabled in any thing that is due to his omnipotency, or that more be ascribed to his power than is agreeable with his justice. Moreover, as there want not testimonies in the Scriptures, which in utter appearance may seem very well inclinable to either part, so I think it not amiss to use herein some aid for the better discovery thereof. Besides this, must be had no small consideration of the simple and unlettered multitude, who once hearing God to be named the author of wickedness, and not understanding the matter aright, will forthwith interpret thereof as though it might be lawful for them forthwith to rush into all disorder whatsoever, and that they are unjustly punished if they do the evil which God doth both will and cause to be done.

Which kind of people I wish to be advertised, when

ıear the direction and ordering of all things
or evil to be ascribed unto God, that they
ne not these words to be so spoken, as though
were willing to have iniquity committed, that
say, as though God were either delighted with
dness, or as though wicked men, when they
ckedly, did therein accomplish God's will simply
bsolutely. And yet neither may this be denied
y wise, that of the general mass of all the crea-
any one thing can be without the compass of
s divine foreknowledge, or done without his will;
: we must needs confess with Augustine that
r things are done against his will; now therefore
mbered, as it were, betwixt these two whirl-
ı, how shall we say that he doth either will sin,
h he doth forbid and punish, or that he doth
will sin, whenas nothing can be done, God not
ş witting and willing thereunto? Surely as
hing sin, God ought not to be named the author
in properly. "Neither (as Ambrose truly
:th) can iniquity issue from thence whence flow-
all righteousness." And yet cannot God be ex-
ed from the direction and rule of sin altogether,
ss we may think that some thing may chance in
's life, which the almighty eye of God either
h not, or that his will willeth not.
: he do not see it, where is then his eternal
knowledge? if the things which he seeth be done
ıout his knowledge and will, where is his everlast-
omnipotency, which worketh all in all? and
:rewith is he said "to do all things that he will
ıeaven and earth?" What shall we say then? If
l will not have sin, why is sin committed, and so
ıderfully overflowing? If he will have sin, how
r it be defended that he is righteous? for after
ı sort reasoneth Osorius, as though the righteous-
s of God could not be excusable, if God may be

cometh partly by the procurement of Satan, partly by the frailty of nature which man did defile by his own voluntary fall; whereupon (he saith) when the cause of evil is sought for, we ought not to seek it elsewhere than in ourselves: but the whole blame thereof we must lay upon ourselves." *(Calvin against Pighius, Book* 5.)

You will say then, And how then will these words of Calvin agree with Luther's doctrine? seeing Luther maketh God the author both of good and evil, and Calvin maketh man the cause of evil? Nay rather by what means can you forge unto us such a crafty device of jarring, in so uniform an agreement of judgment betwixt Luther and Calvin? Calvin supposeth that the cause of evil ought not to be sought for elsewhere than in man. Luther teacheth that no righteousness ought to be sought for elsewhere than in God only. And where be these fellows now, which either go about to make man excusable or God culpable of unrighteousness by any means? for to this effect tendeth the whole force of Osorius' brabbling against Luther, as though God could not will sin by any means, but that the glory of his justice should by and by be blemished. And because man's will imagining or doing wickedly at any time, cannot imagine or do evil without sin, therefore Osorius dreameth forthwith that it fareth in like manner in God's will, which is most untrue. For nothing withstandeth at all, but that many causes of semblable affections may concur oftentimes, all which, notwithstanding, may not altogether pour out semblable force of operation, after one and semblable sort. And therefore this is no good argument.

God, according to his secret unsearchable will, doth sometimes incline the wills of men to commit horrible mischiefs, and after a certain manner willeth sin; ergo, God may be justly accused of unrighteousness and iniquity.

Which argument, applied in the behalf of man's nature, might seem to be of some validity perhaps, in the opinion of men. But to transpose the same from men to God, it cannot hold, and why so? because there is great difference betwixt things whereof God is the author, and things whereof man is the doer. For even sins themselves and wickedness, as they come from God, are scourges, yea, and that most righteous; and whatsoever is decreed either by his covered or discovered will, it is in this respect both holy and righteous, because the will of God ought always to be accounted for the very foundation of all righteousness. Upon which matter let us hear what Augustine speaketh in his third book *De Trinitate* even his own words.

"The will of God is the chief and principal cause of all kinds of actions and motions; for there is nothing done which proceedeth not from that unsearchable and intelligible wisdom of the most mighty Emperor, according to his justice unspeakable; for where doth not the almighty wisdom of the Highest work as it willeth? which reacheth from one end of the world to another mightily, and ordereth all things sweetly, and doth not those things only, which being in daily practice, and by reason of common use are not much marked or marvelled at; but things also passing all understanding and capacity, and which for the rareness of use and strangeness of success seem marvellous, as are eclipses of the sun and moon, earthquakes, monsters, and ugly deformed unnatural shapes of creatures, and such like. Of the which no one thing cometh to pass without the will of God, though it seem to be otherwise in the judgment of many persons."

"And therefore it seemed good to the fantastical philosophers to ascribe such unkindly operations to other causes, being not able to discern the true

cause thereof, which in power surmounteth all other causes, to wit, the will of God; wherefore besides the will of God there is none other principal cause of health, sickness, reward, punishment, of blessings and recompenses. This is therefore the only chief and principal cause from out the which do flow all things whatsoever, and is itself without beginning, but endureth without ending."

Let us now gather the arguments of Augustine into a short abridgment. If the will of God be the sovereign and principal cause of all motions, what remaineth, but that Osorius must either deny that sins are motions, or yield unto this of *necessity*, that the same motions are not done without the will of God; which will nevertheless must be adjudged clear from all reproach. Moreover, if the same motions, which are on our behalf sinful, be punishments for sin; what should let, why that even the self-same sins should not seem to proceed after a certain manner from God, without any prejudice of his justice at all? none otherwise truly than whenas God is accounted the creator of monsters, eclipses of the sun and moon, unpassable darkness, untimely births, and yet, notwithstanding, no jot of his majesty and integrity impaired.

But we are urged here with an objection out of the Scriptures; where it is said that "God is not a God that willeth iniquity." Answer, as though Luther did not perceive this saying of the Prophet well enough; or that he were so impudent at any time, as that he would, contrary to the Prophet, deny that sins range immoderately against God's will. We rehearsed a little erst out of Augustine, that somewhat may be done against the will of God, which nevertheless cannot happen without his will. In the one part whereof, the unsearchable wisdom of his divine counsel is plainly discernible; in the other the

hing that is naturally wicked, and displeasant in God's yes. So that the thing which is of itself, and in espect of itself, naturally evil, may become good in espect of God's ordinance, and in respect of the nd whereunto it is directed by God.

The work of our redemption from sin and death is good work of God's mercy; but man should never ave stood in need of this redemption, unless death nd sin had happened. Therefore death and sin could ot execute their malice, without the foreknowledge nd ordinance of God. So also no less notable is he work of God's justice in executing his just wrath gainst sinners, which severity of justice had nevertheless never expressed his wonderful brightness if in had never been committed.

But here I suppose Osorius will not deny that men ush headlong into wickedness and sin, if not by Iod's providence, yet by his sufferance at the least. 'or it may be that many things may happen by a ian's permission, in the which he that did permit hem may be blameless notwithstanding.

I hear you well, and answer to the same, that it is ot altogether nothing that Osorius doth allege inleed, and yet this allegation of his comprehendeth ot all. For first I demand, what if Osorius, being bishop, do suffer God's flock committed to his harge to starve by defrauding them of the necessary ood of the word, whom of duty he ought to cherish ith all diligence and care? what if the shepherd do illingly suffer the maggot to pester the sheep? or hat if the master should suffer the servant to perish, hose perplexity he might have relieved by putting is hand to in time? May not we justly accuse Osoius of fraud for not feeding? or can Osorius acquit imself by any slippery device of negligence in this ehalf?

If, in common conversation of life, the man that will not repel injury when he may, be adjudged in every respect as blameworthy as if he offered the injury himself; by what means can God (who you say doth permit sins to be done), either be deemed excusable in respect of this sufferance only? or how can you charge us as accusing him of injustice, because we say, that he doth not only permit, but also will sin after a certain manner? Which thing Augustine doth very well declare. "If we suffer (saith Augustine) such as are under our correction to do wickedly in our sight, we must needs be adjudged accessaries to their wickedness. But God doth permit sin to range without measure even before his eyes, wherein if he were not willing, surely he would not suffer it in any wise, and yet is he righteous notwithstanding, &c." Wherefore your allegation of bare sufferance doth neither help your cause, nor disadvantageth ours any thing at all.

But go to; let us somewhat yield to this word of yours, *sufferance*, whereupon ye stand so stoutly, yet will ye not deny, but that this sufferance of God is either coupled together with his will, or altogether sundered from it. If ye confess that will and sufferance be joined together, how can God be said then either to suffer the thing which he willeth not, or to will the thing whereof himself is not after a certain manner the cause? But if you sunder will from sufferance, so that God's sufferance be made opposite to his will, that is to say, contrary to the determinate counsel of God, in bringing any thing to pass; surely this way your bare sufferance will not be sufferable, but foolish, false, and ridiculous.

For neither can any thing be done without God's sufferance, but must be done by his will; and again, nothing soundeth more against the convenience of reason, that any thing may be done with his will,

otherwise than as himself hath decreed it to be done. But if so be that ye set God's sufferance opposite to his will, namely to that will wherewith he vouchsafeth and accepteth any thing, verily it may so be, that some one thing may be executed by God's sufferance, yet altogether against his will; so that we forget not in the mean space, that this sufferance is not idle and fruitless, but altogether effectual, not much unlike the orderly proceedings in judgments; whenas the judge delivereth over the trespasser to be executed, it is commonly seen that the sufferance of the judge doth work more in the execution of the offender, than the act of the executioner; and yet the judge is not altogether exempt from being the cause of his death, though he be clear of all blame in that respect.

And therefore, to make you conceive our meaning more effectually, Osorius, you may understand by the premises, that the will of God is to be taken two manner of ways, either for that unsearchable will, not manifested unto us, wherewith things may happen according to the determined decree of his purposed counsel, whereunto all things are directed. And in this sense or signification we do affirm, that God doth will all things that are done, and that nothing at all is done in heaven or in earth, that he would not have to be done. Or else, how should he be called *omnipotent*, if the successes of things be other than as he hath decreed them?

Secondly, the will of God may be taken for that, which, by express word and commandment, he hath revealed unto us, and which being done he accounteth acceptable in his sight. And in this sense the faithful and godly only do execute the will of God, even that will wherewith he cannot will nor allow any thing but pure and good. After this manner is that will fully disclosed, and ensealed unto us in his Scrip-

tures, wherewith God is said "to be a God that doth not will sin."

According to that former will which is hidden from us, and is nevertheless always just, and discovered unto us but in part by his word, as there is nothing done without his providence and foreknowledge; so in this sense we do affirm, that he willeth nothing at all, but that which is of all parts most pure and most righteous, be it never so secret. For even as it is hidden from the knowledge of all men what shall come to pass, by the purposed appointment of God, so shall nothing come to pass, but that which he hath decreed upon before; neither should any thing at all be done, if he were altogether unwilling thereunto.

Finally, to conclude in few words all whatsoever concerneth this present discourse, God cannot be said to be properly and truly the very cause of sin, according to that will which he would have to be revealed unto us in his Scriptures. And yet, if the concurrence of causes must be derived from the first original, surely God ought not to be excluded altogether from the ordering and appointment of sin; from whence, if we respect the mean and second causes, it is undoubtedly true, that mankind doth perish through his own default. For no man living sinneth unwillingly.

But if we turn our eyes to the first agent and principal cause, by the which all inferior causes have their moving, then is this also true, that all second and subordinate causes are subject to the eternal providence and will of God; and therefore both these may be true, that man's destruction cometh through his own default; and yet that therein the providence of God beareth the sway, without any prejudice at all to his justice.

But this providence, notwithstanding, is altogether

unstained; for albeit God's everlasting purpose be said to be the cause of our sinful actions, yet are those sins in respect of God's acceptance mere righteousness. For God in most upright disposed order doth by sin punish sin; and therefore with those sins (in that they are scourges of God's justice) God doth worthily execute his just judgment against men, which although his pleasure be to use otherwise according to his unsearchable counsel, either to execute his judgment upon the reprobate, or to manifest his mercy towards his elect, neither is he injurious to the one in exacting that which is due, neither culpable in the other sort in forgiving that which he might have exacted. These two things therefore especially are to be believed to be inseparable in God, though man's capacity can scarcely attain hereunto: the first, "That there is no wickedness with God:" secondly, "That God hath mercy of whom it pleaseth him to have mercy, and doth harden their hearts whom he willeth to be hardened."

Now that we have spoken sufficiently in the defence of God's justice, and acquitted it clear from all quarrelsome accusation, to return again to our former question. If Osorius do demand now if God be the cause of sin? because I will protract no time, I answer in two words; that in several and sundry respects it is both the cause and not the cause. Now let us see how this will hang together.

First, I call him the cause, not because he distilleth new poison into man, as water or other liquor is poured into empty casks from somewhere else; for that needeth not, for every man overfloweth more than enough already with faultiness naturally, though no new flames of corruption be kindled afresh, but because he forsaketh our old nature, or because he withholdeth himself from renewing us

with grace; because nature, being not holpen, waxeth daily worse and worse of itself, without measure and without end.

Whereupon Augustine, debating of man's induration, speaketh not unfitly on this wise: "But as touching that which followeth, *He doth harden whom he will.* Here the force of man's capacity is overwhelmed with the strangeness of the word. But it must not be so taken as though God did begin to harden man's heart, which was not infected before; for what is hardness else than resistance of God's commandments? which whoso thinketh to be the work of God because of this saying, *He doth harden whom he will*, let him behold the first beginning of man's corruption, and mark well the commandments of God, the disobedience whereof made the heart to offend; and let him truly confess, that whatsoever punishment befalleth him since that first corruption, he suffereth it righteously and deservedly. For God is said to harden his heart whom he will not mollify; so is he said also to reject him whom he will not call, and to blind them whom he will not enlighten. For whom he hath predestinated, them hath he called, &c."

2. Moreover, after this withdrawing of grace, this also followeth thereupon: that God doth righteously minister occasion of sinning in the wicked and reprobate, and marvellously inclineth the hearts of men, not only to good, but also to evil, if we may believe the testimony of Augustine, who in his book *De Libero Arbit. & Grat.* alleging certain testimonies out of the Apostle, where it is said, "that God gave them up to vile affections" (Rom. i.); and again, "He delivered them up unto a reprobate mind;" and in another place, "Therefore God doth send them strong delusions, that they should believe lies," (2 Thess. ii.) "By these and such-like

testimonies of sacred Scriptures, appeareth sufficiently, that God doth work in the hearts of men to bend, incline, and bow their wills whereunto him listeth, either to good according to the riches of his mercy, or to wickedness according to their own deserts; to wit, by his judgment sometimes revealed indeed, and sometimes secret, but the same always most righteous. For this must be holden for certain and unshaken in our minds, that there is no iniquity with God."

"And for this cause, when ye read in Holy Writ that men are deceived or amazed, or hardened in heart, doubt hereof nothing at all, but that their sinful deservings were such before, as that they did well deserve the punishment that followeth, &c."

The premises considered, and forasmuch as God doth use the perverseness of men (will they nill they) to these purposes and ends whereunto he hath decreed them, may any man be doubtful hereof, but that God ought not by any means be excluded from the disposing of sins.

3. Besides this also, whereas the Holy Ghost misdoubteth not to speak in the Scriptures, after this usual phrase of speech, to wit, "That God doth harden men's hearts, doth deliver up into reprobate minds, doth dazzle with blindness, doth make ears deaf, doth lead into error," and such-like; how shall we say, that sins do happen now without God? Albeit neither do we say that God is therefore properly and simply the cause of wickedness, whereas we are of ourselves more than enough the true and natural cause of wickedness, be it therefore that the will of man is the cause of sin; but seeing that this will must of necessity be subject to the will of God, and be directed by the same, surely it may not be lawful to exclude God from the direction and disposition of sins.

If Osorius shall think himself not yet fully satisfied with this answer, he may be resolved again if he will with this; that the whole cause of sin is resident in man himself, and in his corrupt will; but the cause wherefore sin doth become sin, must be ascribed to God's good ordinance, in the one whereof is sin, and the punishment for sin, as Augustine maketh mention; out of the other affections be ordained, that such affections as be, may be wicked; which affections notwithstanding are not in the guiding cause itself, but are by him guided to some good purpose and end; of which doctrine let us hear what Augustine doth himself testify and profess.

"It is out of all controversy (saith he), that God doth well even in suffering all things whatsoever, yea, even in the things that be wickedly done; for even those he suffereth to be done not without his most just judgment. Now whatsoever is just, the same is good surely; therefore albeit the things that are wicked, in this respect that they are wicked, be not good, yet that not only good be, but evil also is nevertheless good. For if it were not good that wickedness should be, surely the Almighty Goodness itself would by no means permit it to be done, who without doubt can as easily not permit the things that he will not, as he can easily do the things that be done."

"If we do not firmly believe this, the groundwork of our faith (wherein we do confess that we do believe in God, the Father Almighty) is in great hazard. For God is not called omnipotent for any other cause in very deed, but because he is able to do what he will, the operation of whose divine will the will of no creature can hinder or prejudice by any means at all, &c." Thus much Augustine. And because I will not be tedious, I argue upon Augustine's words in this wise:

Every good thing doth proceed from God, as from the author and guider thereof. But it is good that wickedness be: *ergo*, God is the author and director that wickedness cometh to pass.

But here some Julian of Pelagius' sect, and with him our Portuguese prelate, Osorius, will brawl and cavil, that those deeds of wickedness are committed through the sufferance of God forsaking them, and not by his omnipotent power working in them; meaning thereby, I am sure, that God doth permit wicked things to be done indeed, but by his power forceth no man to do wickedly. Against such persons Augustine doth mightily oppose himself even to their teeth, proving those things to be done by God's power rather than by his sufferance, and for more credit voucheth a place of St. Paul, who knitting those two together, to wit, *sufferance* and *power*, writeth after this manner: "What and if God, willing to shew his wrath, and to make his power known, did suffer with long patience the vessels of his wrath prepared to destruction, &c." (Rom. ix.); afterwards produceth many examples and reasons taken out here and there of the prophetical Scriptures, to make good his assertion.

Ahab was delivered over to give credit to the lying mouths of the false prophets. (1 Kings, xxii.) First, in that he believed a lie, you perceive he sinned. Moreover, in that he was given over not without cause, you conceive the punishment of sin: I demand of you now, by whom he was given over? You will answer, of Satan; neither will I deny it, though it seem rather that he was deceived by him, than delivered over. But go to; who did send Satan? but He which said, "Go forth, and do so;" unless Osorius do suppose that to send forth and to suffer be all one, which besides him no man else will say, I suppose.

By like judgment of God, Rehoboam is said to

be "driven to hearken to sinister counsel, because he should refuse the counsel of the elders." And from whence came this, I pray you, but from Him of whom it is written in Holy Writ, "For it was the ordinance of the Lord, that he might perform his saying, which he spake by the mouth of his Prophet?" (1 Kings, xii. xv.)

The like must be judged of Amaziah, who had not fallen into that peril, if he had hearkened to Joash, the king of Israel. Now what shall we allege to be the cause why he did not hearken to the good counsel of Joash? Here will Osorius run back again, after his wonted manner, to free-will, or to Satan, the moving cause. And this is true indeed, in respect of the second and instrumental causes. But God's sacred oracles being accustomed to search out the sovereign and principal cause of things, do raise themselves higher, and do answer, that this was wrought by God himself, who did not only suffer him, but of his determinate counsel directed him also thereunto, because he would avenge himself of the king for his abominable idolatry. (2 Chron. xxv.)

When David caused the people to be numbered, I know that Satan is said to provoke him thereunto, as we read in the Chronicles. But let us mark what the Scripture speaketh elsewhere. "And the wrath of the Lord being kindled against Israel, he stirred up David to number his people." (2 Sam. xxiv.) And nothing withstandeth truly, but that both may be true. Neither is it against convenience of reason (as Augustine truly witnesseth), that one self wickedness may be a punishment and scourge of sin upon the wicked, by the malicious practice of the devil, and by God's just judgment also; seeing it skilleth not whether God bring it to pass by his own power, or by the service of Satan. Isaiah the Prophet crieth out in his prophecy (chap. lxiii.), "O Lord, why

hast thou made us to err from thy ways, and hardened our hearts from thy fear?" And in Ezekiel God speaketh by the mouth of his Prophet: "And if the Prophet be deceived, I the Lord have deceived him." (Ezek. xiv.)

Let us consider Job himself, the most singular pattern of perfect patience, who being turmoiled with infinite engines of Satan's temptations, all men will confess to be plagued by the horrible malice of Satan. True it is, will you say, and with God's sufferance withal. Be it so; but I demand further, who made the first motion of Job, when God said on this wise, "Hast thou considered my servant Job?" And wherefore did God make this motion first, but that it may appear that the enemy is not permitted only, but made a minister also to make trial of man's patience?

Furthermore, after that he was robbed and spoiled of all his goods and cattle, and thrown into extreme poverty, I would fain learn who stole those goods from him? That did the Chaldeans and Sabeans, will Osorius say, I am sure; which is true indeed. Yet Job doth not so acknowledge it; but lifting himself up higher, and entering into a more deep consideration of that sovereign providence which ordereth and disposeth the service of all the works of his creation at his own pleasure, professeth earnestly, that none else despoiled him of his goods, but He that gave them. "The Lord gave (saith he), and the Lord hath taken; blessed be the name of the Lord, &c."

But that wonderful force and unmeasurable power of God's wisdom and providence, disposing all things according to his everlasting purpose, and with outstretched compass spreading itself far and wide abroad, throughout all degrees and successes of things, is not discovered unto us by any one thing

more notably discernible, than in the death of his Son Jesus Christ; in that most innocent passion of all other, the most innocent death (I say) of our Saviour Jesus Christ. In the which, as there were many causes going before, and the same also not a little differing each from other, yet amongst them all was there none but was not only joined with God's sufferance, but was long before also foreordained by his will, decreed by his wisdom, yea, and ordered almost by his own hand.

For otherwise, in what sense is he called "the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world," whenas they were not yet created that should kill him? and whenas yet were no sins committed by mankind, which might procure God's wrath; if God from the farthest of eternity, in his everlasting fore-appointed wisdom and determination, had decreed upon nothing that should cause those things to come to pass afterwards, through unavoidable *necessity?*

Out of those matters heretofore debated and argued, two things may you note, Osorius, whereof the one concerneth Luther's doctrine, and is true; the other toucheth your suggestions, and is false. For as to the first (wherein Luther doth discourse upon *necessity*, against the maintainers of chance and fortune), can no more be denied by you, than God's providence in government of the present time, and foreknowledge of things to come can be any ways deceivable.

On the other side, whereas you do with so gorgeous colours and glorious titles blaze forth the beauty of man's free-will, joining in league herein with the old philosophers, ancient masters of ignorance, and especially Cicero, bending your whole force to overthrow the doctrine of *necessity*, what else doth your whole practice herein, than the same which Augustine did long since worthily reprehend in Cicero? to wit, "Whiles you strive so much to make us

free, you practise nothing else but to make us horrible blasphemers, and withal endeavour to undermine the impenetrable castle of God's foreknowledge. For who is able to foretell things to come which he never knew? or prevent the assured certainty of the successes of things, without the utter subversion of the infallible providence of God's foreknowledge?" Wherefore I would wish you to be well advised, Osorius, lest, whiles you think to molest Luther with your outrageous barking, for affirming an infallible necessity flowing from above, from out the fountain of divine operation in direction of things, ye fall yourself headlong at last in this cumbersome gulf, to be adjudged not λαθερομαστιχεῖν, but plainly θεομαχεῖν; and being not able to endure the doctrine of *necessity*, ye entangle yourself into such an inextricable maze of impiety, as that ye shall be thought to practise the abandoning of the undeceivable certainty of God's most sacred Scriptures out of heaven, after the example of that your fine Cicero, whiles ye affect Cicero too much in the nimbleness of your style.

For what else can be gathered out of that detestable discourse of Cicero? (as Augustine calleth it;) or out of this execrable opinion of Osorius? (if he will be the man he seems for.) How can those things be avoided, which God doth know shall come to pass most assuredly, but that *necessity* must be granted by the doctrine of providence, or *necessity* being excluded, God's providence also be rent asunder withal? For after this manner doth Cicero dispute, in his books *De Natura Deorum:* "If things to come (saith he) be foreknown, then it must needs follow that every thing must proceed in his due order; but forasmuch as nothing is done without some cause, therefore must a due order and knitting together of causes be granted of *necessity*. Whereupon must

needs ensue that all things that are done are performed by unavoidable *necessity*. If this be granted (saith he), all civil society is rooted out, laws are established in vain; correction, praising, dispraising, good counsel, are ministered in vain; neither any ordinance devised for the advancement of virtue and punishment of vice serveth to any purpose at all."

"Now because these heinous and dangerous absurdities are not tolerable in any public weal, therefore (saith Augustine) this man will not yield, that there should be any foreknowledge of things to come; so that by this means he forceth the reader into these inconveniences, to choose one of these two; either that man's will is of some force, or else that things must be determined upon before of *necessity*, being of opinion that they cannot be both at one time together, but that if the one be allowed, the other must needs be abolished. If we lean unto God's foreknowledge and providence, then must free-will have no place; on the other side, if we maintain free-will, then foreknowledge of things to come must be banished."

So that whiles Cicero, being otherwise a man of wonderful experience (as Augustine saith), endeavoureth to make us free, doth bring us within the compass of sacrilege as horrible robbers of God's foreknowledge, and being ignorant himself how to unite this freedom and foreknowledge together, rather suffereth God to be despoiled of his wisdom, than man to be left destitute of free-will, which error Augustine doth worthily reprove in him.

"For it is not therefore a good consequent, because the well ordering and disposition of all causes is in the hands of God, that man's free-will therefore is made fruitless altogether; for that our wills themselves being the very causes of human actions, are

not exempt from that well-disposed order of causes which is always unchangeable with God, and directed by his providence. And therefore he that with his wisdom doth comprehend the causes of all things, the same also in the very causes themselves could not be ignorant of our wills, which he did foreknow should be the causes of all our doings."

Go to now. Let us compare with this blind philosophy of Cicero the divinity of Osorius, in all respects as buzzard-like. For as Cicero doth uphold the freedom of man's will, by the overthrow of God's providence and predestination; and, contrariwise, by the overthrow of man's free-will doth gather and establish the certainty of God's providence, supposing that they cannot stand both together: in like manner our Osorius, imagining with himself such a perpetual and unappeasable disagreement betwixt *necessity* in ordering of causes, and man's *free-will*, that by no means they may agree together; what doth he mean else, than, pursuing the platform that Cicero before him had builded in the coupling of causes, but to come to this issue at the length, either to establish the doctrine of *necessity* with Luther, or, agreeing with Cicero, utterly to root out the foreknowledge and providence of God? For, if to choose be the property of will, then are not all things done of *necessity*, according to Osorius' opinion. Again, if not of *necessity*, then is there no perpetual ordering of causes, after Cicero's supposition.

If there be no perpetual order of causes, neither is there any perpetual order of things by the foreknowledge of God, which cannot come to pass but by the operation of causes precedent. If the perpetual ordering of things be not in the foreknowledge of God, then all things attain not the successes whereunto they were ordained. Again, if things attain not the successes whereunto they were ordained, then

is there in God no foreknowledge of things to come. Let us compare now the first of this subtile sophism with the last.

The choice of man's will is free; ergo, there is in God no foreknowledge of things to come.

Let Osorius advise himself well what answer he make to this argument. If he hold of Cicero's opinion, what remaineth but he must needs condemn us of sacrilege, as Cicero doth, whiles he endeavoureth to make us free? But I know he will not hold with this in any case; and in very deed Cicero's argument ought not to be allowed, for that he doth not descend directly in this argument from proper causes to proper effects. For whereas free-will is maintained in the one proposition, this is no cause wherefore it should be denied that things are done by *necessity*.

As also this is not a good consequent likewise, because *necessity* is taught to consist in an unchangeable ordering of causes, and in God's foreknowledge, that therefore nothing remaineth effectual in our free-will. And why so? because, agreeing herein with Augustine, we do confess both; to wit, as well that God doth know all things before they be done, and that for this cause the things foreknown are done of *necessity*; and that we also do willingly work whatsoever we know, and feel to be done by us, not without our own consent.

But you will reply, that Luther, contrary to Augustine's doctrine, doth leave man's life altogether destitute of *free-will*, tying all our actions fast bound in the chains of unavoidable *necessity*. I do answer, as Luther doth not defend every absolute and unavoidable *necessity*, but that which we spake of before of the consequence, no more doth he take away all freedom from will, neither from all men, but that freedom only which is set contrary and opposite

to spiritual bondage; no, nor yet doth he exempt all men from that freedom, but such only as are not regenerate with better grace in Christ Jesus; for whosoever will invest such persons with freedom, is an utter enemy to grace.

And no less false also is all that whatsoever this counterfeit divine doth now ground himself upon, and hath more than an hundred times urged touching this opinion of *necessity*. For in this wise he brawleth against Luther and Calvin:

If the things that we do are done of mere necessity, and decreed upon from the furthest end of eternity; surely, whatsoever wickedness we do commit, as not led by our own voluntary motion, but drawn by perpetual constraint, is not to be adjudged for sin.

Which trifling sophism we have utterly crushed in pieces before, by the authority of Augustine: neither came ever into the minds of Luther or Calvin to maintain any such *necessity*, which by any compulsory external coaction should enforce will to commit wickedness unwillingly. For no man sinneth, but he that sinneth voluntarily. Albeit none of our actions are destitute of a certain perpetual direction of the Almighty Lord and Governor, yea, though neither the sins themselves cannot altogether escape the provident will and foreknowledge of God, yet is not the perverse frowardness of the wicked any thing the less excusable, but that they ought to receive condign punishment according to their wicked deservings; for whosoever hath voluntarily offended, deserveth to be punished.

And therefore herein Osorius' frivolous divinity doth not a little bewray her nakedness, that whereas debating about the matter of sin he seemeth not to have learned this lesson yet out of Augustine, that sin and the punishment of sin is all one; and therefore maintaining one lie by another, doth conclude

as wisely, that it is not agreeable to equity (since men are instruments only, and God the worker of all things), that they should be condemned as malefactors, which are only instruments, *with as good reason as if the sword wherewith a man is slain should be adjudged faulty, and not the person that slew the man with the sword*; which I myself would not deny to be against all reason, if the matter were as Osorius would apply it. But who did ever speak or dream that men were instruments only in doing wickedness, and that God is the author and worker of all mischief? These be the words of Osorius, not of Luther nor of Calvin.

That wicked men are saws and instruments many times in the hand of God for the punishment of sin, this not Luther only, but Isaiah also, doth fully confess. Go to. And will you therefore conclude, that men are nothing else but instruments and tools only? very wisely, I warrant you, deriving your argument from the proposition exponent to the conclusive; nay, rather maliciously wresting and perverting all things from the truth to slanderous cavilling.

Augustine doth sundry times witness that men's wills are subject to God's will, and are not able to withstand it. "Forasmuch as the wills themselves (saith he), God doth fashion as him liketh, and when him listeth, and that our wills are no further available than as God hath willed, and foreseen them to be available."

Whereby you see that God's almighty power doth work in our wills, as in a workshop; and when he purposeth to do any thing, that then he doth neither transpose our wills otherwise, or to other purposes than by the service of our own wills. And yet doth it not therefore follow, that men's wills are nothing else than instruments, and tools only of God's

handy-work, as the thing that of itself doth nothing, but as it is carried and whirled about hither and thither, without any his own proper motion, through the operation of the agent cause only.

Truly Augustine saith very well. "We do not work by wishings only (saith he), lest hereupon cavillation arise, that our will is effectual to procure to live well; because God doth not work our salvation in us, as in insensible stones, or in things which by nature were created void of reason and will, &c." Indeed God doth work in the wills and hearts of men, and yet not rolling or tossing them as stones, or driving and whirling them as things without life, as though in enterprising and attempting of things the minds and wills of men were carried about by any foreign constraint and divine coaction, without any voluntary motion of the intelligible mind.

And therefore Osorius doth hereof frivolously and falsely forge his cankered cavillation, and maliciously practiseth to procure this doctrine of Luther to be maligned. *As though we did devise man to be like unto a stone, or imagined God to be the only author and worker of mischief*, because we do teach that men's wills are subject to God's will, as it were secondary causes.

Certainly, if that which Augustine writeth be granted for truth, that "God's will is the cause of things that are done," why should the same be less allowable in Luther, or not as false in each respect in Augustine? since they both speak one self sentence, and be of one judgment therein. Neither is it therefore a good consequent, that Osorius doth fancy: *The only will of God to be so the cause of sin, as though man's will did nothing reprovable for sinning, or punishable for deserving.* For to this

end tendeth the whole conclusion of all Osorius' brabblings.

But if you have no skill to know the nature of a distinction as yet, you must be taught that it is one thing to permit a sin voluntarily, another thing to commit a sin voluntarily; whereof the first is proper to God, the other is peculiar to man; the first may be done without all offence, the other can be done by no means without wickedness; whereas God is said to will sin after a certain manner, the same is said to be done according to that will (which they call God's good pleasure), neither evil, nor without the truth of the Scriptures.

And yet it followeth not hereupon necessarily that God is the only and proper cause of sin; no, for that is accounted the *only* cause which excludeth all other causes besides itself; so is that cause called the *proper* cause, which doth respect only one end, yea, and that also the last end, in respect whereof it is accounted to be the *proper* cause. Whereas therefore sin is the last end not of God's will, but of man's perverseness, we do affirm, that it is not done indeed without God's will, but that man is the proper cause thereof, and not God. For if the causes of things must be proportioned by their ends, surely sin is not the last end of God's will, in respect that it is evil, but in respect that it is the scourge and plague of sin, and to speak Paul's own words, "the shewing forth of God's righteousness, and the fear of God" (Rom. iii.), than which end nothing can be better or more holy. And where is now that iniquity and cruelty of God, Osorius, which by misconstruing Luther wickedly and maliciously, your fruitless logic taketh no fruit of, but which your devilish spirit and slanderous cursed fury doth corrupt?

But that I may not seem to stand too much upon

refuting this toy, letting slip many things here in the meanwhiles, which make nothing to the purpose, nor contain any other thing almost in them but vain haughtiness of speech, tragical exclamations, madness, fevers, frenzies, spittings, reproaches, horrible contumelies, wherewith this unmannerly divine hath most filthily defiled whole papers, I will come to those places which carry a certain show of less scolding and more Scripture. After this manner the vermin crawleth forward:

But that ye may perceive how ill-favouredly your doctors have interpreted those testimonies of Paul which you have heaped up together, I think it expedient to disclose the meaning of Paul. And that this may be done more orderly, it behoveth to note diligently to what end Paul gathered all those reasons together.

It is well truly. This cruel scourge-mutton, wearied thoroughly with whipping poor Luther miserably, and unmercifully buffeting him, doth now at the length hide his rod under his gown, and beginneth to creep to high desk, and will teach somewhat (an God will) out of the Scriptures, so that we shall need nothing now but a camel to dance, whiles this ass-head minstrel striketh up his drum.

And therefore hearken in any wise, you blind buzzardly Lutherans, you calvish Calvinists, and you foolish Bucerans, since you be so blockish by nature, that of yourselves you can conceive nothing of the Apostle's doctrine, ye may now at the last (I warrant you) learn of this Portuguese Thales the pure and sincere interpretation of Paul's discourse touching the predestination of the Gentiles, and the rejection of the Jews, whereof he debateth in all those his three chapters, ix. x. xi.

The understanding whereof, because neither Luther himself nor any of all the rest of Luther's school

were able to conceive; it is good reason that we not only attentively hearken unto, but also without controlment believe this new-picked carver, not of sentences only, but a planner of words also, whiles he do lay open before our eyes the very natural meaning of that place, to be sensibly felt, even to the uttermost tittle thereof.

And forasmuch as there be two things chiefly handled by Paul in these three chapters; first, wherein he rejoiceth with the Gentiles for that their calling and most prosperous knowledge of the Gospel; secondarily, wherein he lamenteth the lamentable fall of the Jews, and their most sorrowful blindness, and taking occasion hereupon, doth forthwith enter into a discourse of faith, and the infallible certainty of God's promises.

For whereas that blessedness was promised to the posterity of Abraham, here might some scruple have troubled his mind, as there wanted not of the Jews some that picked hereout matter to cavil upon, as though God had broken the promise that he once had made, as one that having obliged himself before with so many covenants and promises to this generation, did now, contrary to his oath, cast them off, and despise them. St. Paul, valiantly impugning the disorderous reproaches and cavillations of these with sundry forcible reasons, doth fortify this his defence with four arguments chiefly:

First, that this promise of the blessing was made indeed to Abraham and Israel, and to their posterity; but this promise, inasmuch as it is to be taken spiritually, did not so restrain itself only to that external family alone, after the kindred of the flesh, as that it noted not under the same fellowship and kindred of Israel, the Gentiles also, such especially as were endued with like sincerity of faith. (Rom. ix.)

He addeth furthermore, that albeit the same promise did concern those Gentiles chiefly, which joined

themselves to Christ, yet the same was not so wholly translated to the Gentiles (the Jews being forsaken), but that a great portion of these also (remnants, as it were, of that lamentable shipwreck) being preserved, should be partakers of the same promise and blessedness together with the Gentiles.

In the third place, that it came to pass through their own villany and unbelief, and not of any inconstancy on God's behalf, that this promise of God did so much fail them but that they did exclude themselves rather from the benefit of God's promise.

Lastly, that neither this rejection should continue so for ever, but that it should once come to pass (as the Apostle prophesieth), that the fulness of the Gentiles being accomplished, the whole nation of the Israelites, recovering at the length the former grace of their ancient promise, should be restored again to the benefit of their former blessing.

Verily, I do confess that this interpretation of Osorius is not altogether amiss, wherein I see nothing yet false, or newly devised: moreover, nothing spoken of here, that hath not long since been spoken, yea, and with a far more plain lightsomeness, by our expositors; for we being long ago sufficiently instructed in Paul's school, have understood well enough without Osorius' schooling, that that promise was peculiar to the seed to Israel, being the children of promise, and not to the children after the flesh.

Moreover, neither are we ignorant hereof, that that blindness happened not to all Israel, but in part only, not of any inconstancy in God's behalf, but that they fell themselves from true righteousness by their own default, as people following the righteousness which came not by faith, but flattering themselves in observing the works of the law. Furthermore, that which the Apostle doth prophesy shall come to

pass, concerning the restoring again of that whole nation at the length, as we all heartily wish for; so no man (I suppose) is so blockish, but doth understand sufficiently all whatsoever Paul hath spoken of this matter by his own writing, though Osorius did never interpret it.

And again touching the examples of Isaac and Jacob set down by Paul, whom God's election would should be preferred before their brethren, though elder in birth in the division of their father's patrimony. We are neither ignorant nor forgetful thereof, whereupon we do nothing disagree from Osorius in conceiving the same thing under the types and figures of those persons; and do profess in as many words, that neither the prerogative of kindred, nor works, nor yet the law, but that God's election, calling, and grace, doth make the true Israelites. Forasmuch therefore as our expositors in all these points of doctrine have nothing at all hitherto swerved from the truth of Paul's doctrine, or your interpretation, what corrupt exposition is that at the length of these our interpreters wherewith you are so much offended? *Forsooth* (say you), *because they do not sufficiently enough conceive the very end whereunto Paul did refer those arguments.*

Go to then. Since you provoke us hereunto, let us first see what arguments those be of Paul; then to what end they be applied; because the Jews did challenge to themselves a title of righteousness, through the observance of the law, which nevertheless they did not observe in very deed, partly because swelling with pride for the nobility of their race, they did promise unto themselves a certain peculiar election with God before all other nations, Paul intending to treat very sharply against the insolent arrogancy of them, doth argue against them with most forcible arguments, taken out of holy Scriptures, namely, that

the substance of God's election neither did hang upon the works of the law, neither upon the royalty of race, nor yet upon ancientry of parentage, but did depend upon the only free mercy of God's compassion and faith of the Gospel.

And to make the same appear more evidently, he putteth forth unto them the example of Isaac and Ishmael, whereof the one, though by birth were younger, yet obtained through grace to be the first, and was thereby advanced to the dignity of inheritance; whereas they were both general issues of one and the same father Abraham, though they had not both one mother. And to avoid the danger of scruple that might ensue by reason of the two mothers, he doth yet confirm the same with a more notable example, namely, the example of the two brothers that were twins, Jacob and Esau, who issuing of one father, of one mother, and one birth, and before they had done any thing good or evil, God did translate the honour of birthright and blessing to the younger, to bear rule over the elder.

And whereof came this, but from the free gift of election; whereas before there was nothing in the infants (being not yet born) that might either deserve to be advanced or to be rejected? If you respect the worthiness of their works, what had the silly infants done before they were born? But if this whole matter did depend upon the determination of God's unsearchable counsel, what reward here do men's works deserve? namely, whereas God spake to Moses in plainest manner of speech, "*I will have mercy on him on whom I will shew mercy, and will have compassion on him on whom I will have compassion.*" (Rom. ix.)

Whereunto agreeth the testimony of Paul immediately uttered by the same Spirit: *It is not of him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that*

sheweth mercy. (Rom. ix.) Again, alleging the example of Pharaoh, with semblable reason confirmeth the same by the example of God's severity, that he debated before of his free mercy.

And this is the very order of the argument in Paul's discourse, which neither Osorius himself will deny. But it must be diligently considered, to what end Paul applied those reasons; for herein consisteth the whole pith of our controversy. And whereas Luther, Calvin, Martyr, and their companions, be of opinion, that Paul undertook this disputation for this end, that by setting down examples of God's liberality and severity, he might make manifest that the only free mercy and eternal election of God, according to the purpose of his good pleasure, did make the true Israelites, without any help or respect of works or endeavours; Osorius doth very stoutly withstand these fellows, not denying meanwhiles God's election, nor God's calling, nor yet his grace, as he saith; but will not grant this notwithstanding, that the election of the faithful consisteth in the free mercy of God, without special respect of works. For this is the whole force of this prelate's divinity. Let us hear his own words as they be.

This therefore (saith he) *do we gather out of this place of Paul, that neither dignity of parentage, nor work, nor yet the law, doth make true Israelites, but God's election, his calling, and his grace. But let us see whether this so notable mercy of God, poured upon us without all our deservings, is given us without any respect of works? No, it is not, &c.*

First, because I do not sufficiently conceive, Osorius, what you mean by this that you say, *Mercy is poured upon us without deserts, and yet not given without respect of works*; I would have you open your meaning more distinctly. If God do pour out

upon his faithful, mercy without merits, as you say, what other choice then do ye want in those that are elect, than the very same which consisteth of God's mere mercy and good will only without merits? But this you think not in any wise sufferable, nor to be uttered, for this reason, as I suppose:

If God's election should consist of mercy only, without any choice of such as are chosen, God's judgment might be adjudged to be chanceable and unadvised.

Let us join hereunto the minor:

But fortune and unadvisedness are not to be imputed to God's judgment.

For we hear out of Paul, "Not by works, but of Him that calleth, who saith, that the elder shall serve the younger." Let us now conclude, a' God's name,

Ergo, God's election standeth not by his mercy only without some choice, that is to say, without some especial and discreet regard of some one thing in the person that is elected, which was not to be found in the person that was rejected.

For in this manner doth Osorius both define and conclude. After sundry ridiculous vain-glorious speeches of his rhetorical bravery and unprofitable scolding, lest he might not seem to be a rhetorician only, or a lean logician, he hath now picked somewhat out of the rules of sophistry, wherein he behaveth himself nevertheless none otherwise than an owl amongst nightingales. For the very principal and special point of that art he either attaineth not aright, or toucheth surely very coldly.

Which may be easily and plainly perceived, Osorius, by this your own form of arguing; and I call it plainly your own, because no creature can more nearly resemble his sire; wherein you do neither define rightly, nor divide orderly, no less foolishly heaping together false things instead of true things in your manner of arguing, proceeding from the

effects to causes; and as crabs crawl backward, so do you, for the more part, set the cart before the horse. First, *whereas you say that this word, election, doth signify some special regard, whereby some thing may be judged to be in the persons that are elect, that are wanted in the reprobate.* If you define election in this wise, surely we cannot allow of it; for although no man ought to doubt, but that God, according to his incomprehensible wisdom, even from the beginning, was not ignorant of the contrary dispositions of all and every thing, and the differences betwixt the faithful and the reprobate, yet is not election opened sufficiently hitherto as yet according to the nature of the word. These be the effects of God's foreknowledge, and do follow election, but make not election. For even as fire doth not therefore warm because it should be hot, but because it is hot; and as a wheel doth not therefore run round, that it may be round, because it is round; as Augustine maketh mention; even so the faithful were not therefore chosen, because they were like to live virtuously; but they were chosen in Christ, because they should live virtuously, being thereunto predestinate by God, not for the worthiness of their works (that were foreseen should be in them before, as Osorius doth dream), but according to the good pleasure of his will. If we list to give credit more to Paul than to Osorius; "So hath he chosen us (saith Paul) in Christ before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy (not because we were holy) and unblamable, &c." What can be more plain than this? And yet doth he not stay there, nor so express the last manner of election, whereupon he addeth forthwith, "according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace." (Eph. i.)

If God's election stand according to the purpose of the free-will of God, by what means will Osorius justify, that election cometh according to his foreknow-

edge of works to come, as though God's election and foreknowledge did depend upon our actions, and not rather our actions upon his election and foreknowledge?

Therefore Osorius doth deal falsely, whereas he defineth the purpose of God to be a judgment preordinated before, whereby God doth ordain some unto glory, and other some unto destruction, according to the choice of those things, which he doth see will come to pass. First, in that he calleth it by the name of judgment, I see no reason at all why he should so do; forasmuch as *judgment* is properly executed in sins before committed, but *purpose* concerneth things to come, and preventeth them. Again, if we must speak after the proper phrase of speech, whatsoever is done by *judgment*, must needs be confessed to be righteously done, and according to desert, not according to grace.

But whereas the election and predestination of God (which I think Osorius would gladly express by this word *purpose*; for this word, *predestination*, he dare scarce meddle withal, as not worthy the finesse of a Ciceronian) proceedeth from grace, and not from works; by what means may any sentence be given upon works that were never done? or how will Osorius say, that election cometh by judgment given upon works, which Paul affirmeth to be ascribed to grace and free mercy only, all merit of works being excluded?

He saith, that in the everlasting counsel of God all things which are, which have been, and which shall be, are all as if they were presently in the sight of God; so that in executing his judgment, he needeth not to regard the things themselves. I do confess that all things whatsoever are, be open and present to the foresight of God, as if they were presently and openly done; but what will Osorius conclude

hereof unto us? Forsooth, he doth conclude hereupon that God hath already determined according to the diversity of men's actions, foreseen by him before, after this manner; to wit, *that whom God doth foresee will contemptuously despise his benefits, those he hath excluded from paradise; contrariwise, whom God doth foreknow will behave themselves in this life dutifully and virtuously, those he hath mercifully chosen to everlasting life as worthy of his mercy.*

To impugn this crafty cavillation, I perceive I shall be pestered, not with Osorius alone, but with Pelagius, and with the whole troop of the Pelagians; for this heretical school chattereth not upon any one matter more than in maintaining this one heresy. But Paul alone shall suffice at this present to refel all the rabble of them. The force of the argument tendeth to this end at the last:

The wonderful quick-sighted mind of God did thoroughly perceive, even from the beginning, what manner of life every person would lead, as well as if the view thereof had been laid presently open before him; ergo, God's purpose was applied according to the proportion of every man's works and life, foreseen of God before, to choose the good to salvation, and to judge the wicked to damnation.

This argument is altogether wicked, and tending altogether to Pelagianism, and the conclusion merely opposite to the doctrine of St. Paul: for if the difference of eternal election and rejection do depend upon works foreseen before, then doth the Apostle Paul lie, who "affirmeth that election is of grace, not of works." (Rom. xi.) And again in the ninth chapter of the same Epistle, "that the purpose of God might remain according to election, not of works, but of Him that calleth." What, and shameth not Osorius to affirm that which the Apostle doth deny?

If it were expedient for me to ruffle rhetorically again with a rhetorician, you see, Osorius, how great and how champaign a plain lieth open for me to triumph upon you, and such cravens as you are, with like force, and in far more weighty matter. What tragical exclamations could I bray out here! what quartan fevers, what outrages, frenzies, madness, drunkennsss, impieties, impudencies! yea, what whole cartloads full of railings and reproaches, frequented by you, and prettily picked out of your Cicero, could I now throw back again into your teeth, and spit even into your own face!

But away with these mad outrages of railing, and this cankered botch of cursed speaking, worthy to be rooted out, not of men's manners only, but to be razed out of the writings and books also of Christians, the contagious custom whereof being frequented by you, to the noisome example of the world, I do verily think unseemly for the dignity whereunto you are advanced; neither would I wish any man to inure himself unto the like, after your example; namely, in the debating of so sacred a cause, where the controversy tendeth not to the revengement of injury, but to the discovery of the truth, where skirmish must be maintained, and conquest purchased, by prowess of knowledge, and God's sacred Scriptures, and not by outrage of railing.

And therefore to return our treatise to the right track of the Scriptures, leaving all by-paths aside, the Apostle doth deny that *election springeth out of works.* What answer you to the Apostle, Osorius? You will vouch that old rotten rag, worn out to the hard stumps by your schoolmen, to wit, *that the works that were foreseen are the cause of predestination, not those which are done, but which are to be done*; for so do the schoolmen expound and distinguish it; but

this will be proved many ways both frivolous and false by sundry reasons.

First, If this be true, which you did erst confess, and which Pighius doth every where inculcate, that of all things whatsoever, nothing is to come, or past, but is, as it were, present in the sight of God. Again, if there be no diversity of knowledge with God, because his knowledge comprehendeth (as you say) all things past, present, and to come, as though they were present in view; how can his election or rejection spring out of works then, that are yet to be done? If they be present, in what sense call you them to be done in after-time? but if they be come, and to be done in after-time, how call you them present? or how do these things agree together, that there is nothing to come in respect of the foreknowledge of God, and yet that election must be believed to issue from out the foreknowledge of works to come?

2. Again, in what respect soever these works are taken, whether in respect of God or of men (which your schoolmen do distinguish into works done, and works to be done), they vantage themselves nothing by this distinction, but that the question will continue as intricate as at the first. For whereas all good works which either men work, or shall work, do proceed from God, the question reboundeth back again from whence it came first; to wit, why God, according to the same purpose, should give good works more to one than to another? if the performance hereof did arise of foreseen works, and not rather of the determined will of Him that calleth, which is not limited by any conditions of working.

3. Whereas the Scripture doth manifestly declare, that we are created and elected to good works, it appeareth therefore that good works are the effects of predestination.

But the effects cannot be the cause of that, whereof they are the effects; *ergo*, works cannot be the cause of predestination.

But if they allege that not works, but the foreknowledge of works, in the purpose of God, be the cause, out of the which the grace of election ensueth, and is governed, surely neither can this be agreeable to reason. For God did also foreknow the evil will of the reprobate (as there is nothing in the world that his unsearchable purpose did not foreknow), even as well as he foreknew before the glory of the elect that should come; yet did he not therefore choose unto glory some, because he foreknew them; nor did he choose all things which he did foreknow; but whatsoever his election had predestinated, it is out of all doubt, that the same were all foreknown.

4. Again, the foreseen petty works (which they make to be the cause of election) are either our own, or properly appertaining to God. If they be God's, and not ours, where then is the freedom of our choice, or any merits of works? But if they be ours, that is to say, in the direction of our own wills, then is that false that Paul teacheth, "God it is that worketh in us both to will and to work," declaring hereby that we are unable to will, or to attempt any thing that good is, without God's assistance.

5. The fifth reason is this: whatsoever is the cause of the cause, is worthily adjudged the cause of the effect. If the foreseen works of the faithful be the cause of predestination, certainly they must needs be the cause of justification also; which is directly opposite and adversary to the doctrine of Paul, and the grace of Christ.

6. Works, as they issue from us, are things uncertain; but God's election is a thing always certain and permanent. Now by what reason will Osorius

prove then that things being of their own nature certain and unchangeable, shall depend upon things transitory and variable? *No*; *but foreknowledge* (saith he) *of things that are foreseen, doth stand in a certain permanent and unremovable assurance.* Neither do I deny this; and therefore when the foreknowledge of God hath established things in such a necessary and unavoidable assurance, which will be changed by no alteration, what should move him to gnaw so greedily upon Luther for teaching such a necessity of our works?

7. Whenas God "did regard the people of the Old Testament as a damsel naked, polluted, and adulterous, &c." (Ezek. i. xvi.); again in the New Testament, where we hear "the vile things and things despised in this world, and things which are not, to be had in estimation with God" (1 Cor. i.); moreover, whereas according to the testimony of Augustine, "God's election is said to have overpassed many philosophers notable for their virtue, and famous for the commendable conversation of life"—doth not the thing itself declare sufficiently, that the whole exploit of our salvation is accomplished, not of any desert of our works that were foreseen, but of his only bountiful benignity and most acceptable free mercy?

8. Moreover, what shall be said of infants, who are taken out of this world as soon as they are baptized? what shall we think of the thief hanging on the cross, and others the like, who having lived most abominably, were yet received into the kingdom of Christ by holy repentance only through faith, whenas they had done no good work at all? Were either any works to come foreseen in these persons, which were none at all, or shall we judge that they wanted election, because they wanted works foreseen before?

9. Furthermore, whereas this seemeth to be the

only scope of Paul's Epistle, to extol and advance the free mercy of God, by all means possible, surely this scope is utterly overthrown and rooted out, if the whole action of free election must be decided by merits of works foreseen before; which matter moved Augustine so much, that to prefer knowledge of works, yea, or knowledge of faith either, before the grace of election, he adjudged matter of all other most intolerable.

10. Lastly, because Osorius doth so scornfully loath our τας καινοτομίας, innovations (as he termeth them), as new-fangled devices of rascal-like abjects, to make it evident that we are not altogether destitute of antiquity, to justify our assertions to be true, we will join with us herein the judgment of Augustine, who excludeth foreseen works altogether from the work of God's election. For these are his words most expressly set down: "And lest, peradventure, the faithful should be thought to be elect (saith he) before the foundation of the world for their works that were foreseen, he proceedeth and addeth thereto: But if election come by grace, then cometh it not now of works, or else grace now is not grace at all, &c." What say you moreover to this, that in another place he doth utterly deny "that choice was made of the younger to bear rule over the elder, through the very foreknowledge of any works at all, &c.?

Which mercy being thus set in order, what remaineth but that we encounter with our adversaries' arguments, wherewith they endeavour to revive the ancient heresy of Pelagius, and hale it out of hell again? For as those old heretics did teach that man's will was so far forth free, as that every man was elected for the merit of their works foreseen before by God; none otherwise do these our new Pelagians jar upon the same string, or not very much unlike, treading the track of their forerunners, the arch-

heretics, referring all things in like sort to works foreseen before, lest something may seem to be found altogether without recompense in the behalf of our most bountiful and sovereign God.

And amongst these notable champions rusheth out this courageous ringleader, Osorius, and giveth a proud onset against the kingdom of grace, and hath so disposed the whole force of his battery, that the majesty of free-will may not by any means be endamaged, trusting chiefly to this target of proof before mentioned, arguing in this wise:

If election did consist of free mercy only (saith he) *without respect or choice of any the things that God did foresee, he might be worthily accused of unadvised and rash dealing.*

But now whereas God, according to his impenetrable counsel, doth determine all things advisedly in a certain well-disposed order; ergo, God's election doth not consist of his mercy only, without respect or choice of works which he foresaw would be done by the faithful.

To answer these things briefly. If Osorius' senseless judgment were not thoroughly overwhelmed with headiness and rashness, he would not scatter abroad such black and thick clouds (to use Augustine's words), and such crafty cautels of confused disputations. We do know and confess, Osorius, that God doth never any thing at all adventures nor unadvisedly; yet doth not that rash imagination therefore follow, which you have as rashly conceived in that blind den of your intoxicated brains, to wit, that works foreseen before are the cause of election. Moreover, God's election is neither therefore decreed upon without cause, nor yet therefore guided by blind chance, though it hang not upon the choice of works afterwards to be done.

But Osorius being a very natural philosopher, and

very ethical, seemeth to have sucked this gear rather from Aristotle, than out of Christ's Testament, who teacheth in his third book of Ethics, that election (which he calleth understanding appetite) is ever occupied about good or evil. And because in human actions, where choice is made betwixt two or more things, pre-eminence is granted to one of them, according to the difference of good or evil; like as in common musters, the soldier that is most valiant; in mayoralties and bailiwicks, the richest citizen; in choice of wives, the most beautiful; in schools of learning, the most expert in sciences, are usually most esteemed and preferred foremost; the same surmiseth our Osorius to betide with the election of God and his sacred decrees.

But here a distinction ought to have been made betwixt God's choice and man's choice; and the causes thereof likewise ought to be distinguished. And therefore in this place especially Osorius doth notably bewray his singular ignorance, disputing of those things, which like an unskilful sophister he can neither rightly divide nor duly define.

But here perhaps some question will be moved, whereas God and nature do nothing without cause, what other cause else could there be here, if God did not make choice of the faithful, and of the reprobates according to the proportion of their works foreseen before? But this reason can no man discuss better than Paul himself, who after many his blasphemous persecutions of Christ, obtaining mercy at the length, and yielding the reason of this great mercy, doth frankly confess that it was the only clemency of God, and not any works foreseen in him before; to the end that he might be a precedent to others of God's mercy stretched out towards them which would believe.

To be short: if the natural causes must be tho-

roughly searched out, which are the very foundation of God's predestination, the Apostle Paul doth knit them up all together into four chief places:

1. God's power. Hath not the potter power of the clay?

2. God's purpose, or God's good pleasure; for he doth use both these speeches.

3. God's will. He will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and will harden whom he listeth.

4. God's mercy or love. It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy. (Rom. ix.) So that you see plainly that here is no mention made of works at all, but that there be other much more weighty causes which will deliver God clear of all rashness and unadvisedness, though foreseen works have never any place in the counsel of God.

I come now to the other arguments of Osorius. For after this sort doth this lumpish logician cavil against Haddon, that beautiful blossom of Bucer, out of 2 Tim. ii.

If a man purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel of honour unto the Lord, that is to say, predestinated unto honour, and sanctified.

Every man is of power of his own free-will to purge himself; ergo, every man is of power of his own free-will to be predestinate, and made a vessel to honour.

The major must be understood, that Paul treated not of the cause of predestination, but of the execution and effect of predestination: neither do the words of the Apostle tend to this end, to express the cause of predestination, but to admonish us by the effect of predestination, how we ought to esteem of the worthiness and unworthiness of persons in the congregation, according to the saying of Christ, *By the fruits you shall know them, &c.*

Then the minor is false; for that which they infer-

upon these words of Paul, as though it were in the power of our own will to make ourselves vessels of honour, is not well concluded; for it lieth not in the will of the doer, but of the caller; not in the clay, but in the potter, who is of power to fashion the clay whereunto him listeth, into a vessel of honour or of dishonour. Furthermore, neither is our ability to be decided by any hypothetical proposition, any more than if a man would conclude upon this hypothetical proposition:

If you do this or that, or if you believe, you shall be saved; ergo, to do this or that, or to believe, we are of ourselves sufficient enough. And why then do the Scriptures use this phrase of speech, that men purge themselvss, if we have no power of our own selves to purge ourselves? Forsooth, because God doth work in men, not as in stocks and stones, which are not moved of any their own feeling or will. When God worketh in men, he doth so temper their minds and wills whom himself doth regenerate, that they willingly undertake whatsoever they are commanded.

After this manner therefore are they said to purge themselves by this very will, not which is proper and peculiar to their own nature, but which is poured into them by grace. And by this means at the length, such as are regenerate are made afterwards God's together workmen, and of their own accord lead a virtuous and holy life.

Finally, God in his Scriptures commandeth to purge ourselves, when notwithstanding it is he alone that purgeth. So doth he command the people of Israel by the mouth of his Prophet Moses to sanctify themselves. (Levit. xx.) Whereas he witnesseth of himself in another place, "that it was he that doth sanctify the people." (Numb. xi.) So also he commandeth us to believe, whenas, notwithstanding,

"faith is the gift of God," and not our own, nor is the cause of our predestination, but the effect.

But let us proceed further to your challenge, Osorius, which challenge you have undertaken to justify out of the depth of divinity, namely, *that there is nothing in God's eternal election but is accomplished upon certain conditions of reason and judgment. And ye suppose that the reason of election is not to be sought elsewhere, but from the foreseen works of the faithful and reprobate; and that if we grant not this, that then ye think that our assertion of predestination cannot be justified, but that many things will ensue thereupon not only erroneously false, but also absurd to be spoken, and incredible to be believed; first, because God's justice cannot be acquitted of just reproach of partiality, nor his mercy (which is reached to all men indifferently) cleared of unrighteous dealing.*

You cry out afterwards, that it is both against right and reason that he should save a very few in number, and condemn an innumerable company besides to destruction. Moreover, even in this choice itself, when consideration is had, why he should choose these, and why he should reject the others, the thing itself doth seem not to be clear of special accepting of persons, nor of a certain extreme cruelty, &c.

All which, with others the like, since they be but weak sprouts budding out of the savage woodbine of the adversary, and not issues of the true stock, will be so much the more easily cut off with the razor and axe of the truth, and utterly rooted out with the unvanquishable force of God's Scripture.

Therefore, first, let us hear what discourse he maketh of God's justice and mercy against the Lutherans. For whereas Luther and all good men of Luther's opinion do profess, that the regard of merits is directly contrary to God's liberty and power, as touching his election and predestination, Osorius, on

the contrary part, doth enforce all his might possibly to prove that it is not so, using these arguments especially:

Whereas we were all wrapped up in one brake of perdition, so that being once defiled with sin, we became all most worthy of everlasting destruction for our natural hatred against God's law, engrafted fast within the nature of our bodies, subject to the outrage of lust; God, in whom neither any rashness nor unrighteousness can fall, being a most just judge towards all men indifferently, could not of his unavoidable equity, with singular clemency, so embrace some, as he must hate others, unless there were some cause or reason to induce him to extend his mercy to some, and to execute judgment against other. But God now doth perceive the whole cause thereof to consist in the manner of living and works, not the works which were already done, but which God foresaw should be done. For what is there that the wisdom of God in his infinite knowledge doth not comprehend, even as it were present, though the same be to be done in the uttermost minute of ages?

And by this reason it may be, that God (according to the several conditions of men) did of his clemency elect them to eternal life whom he foresaw would be obedient to his commandments; and, on the other side, did exclude them from the fruition of his kingdom, which he foresaw would unthankfully despise his heavenly benefits. And by this means (saith he) God's justice may right well be defended, all the defence whereof standeth upon mercy, which otherwise cannot by any means be delivered from due reproach.

What a mockery is this! as though if God should follow his own liberty and will in the order of predestination, without all works foreseen before, his justice could not stand inviolable, nor guarded safe enough from all slander or suspicion of unrighteous-

ness. I demand then, what if God out of this huge lump had chosen no one man at all (which he might lawfully have done if him listed), what if he had duly judged to deserved damnation the whole mass of mankind, which did altogether deserve his indignation and wrath (to speak Augustine's words), could any man condemn him of injustice?

Go to. May not he that oweth nothing to any man, of his own mere liberality lawfully exempt undeserved out of this corrupted and lost mass whom him listeth? or have mercy on whom he will have mercy? or could not he indurate and reject whom he would, without respect of meritorious works following, whenas there was matter more than enough ministered by their former deserts to condemn all to destruction? As for example: admit that a man have two debtors, whereof the one is indebted unto him in an exceeding great sum of money, the other oweth not so much by a great deal, and the bountiful creditor vouchsafe to forgive the greater sum to that first; I pray you, is there any just cause here for the other to grudge against the creditor? if he do, shall not his mouth be forthwith stopped with that answer of Christ in the Gospel, "Is it not lawful for me to do as I will with mine own? is thine eye evil because I am good?" (Matt. xii.)

The very same doth that place of Paul seem in my simple capacity to imply, where treating of the election of the younger, and refusal of the elder, and of hardening Pharaoh's heart withal, he doth annex immediately unto the same, "What shall we say then, is God unrighteous?" making this objection against himself, as under the person of Osorius, after this manner:

If God did not work after the proportion of foreseen works and deservings; ergo, God may seem to be un-

righteous in his election, and should offend against justice distributive.

This argument the Apostle doth forthwith deny, saying, "God forbid;" and withal rendereth a reason of his illation negative, namely, that *both propositions* be justifiable in God; both "that God is not unrighteous," and also that God, "according to the equity of his free-will, doth take mercy on whom he will have mercy," not in respect of any man's deservings, but of his own free bountifulness, benignity, and mercy. And therefore for the better establishing of this his defence, he doth forthwith cite the same words that were spoken to Moses, "I will have compassion on whom I have compassion, and I will shew mercy to whom I do shew mercy."

So that hereby you see, good Sir, that to the work of election and predestination, the Apostle judgeth God's will only (though there were no cause else) matter sufficient to acquit his justice free from all slander and reproach; that in my judgment now the defence of God's justice, which you have placed in God's mercy, seemeth more aptly applied to his will. For as he can will nothing but that which is most righteous, so nothing is truly righteous indeed, but that which proceedeth from the will of God; so that now it shall not be needful at all to be inquisitive (according to the counsel of Augustine) after any other principal causes besides God's good will, considering that no higher cause can be found of greater importance.

But what can be so well spoken, but that some will be found somewhat scrupulous without cause, and will not in most bright sunshine see without a candle? Therefore this cavilling coleoverthwart creepeth yet forward. *If it be true* (saith he) *that God's election is directed by his will only, in allowing or making hardhearted whom he will, and that no*

man can resist his will, it seemeth then that Pharaoh and others, who of indurate contumacy of mind are wicked, whereas in that their wickedness they do execute the will of God, that they are not the cause of their own wickedness, nor that they can choose but do the wickedness whereunto they are violently thrust of necessity. If it be so, what just quarrel can God have then against those (whom himself hath made to be stiffnecked) wherefor he should condemn them? To be short, the substance of the objection is for the most part knit up in this argument:

If God do harden men's hearts, then should not Pharaoh be the cause of his own sin, considering no man can resist the will of God.

Or, to reduce this consequent into a syllogism,

No man hath just cause to blame him, whom himself enforceth to offend.

God doth justly find fault with sinners; ergo, God doth compel no man to sin, nor doth make them indurate.

I do answer, first, even by the self-same objections which the Apostle under the person of the caviller did oppose against himself, is there any unrighteousness with God? why doth he yet complain of man? who is able to resist his will? It may appear most evidently, that Paul was fully resolved there, that as well election as rejection did depend altogether upon the very will of God, without all man's deservings; for otherwise there had been no place to make this objection.

For if they only should be chosen that did deserve, and they likewise should be only cast away which did not deserve, what reasonable man might murmur at this? when God's justice rewarding every man according to his deservings, did now leave no cause to move man to be offended, nor gave any stumbling-

ck to the Apostle to enter in this kind of ection.

But let us now draw near to the answer of the ostle itself, which seemeth to me to be two man- · of ways; the one in respect of the person, ereby he stoppeth the mouth of the murmurer: O man, what art thou that pleadest against God!" ıe other in respect of the thing, whereby he doth ɔress the very cause itself, persuading it by a cer- n similitude of the potter and the clay. For as ɜ potter in making his vessels doth not regard any sert on the clay's behalf, even so God's purpose the government of his election, is at liberty, and e from all respect of works, and is directed by the ly will of the maker.

And for this cause Paul doth make this comparison twixt this election of grace and the power of the tter. "Doth the thing formed (saith Paul) say him that formed it, Why hast thou made e thus? Hath not the potter power over the ıy, to make of the same lump one vessel to honour, d another to dishonour?" And yet God hath uch more power over men than the potter over the ıy. Indeed the potter hath power to fashion his ssels as him listeth.

If God were not able to do the like with his crea- res, then were the potter of more power than God. ɔr the potter is able to fashion his vessels, yea, to eak them and fashion them anew after his own ill. And shall God then be bound to our merits, ıd regulate his election by the measure of our de- ervings? Take this argument if it may please you.

The power that the potter hath over his vessels, ıe same power hath God over men. The potter is of ɔwer to make vessels to honour or to dishonour, as im listeth, nor is bound to any worthiness of the lay; *ergo*, God is of power to dispose of his crea-

tures after the bounty of mercy, or measure of his justice, as him listeth, without all regard of desert in his creatures.

To this argument the adversaries make this answer, that they do not take away power from God, and that they are not able so to do, neither did ever mean any such thing, but that only power which he put off from himself. And albeit there is nothing that his omnipotent power cannot bring to pass, yet would he nevertheless be no more able than was beseeming to his justice. And because it is horrible to condemn any man without desert, by the same reason it standeth not with equity, to defraud good works of their due reward. And therefore it behoveth God's justice to yield this of necessity, that whom God would have to be saved, the same he should have chosen for their good works foreseen before, and the reprobates he should destroy for their wickedness; for otherwise, if he had no consideration of works, his justice could not be constant and unchangeable. And therefore this trifler doth conclude upon the premises, *that the Lutherans' assertion is false, that in the work of election and rejection, choice or respect of works is merely opposite and contrary to the liberty and power of God, &c.*

But this objection is to be encountered withal in this wise: that it is one thing to treat of election, and another thing to treat of God's judgment. As concerning God's judgment, it is true that no man is damned unless he have deserved it through wickedness of sin; and that no man is saved unless some cause be found in him, which may be imputed unto him for salvation. But it is not so in election and predestination, which is accomplished by God's free-will, without all respect either of former works, or works to come afterwards: or else what meaneth the Apostle by speaking of God's free election, when he

saith, "Not of works, but of Him that calleth?" (Rom. ix.) Whereupon let us hear what Augustine writeth: "Saying this not of works (saith he), but of Him that calleth, was spoken touching that the elder shall be in subjection to the younger. For he doth not say of works past, but when he spake generally of works, in that place, his meaning was as well of works already done, as of works that were to be done, to wit, of works past, which were none at all, and works to come, which as yet were not, &c." Works therefore have both their place and time, but in election they have neither place nor time; neither is there any thing effectual in election besides the only will of God, which neither hangeth upon faith, nor upon works, nor yet upon promises; but works, faith, promises, yea, and all other things whatsoever, do depend upon election. Neither is God's election proportioned after the quality or quantity of our works, but our works rather directed by his election, none otherwise than as the effects do depend upon the cause, and not, contrariwise, the cause upon the effects. And yet in the mean time God is not unrighteous; neither doth God therefore offend in justice distributive, "if he have mercy on whom he will have mercy, or if he do harden whom he will harden."

And why so? Because he oweth nothing to any man; for whereas all men are born by nature the children of wrath altogether, why might not God, according to the purpose of his will, have mercy on whom he will have mercy? and again, cast them away, whom him listeth, leaving them to their natural filth and corruption, to wit, not having any compassion upon them? whereby all men may thoroughly perceive, as well the reprobate, what the cause is that they are rightly condemned, as the elect also, how much they be indebted to God for this his so unmeasurable mercy.

These matters being so clear, your foolish consequent then (whereby you wrestle so much for the upholding of works against the election of grace, as though if God did not work election for the merit sake of the works foreseen, that then his justice could not possibly be acquitted, nor defended from just accusation of slander) is utterly fond, faint, and not worth a rush. For if it were true, then is not election of grace, but of works; yea, Paul spake foolishly also, saying, "that the remnant are saved according to the election of grace, and according to the purpose of the grace of God" (Rom. xi.); and so should he have spoken more aptly in this wise, that the remnant were saved according to the election of works.

And how then shall God be said to have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and to harden whom he will harden, if that he will nothing, but that which is due of very right, nor doth receive any to mercy, unless it appeareth that he rewardeth them both according to their works foreseen? But what kind of duty can that be called, which is freely given? or what kind of mercy is it, which is not poured forth upon any but such as do deserve it? "If it be of grace (saith the Apostle), now is it not then of works, or else were grace no more grace." Whereunto Augustine doth further annex: "Not of works done already (saith he); but where the Apostle useth this general phrase of speech, *not of works*, there he doth mean this to be spoken both of works past, and works to come, &c."

Whereof let Osorius be well advised, lest, whiles he imagine in his mind under the colour of purging God's justice of due reproach, to escape the jut of a molehill, he break his neck over a rock, by putting God's mercy out of doors: for what place will there be left for mercy, or what office will Osorius assign

› her, if God's justice do measure all things by
and level of his foreknowledge of things to
e? For Osorius, in this disputation of election
of the purpose of God, calling back all things
he foreknowledge of things which God doth per-
e will come to pass, Osorius doth not in words
' profess, but with the whole bent of his skill
:tise the overthrow of grace.

ło to; and what be those goodly works, good
which God doth foresee shall come? If they be
d and righteous, what is more agreeable to equity
ı that the works which be good should be wor-
y embraced and accounted praiseworthy? but if
y be evil, that then also they should even of very
ıt be forsaken? And what shall become of mercy
the mean space, but that she sit mute in a corner,
ı her hands in her bosom, and, like a dumb stock,
y mum-budget in Osorius' stage of merits?

But here forthwith will Osorius raise up his bristles;
marvel it is but that we shall hear him belching
again, in most beastly braying noise, fevers,
rtans, tertians, furies, frenzies, hell-hounds,
ches, shamelessness, and whatsoever outrages
: he hath sucked out of the old tragical devices.

What! (will he say,) *have I ever spoken or imagined
thing of God's mercy, otherwise than becometh
? what kind of foolhardiness is this! what unmea-
able and disorderous kind of living! Do I thrust
grace of God out of doors? with what face dare
avow this upon me? where, when, and in what
ce, in what phrase of words? to whom, in whose
sence, in whose hearing? in what book can ye ap-
ve that I ever uttered any such thing? who have
vays most reverently esteemed of the grace of God,
d do yield every where so much to God's mercy, that
ave affirmed that in God's mercy only the whole
tection of God's justice doth consist, which if it
re not otherwise fortified with the aid of mercy,*

would never be free from reproach? And how is it that I am so suddenly accounted a changeling fugitive, a traitor to God's grace, and a cut-throat of mercy?

I do hear you well, good Sir; surely, these be smooth words that you speak. But may I be so bold (by your leave) as to cite your own words before the Inquisition, and to rack the same after the manner of an inquisitor, to see whether ye prove the same man indeed, which you so boldly pronounce to be in words. You say that ye diminish not so much as the value of a mite of God's grace, and that you do not so exclude God's mercy out of doors; but that ye rather conclude all things under her as under the most especial and only fortress of all other. Go to then. Let us take a taste both of yourself and your doctrine.

And forasmuch as there be four things, in the which all our salvation and doctrine is chiefly contained, namely, *election, vocation, justification*, and the *glory of immortality*; forasmuch also as the whole purport of the sacred Scriptures, and the general profession of Christian doctrine, do consent in this one thing, above all others, that the whole hope and confidence of our salvation consisteth in no one thing else, but in the only mercy of God promised unto us; in all these now would I fain learn how much Osorius' wisdom doth yield unto mercy, whilst he ascribeth so much to God's justice.

First, as touching election and predestination. If works foreknown do bear the whole sway here, and that God's election falleth upon no man, but whose whole course of life being known before, hath made not unworthy of this honourable dignity of election, what place, I pray you then, is left here for mercy, seeing this whole work of election seemeth to be ascribed to justice rather? For as justice vouchsafeth none but the good, and such as deserve it, even so grace and mercy do relieve none for the more part,

it abjects, outcasts, and such as are altogether unorthy thereof.

Moreover, as concerning *vocation* and *conversion*, the ability of man's free-will be such (according this new master doctor) that it may not only ork together with God, but may also as well prevent e grace of God by some good motion as follow it; d that grace is none otherwise either offered unto , unless we put forth our wills thereunto before, or at it is not otherwise effectual in us, but whiles we ind fast to our tackling, and hold fast the help ofed unto us; yea, and increase it with our own ength; and that no man is holpen of God, but o that both willing, hoping, and praying, doth ike himself apt thereunto. Truly, whosoever ich this doctrine, let them set never so glorious face towards the blazing of mercy in words, yet very deed they be nothing else but very rebels to d's grace, or at the least manglers and spoilers of best part and power of God's grace, whiles they ribute part to grace, and part to nature.

The same is also to be adjudged of the work of tification, from the which though you seem not exclude the free mercy of God altogether, yet do geld the most forcible parts thereof surely, and them over to works flowing from out the foun- of free-will; wherein also you make such a ngle-mangle, that ye will neither grant only faith the work of justification, nor only grace in the rk of election, by any means.

Lastly, what shall we say of the reward of glory? r if our works, being weighed in the righteous ances of God's judgment, shall procure us life or th (as Osorius writeth, page 145); again, if righteousness only, which consisteth of well ing, doth purchase God's favour to mankind; what , I pray you, shall be left for mercy here to

deal withal? or what shall remain at all wherein the grace of God may be exercised?

If these be not your own words, Osorius, deny them if you dare; but if they be, with what artificial argument will you persuade us not to account you for an enemy of God's grace, whiles ye fight so much under the banner of his justice? Yet will not I be so captious a comptroller of your words, as to call you by the name of an enemy of grace, though in very deed I dare scarcely think you to be in any respect a sound friend thereunto; hitherto verily as yet have you declared yourself no better.

And the same even your own writings do more than sufficiently denounce against you; in the which it is a wonder to see how lavish and prodigal you be in the advancing of the praises of justice, for the amplifying whereof you can scarce find any end; but in the mean time towards the commendation of mercy so sparing a niggard, and hardlaced, that ye seem either not to conceive of the wonderful majesty thereof sufficiently, or else very ungratefully not to be acquainted therewith; saving that ye begin now at the length to preach somewhat of the excellency thereof also, taking occasion of these words of Paul, "What shall we say then? is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid; for he saith to Moses, I will have mercy on him to whom I do shew mercy, and I will have compassion on him on whom I have compassion." (Rom. ix.)

In the which place (say you) Paul doth render a reason, *Wherefore no man can by any means accuse God of unrighteousness*; and do annex hereunto a conclusion agreeable enough to your defence. *For the defence of justice* (say you) *consisteth wholly in mercy.* And again: *But the mercy of God doth acquit his justice free from all reproach.* Which reason of yours, Osorius, although perhaps it might be

allowed in some respect, yet doth it not exactly and substantially enough discuss the natural meaning of the Apostle, nor sufficiently answer the Apostle's question, which will evidently and plainly appear either by the Apostle himself, or by Augustine, the expositor of the Apostle, if we will first note before, the mark and state of the question diligently and truly.

The scope whereof Augustine affirmeth to be this; that the Apostle may lay open before us, that the grace of faith ought to be preferred before works, not to the end he might seem to abolish works, but to shew that works do not go before, but follow grace; and to make the same more apparent, he allegeth, amongst others, the example of Jacob and Esau, who being not as yet born into the world, having done nothing worthy either to be favoured or to be hated, but that equability of estate had made each of them equal with the other, and betwixt whom was no difference of natures or deservings, which might procure advancement of the one before the other.

Finally, whenas by orderly course of birth, and right of first birth, the elder might have challenged the prerogative of honour before the younger; Almighty God, using here his unsearchable election, did make this difference betwixt them (whereas was no difference of works or merits), as that forsaking Esau (who by no merit after the rule of justice had deserved to be rejected), he gave the pre-eminence to the younger, turning the common order of nature upside-down, as it were, that whereas the younger are wont to be subject to the elder, now, contrary to kind, the elder should become servant to the younger.

Whereupon, when the Apostle saw what scruple might arise in the imagination of the hearer or reader thereof, he putteth a question under the person of one that might argue against it, whether

God had done any thing herein against equity and right? or any thing that he could not justify according to justice distributive? whereunto himself answering immediately, doth with wonderful vehemency detest that slanderous cavil, and withal acquitteth God free from all accusation and suspicion of unrighteousness, and this not without lawful authority of the Scripture. "What! (saith he,) do we not read spoken unto Moses in this wise? I will have mercy on whom I do take mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I have compassion." Besides this also, adding forthwith the example of Pharaoh, he doth conclude at the length on this wise: "Therefore he hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth."

But if our captious accuser will yet persist in his obstinacy, as though it sufficed not for God to do what it pleased him, he doth confute him with a most manifest argument of like comparison on this wise: the potter fashioning his vessels either unto honour or to dishonour, or to what purpose seemeth him best, doth not offend at all. And shall it be less lawful for God to shew his power upon his own creatures, than for the potter upon his chalk or clay? Therefore, whether God be willing to have mercy, or to indurate any man, he doth nothing herein but that which is most lawful, and most agreeable with equity.

You perceive therefore God's justice sufficiently enough defended, I suppose, which in all his works ought by good right to be mightily defended. But how it is defended, is now to be seen. Osorius urgeth stoutly, that God's justice standeth not otherwise to be defended, but only in respect of his mercy; which albeit might be granted after a sort, yet is it not altogether simply and absolutely true; and the reason thereof is picked out of Osorius' credit, rather than out of any argument of St. Paul. Whereas

Paul seemeth to refer all this whole defence of justice, not to mercy, but to the only will of God, saying, "God taketh mercy on whom he will, and hardeneth whom he will."

Albeit I will not in the mean while deny, but that the election of the faithful doth consist upon mercy alone, yet surely the defence of election is not upholden, but through the will of God only. Likewise also albeit the casting away of the reprobate do proceed from the only justice of God, yet will no man say, that the defence of this rejection consisteth in mercy, but in the only will of God; and therefore it is the only will of God, which doth defend mercy in election, and justice in rejection.

For otherwise how could this come to pass, that the only mercy of God should defend his justice either in the reprobate (in whom scarce one sparkle of mercy is discernible), or else in the predestination of the faithful, wherein appeareth no execution of justice? Therefore what is it then that may defend justice in these, and mercy in those other, but only the purpose of God's will only? whereof St. Paul maketh mention, "God taketh mercy (saith he) on whom he taketh mercy, and hardeneth whom he will harden:" as who neither rejecteth of mercy, nor yet taketh compassion of justice, but executeth both, according to the absolute good pleasure of his will.

Let us make this more manifest by example. Whereas God is said to hate Esau, and to love Jacob, being not yet born, both which had done as yet nothing worthy to be loved or to be hated, what kind of mercy can you shew in the hatred of that one, which may defend his justice? or what kind of justice in the love of the other, which mercy (as you say) may deliver clear from all reproach? It followeth hereupon, therefore, that the whole defence of justice consisteth not in mercy alone, but that the only will of God rather doth acquit, not only the mercy of God,

but his justice also withal, from all accusation of unrighteous dealing.

Be the same spoken likewise touching the hardening of the heart of Pharaoh; which being decreed upon in the secret counsel of God long before any drop of mercy was extended unto him, how then do you refer the justice of his induration to mercy only? But you will say, *God did call Pharaoh to faith and obedience; but whenas he did despise that so great bounty, and, like a wild colt, would licentiously range out of all order, it was agreeable not only with God's severity, but with his mercy also, to scourge him with most just plagues according to his deserts, that so by his example, others might be reclaimed to do their duty.*

I do know that sundry singular precedents of God's clemency and calling were ministered unto him indeed; but as all those tokens of mercy be outward means, which God useth in the outward calling of men, so the same do appertain to calling only, and touch election and rejection nothing at all, nor do in this respect express any defence of his justice; for to admit that the hardening of Pharaoh, and the casting away of Esau, did happen most righteously, yet this justice is not therefore defended against the quarrelling adversary, because they did abuse the lenity of God afterwards. And why so? Because they were first rejected from God, before any mercy (which they did abuse) was poured out upon them.

And these things thus alleged by me do not tend to this end, as though I were of opinion that this justice of their rejection were void of all defence; for it hath her certain peculiar and most just defence, but not that whereof Osorius doth dream. If we seek for the right defence of God's justice, what can be more just than God's will? which, appertaining to God as his own properly and effectually (as

e divines do term it), can do nothing of her own ture, but that which standeth with equity and itice, neither standeth in need of another defence. r whatsoever God doth decree upon, though it never so far hid from our understanding, yet is it itself defensible, and absolutely perfect enough.

And therefore St. Paul seeketh no place of refuge ewhere against the most terrible assaults of the versary, than the will of God, which he account- the strongest and surest fort of defence. Where saith, "God taketh mercy on whom he hath ercy, and will harden whom he will," he doth not r he doth harden that person on whom he taketh mercy, but he doth harden whom he will. And ain, "He that hath predestinated us through sus Christ according to the purpose of his will." ph. i.) He saith not of his justice, having indeed one thing of greater majesty to allege for his de- nce against the adversary, than the only will of od, and wherewith alone the adversary might be oroughly satisfied.

But Osorius will take exception, and say, *that this ill ought to be upright and agreeable to itself.* Who either ignorant hereof? or who can deny this? at I demand likewise of Osorius, whereas we con- ss that this will is most righteous and lawful, whe- er in Rejection, Mercy do sufficiently acquit this stice of God's will against the quarrelling ca- llers, or God's will rather. As for example: if a vain ibbling sophister, or some captious busybody, do mand of you what the cause should be that Esau as forsaken, without all desert of evil fact com- itted? and why also Pharaoh's heart was harden- l, before that Moses was sent unto him? why the rs of the Jews were stopped, that they might not ear, before the Prophet opened his mouth unto em?

that he might have been chosen for the worthiness of his works, which God foresaw would be in him, though as yet he had done nothing; and this saying, that they were not yet born, will not prevail thee at all, where it was spoken, *And the elder shall serve the younger*, to declare hereby that it was said, *Not of works*, because as yet he had wrought nothing at all, &c."

But to let pass Augustine, let us hear what Paul himself speaketh, who debating very largely upon this point of predestination, doth amongst others at the last break out into this speech touching the same: "If God willing on the one side to shew his wrath, and to make his power known, hath with great sufferance and lenity born with the vessels of wrath prepared to destruction, and on the other side do make known the riches of his glory towards the vessels of mercy, which he hath prepared to glory, &c." (Rom. ix.)

Let us more exactly ponder the words of the Apostle, where he saith, that "God was willing." Therein you hear first that God doth will; and withal the cause and reason why he willeth, ye perceive expressly set down afterwards. But he is said to will wrath, that is to say, "willing to shew the severity of his justice." Where, I pray you, or towards whom? what! towards all creatures indifferently? Certainly this might he have done according to his justice; but this would he not do for his mercy's sake. Towards whom then? "Towards the vessels of wrath prepared unto destruction." Where you hear the name of a vessel, you do withal conceive a potter, because no vessels are made without the potter.

Moreover, where this word *prepared* is annexed, thereby forthwith cometh to remembrance the will of the potter, not the will of the thing fashioned.

For it standeth not in the power of the pot itself to fashion and form itself after its own will; but the fashioning thereof resteth in the will and purpose of the potter. For if any sense or feeling at all were in earthen vessels, would any vessel fashion itself into a vessel of dishonour, if it had power to fashion itself by any means into a vessel of honour? whereupon it followeth consequently, that the order and disposition of fashioning, resteth wholly in the will of the potter, and not in the will of the vessel.

Now therefore as concerning the will of the potter, lest any man shall think that his will is unadvised, nor directed by equity and reason, the Apostle doth forthwith set down the cause wherewith the mouth of the slanderous backbiter may be stopped: "To shew (saith he) the riches of his glory towards the vessels of mercy which he had prepared unto glory, &c." He doth not say, because God foresaw the good works of the godly, and the evil doings of the wicked, that these were therefore ordained to damnation, those other chosen to salvation; but he saith, that those are prepared to destruction whom he would have to be vessels of wrath, and the others to glory; and yet this, notwithstanding, neither unadvisedly nor contrary to equity. Wherein, if any man be desirous to know the reason or the justice of God in his predestination, let him hear Augustine herein: "The whole mass of mankind was subject (saith he) to one state of perdition, rightly deserving the scourge of God's justice, which, whether be executed or pardoned, proceedeth not of any unrighteousness in God." Now it pleased God's good will of his mercy to make a choice of some of these, and to relinquish other, according to his justice. If you require a reason hereof, the Apostle doth not hide it from you. "*To make known* (saith he) *the riches of his glory*

towards the vessels of mercy which he hath prepared unto glory, &c."

Wherein the principal and first cause of doing is joined together with the last end thereof. In the mean space many means are interlaced betwixt these two; for even as the will of God doth not otherwise prefer his elect to the honour of glory, but as it were through many tribulations, so neither doth he execute the severity of his judgment against the reprobate by and by, but by long sufferance, much lenity, and toleration of their wickedness. But as the afflictions of the elect are not the cause of their salvation, so neither the lenity and long sufferance of the wicked is the principal cause that moveth God to exercise the severity of his justice against them. And therefore are they called *vessels*; the one sort vessels of wrath, the other vessels of mercy, prepared either to destruction or to salvation, first and before either God did with patience endure the wickedness of the one, or with tribulations exercise the faith of the other.

To conclude therefore in few words briefly: I come again to the argument that was proposed, which albeit he choppeth together without all order of teaching, yet in my conceit a man may briefly reduce it into this form. For out of these words of Paul, wherewith God is said to have borne with the vessels of wrath in much lenity, Osorius doth gather his called syllogism with a wonderful dexterity of wit.

God's divine justice did scourge none, but such as with much lenity he did bear withal first; neither are any destitute of God's mercy, but such as forsake it, being offered.

Finally, salvation and the mercy of God are extended unto all persons; but unto such as will not themselves be saved; ergo, the defence of justice consisteth

wholly in mercy. And only mercy doth acquit God's justice from all reproach.

Neither doth any man perish, but being condemned for his own treachery and wickedness.

To answer in one word. If this subtle sophister do mean here of judgment, or of execution of condemnation, I will grant him his whole consequence; for who ever did deny this, but that God doth exercise his lenity towards the most abominable rascals; yea, long and very much, and in much patience doth allure them to repentance? and again, that no man is damned but who that perisheth through his own default, without all unrighteousness in God?

But if he mean of the cause of predestination, we deny his antecedent. For whereas that most sacred purpose of the divine predestination and reprobation doth issue and spring from out the only will of God, being indeed most unsearchable, yet most righteous; and whereas also men are first fashioned in the same will, as in God's workshop, to be either vessels of wrath, or vessels of mercy, before that any lenity or mercy do appear to be extended towards any of them from God; by what means then will Osorius affirm, *that the defence of justice consisteth wholly in mercy, and that there be no vessels of wrath, but such as will not be vessels of mercy?* Or how will he charge Luther with accusing God of unrighteousness, who by all means possible doth continually enforce with Augustine, that there is nothing in God, but that is most righteous, though it appear unto our capacities never so much past all finding out?

Nay rather, why should not Osorius be duly reproached for this matter, whose whole bent enforceth nothing else, but that God's justice can by no means else be defended, but by the works of men known before? which how void it is of all truth, we have already declared, both out of St. Paul and out of

Augustine, sufficiently enough, as I suppose; that in the mean time I slip not over by the way that other saying of Paul, where making mention of vessels, he doth not say, that they were fit or meet vessels, but *vessels formed*, not ready or apt vessels, but *vessels prepared and fashioned either to dishonour or to honour*. Whereby you may perceive that this whole action consisteth not in any the workmanship of the potter, nor in the good or evil usage of God's gifts, but only and wholly in the secret purpose and will of the maker.

But Osorius doth deny this, that God did fashion any vessels unto destruction. How shall we know this to be true? Forsooth, by the words of the Apostle: *For he doth not say, the vessels which God himself did form unto destruction, as he spake a little afterwards of the vessels of mercy which he prepared unto glory.* Go to. And what mystery, I pray you, pick you out of this? *Forsooth, that ye may understand, that godly men are predestinated to glory through the will and mercy of God; and that wicked men every one through his own voluntary default are thrown out into condemnation, &c.*

I hear you, Osorius; and I do answer, that this is true indeed that you reply, that no man perisheth at all, but whoso perisheth by his own procurement and default. But what is this to the purpose? since Paul in this place doth not treat of the execution of punishment, but raising himself far higher, debateth upon the very cause and end of predestination and reprobation.

Now as concerning the execution of condemnation and condemnation itself, if we search for the cause thereof, surely the same is neither one nor alone, but in sundry and divers respects. If you require the inward cause, and which indeed is peculiarly to be assigned in man, it is sin; if you require the out-

ward cause, in respect that it is the punishment of sin, the cause of the destruction of sin is God's justice. You will say then, *What! will you make God the cause of destruction and condemnation?* Yea surely, good Sir, in that sense that I spake before. For why not as well, as when the murderer is hanged, if you respect the outward cause of his death, ye will not deny, but the judge was cause thereof; but if ye behold the inward cause, he that is executed (being guilty of his own fact) can charge no man with his death but himself.

But you will say, although the judge do punish the malefactor, yet did he never so form the malefactor to the end he should be hanged. And no marvel; for he doth occupy the place of a judge only, who hath no other authority at all against any such person, unless he have committed some offence worthy of judgment; for he is but a judge, he is not a Creator. But the matter fareth far otherwise in the most sacred majesty of God, who hath absolute and full power over his creatures, not only to punish, after they have committed offences, in the nature of a judge, but also to determine upon his creatures, before any their deservings what him pleaseth, in the nature of a Creator, to frame them to dishonour, or to call them to honour, as him listeth.

Therefore, as he is a judge, he doth punish sinners indeed; but as he is a Creator, he doth fashion his creatures according to his will, even as the potter doth fashion his pots. And to this effect tend those words of St. Paul: "If God, willing to shew forth his wrath, and to make known his power towards the vessels of wrath, &c." (Rom. ix.) *But you will say, God hath not fashioned vessels of wrath, nor hath formed any person unto destruction.* Why then, let us likewise imagine that the potter doth not make some vessels to dishonour, but all to honour rather.

But since that all vessels are not framed by the hands of the craftsman to beauty and dignity, but some applied and made to serve for more base and vile uses, according to the testimony of Paul, by what means then will the similitude alleged be aptly applied to God, to wit, if that "God may not do towards his creatures the same that the potter doth to his vessels?" But now will you hear this argument finely contrived with a marvellous nimbleness of wit?

Paul doth not say, the vessels which he fashioned unto destruction, as he doth in the same place speak of the vessels of mercy, which he did prepare unto glory; ergo, it may be understood thereby, that wicked men are not thrown into destruction by God's will, but for their own wickedness.

As though both might not be granted together, namely, that wicked men are thrown into destruction by God's will, and yet nevertheless not without their own desert. *But the name of God* (say you) *is not expressed in this place.* And why so? *Because the Apostle, speaking of the vessels of wrath, doth say that they were fashioned unto destruction, but doth not say, that God did fashion them unto destruction.* Surely, here is a very nice point of descant. Go to. Admit this also, that God's name is not expressed, yet have ye not taught us that it is not understood here? *No* (say you); *for so much as nothing could more vary from the mind of the Apostle, nor be more repugnant to the most mild nature of God, than to conceive that God should himself frame vessels unto dishonour, seeing that no man runneth headlong into ruin, but through his own voluntary blindness.*

And who did ever deny this? yet doth this nothing more exclude the will of God from fashioning his vessels as him listeth; as, on the other side, neither doth the will of God receive unto mercy

those that have offended; so that nothing withstandeth now, why the vessels of wrath should be less deemed to be fashioned unto destruction, by the will of God, and withal that themselves also do procure to themselves their own destruction.

But why did not Paul (say you) *set down this matter in express words?* "which God himself did form unto destruction;" *which he would surely have done, if he had thought that God had been the author of destruction.* Truly, I will ask you a question in as few words, Osorius—why the Apostle did choose rather to say, vessels *fashioned* to destruction, than, leaving out the word *fashioned*, to say, vessels of destruction? For this would have accorded far better with your exposition, if so be that he thought that the vessels did perish without the will of God.

Again, why did he call them *vessels*, and not creatures rather? why did he annex this supply, to wit, *wrath?* finally, why did he bring in "God himself willing to shew forth his wrath against the vessels of wrath," but that you should understand that all those circumstances are to be reduced to the most sacred will of God, even as to the working hand of the potter? For first, as I said before, when you hear this word, *vessels*, thereby you understand the *potter*; secondly, when you hear this word, *fashioned*, therein the hand of the artificer is conceived; thirdly, when you hear *fashioned unto destruction*, therein appeareth the certainty of God's will in his predestination.

Whereas the vessels do perish, it is their own fault; but where it is said that they are *fashioned* thereunto, this surely is not proper to the vessels, but doth note a certain higher cause, and a more plain demonstration of the Creator; for vessels are not wont to be fashioned of any but of the craftsman, as I suppose. What man is so mad to say, that

vessels made, are made of themselves, namely, to their own dishonour, and not formed thereunto by the workman rather? And I marvel greatly, that Osorius, having any sense or feeling in him at all, cannot quickly conceive the meaning of the Apostle, either by the comparing of the text together, or by the manner and order of speech, namely, since the matter itself doth so disclose so many manifest reasons to discuss the doubtful signification of the words.

First, you will not deny but that this will of God, wherewith he had decreed, both to shew his wrath (that is to say, the severity of his justice) and his mercy also, was even from the beginning; this will then, being once determined upon by God, could neither by any means be made of none effect, nor again by any means made discernible, unless it were poured out upon some matter whereupon it might work.

And even here doth that wonderful election of God display itself at the first, wherewith (before the foundations of the world were laid) he had predestinated them whom he would should be saved, and rejected them whom he would have damned. Next unto this election immediately ensued the *creation*, wherewith the Almighty Creator, with a most singular excellency and exquisite workmanship, did form all vessels out of one self lump of clay, and yet not those all in general appointed to one end. For some vessels he made to serve to shew forth his mercy, some other to shew forth his justice.

These things being thus established, immediately after creation ensueth *vocation* or *calling*, and the same two manner of ways, according to his purpose, and not according to his purpose; whereof the one is linked with grace, making acceptable; the other is void of grace, though not altogether, yet destitute

of effectual grace. And hereupon do issue blindness, rebellion, hardness of heart, infidelity, breach of the law, execution of justice, not by force of any coaction, but by reason of the sequel or consequent. For the grace of God once denying assistance, whatsoever remaineth in man is nought else but the seed of the serpent, or some incurable fistula, wherewith man is deadly poisoned.

Again: out of the other *vocation*, which is according to purpose, springeth faith and will to obey, forgiveness of sin, justification, and such-like inestimable treasures: not ensealed unto us by nature, but frankly given us from above. Now out of that infidelity and execution of justice, ariseth the destruction of the reprobate, of the which Paul treateth here, which is not without the special will of God.

Or else in what sense doth he say, God was willing to shew his wrath, and yet not without their most due deserving neither, as on the other side *salvation* and *glorification* do spring of *faith* and *justification*; forasmuch as in them the commendation of his justice, in the other the dignity of his mercy, doth shew forth their bright beams to the inestimable glory of God's majesty, who is the chief and principal end and foundation of all works.

Wherefore, forasmuch as God was willing to shew both, as well his wrath, as also his mercy, and this his will could by no means be accomplished unless there were some upon whom both his wrath and his mercy might make his power on each part discernible; hereupon then is no small store of proof ministered, whereby may be perceived from whence as well the destruction of the reprobate, as the salvation of the elect, doth proceed.

And first of all yourself do not deny, that godly persons are predestinated unto glory through

the only bountifulness of God. I demand now, whether this self-same mercy of God have predestinated unto glory all creatures generally, or not all? I attend your answer. If you will say all without exception, where then are the vessels of wrath? what shall become of this saying, "God willing to shew his wrath upon the vessels ordained to destruction?" Finally, what shall be thought of that saying of Christ, "Many are called, but few are chosen?" If so be that all are received by a general election, how can this election be made frustrate and ineffectual, or what kind of rejection can there be then?

But if you will not say all, it followeth then that there must be some vessels of rejection of necessity, as well as of mercy; to wit, by like agreeableness of contraries. Or else, how shall a man understand that some vessels are predestinate to glory, unless by the same argument ye confess that some vessels were also rejected to dishonour? which being agreed upon, I demand further, of the reprobation of them that are forsaken, whether do ye think the same proceedeth from the secret purpose of God, or of themselves? if from themselves, how shall this appear? forasmuch as election and reprobation also are not separated by any distinction of the Creator, or distance of time, and were both together before the foundations of the world were laid, as appeareth most manifestly by the examples of Jacob and Esau, and sundry other semblable examples.

But Osorius will coin us here some strange oracle, to wit, *That God did create the nature of the vessels indeed, but not the very vessels of wrath, as which took their original from sin and infidelity, and not from God the Creator.* And who did ever deny this to be true? Go to. What monster do these great-bellied hills calve out at the length? Forsooth, a very wonderful conclusion.

God did not create wickedness; ergo, he did not form the vessels of wrath.

But that this crippled curtoll of Osorius may stand upright upon his legs, let us help here Osorius' halting logic once again. For in this wise shall it be able to crawl upon his feet.

Only wickedness brought to pass, that they become vessels of wrath.

God did not create wickedness; ergo, God doth not create vessels of wrath, but every one maketh himself a vessel of wrath through his own wicked will, because he would not be made the vessel of mercy.

First, the major is not to be granted simply and absolutely: for if this must be yielded unto for a truth, that only wickedness doth make the vessels of wrath, why should not this also be taken for matter confessed, upon equal relation of contraries, to wit, that virtue only doth make the vessels of mercy, and withal that it consisteth in the ability and power of every good body, that will not be a vessel of dishonour, to become a vessel of honour.

Moreover, where it is said that wickedness doth make the vessels of wrath, is not agreeable with the truth. David did commit against his own soul not one wickedness alone; no more was Saul, being a persecutor, clear of his proper wickedness also; yet the same David (notwithstanding his wickedness) was a vessel of election. Be the same spoken of Mary Magdalen; of the thief; finally, of many of God's elect, whose horribleness of sin did not make them vessels of wrath notwithstanding.

Besides this also, if it be true that Osorius speaketh, *That wicked men do not make themselves vessels of wrath, but through their own will and wickedness*; tell us, a' good fellowship, what offence had Esau committed, being the vessel of wrath, not by any action of life, but being born even so by nature?

Be the like spoken of Ishmael. Cain, the man-killer, became worthily abominable in the sight of God, by the murder of his own brother; but before this murder committed, and before any privy grudge conceived, what had he done, when, in his first oblation, both himself and his oblation were rejected? Judas Iscariot had not yet betrayed his Master, whenas he was both the vessel of wrath, and called also the son of perdition. The Pharisees had not yet uttered any token of hatred against Christ, when they were called of John Baptist the generation of vipers.

What shall I say of Pharaoh? whose destruction if we behold, even worthily and deservedly laid upon him by the Lord, who may doubt it that his own rebellion deserved that he should be rightfully punished? but if we respect the secret former determination of the divine rejection and induration which was before in the secret mind of God, it is out of all question, that the same induration proceeded not of the rebellion of Pharaoh, but that his rebellion sprang out of his induration rather, as succeeding thereupon.

Wherefore, if we interpret of the wrath of God to be a punishment of God's severe justice, we deny not, but that the same falleth upon none, save such as through their own wickedness have deservedly procured their own destruction. And this wrath of God indeed, as it is always righteous, so doth it always follow, but never go before the ungodliness, which is either peculiar to every person, or is parcel of the inheritable infection of the first father Adam. But if under this vocable wrath, that will and decree of the highest God be noted, wherewith those are secluded from election, which are called the vessels of wrath; then is Osorius' ranging fable both false and absurd, wherewith he would seem to persuade, that *it is a very easy thing to be changed from*

wooden and earthen vessels into vessels of silver and gold, if we will ourselves; and that it is in every man's own power to be made a vessel of wrath, or a vessel of mercy, as him listeth. As though God's will were of no force at all to determine upon matters, but as it is regulated by man's will; and as though it were also as necessary then to be made a vessel of mercy, whenas man is not willing to be a vessel of wrath.

But such a vessel doth never display his lightsomeness in the house of God, as I think, Osorius. But to what purpose then belongeth that saying of Paul (Rom. ix.), "It is neither of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that taketh mercy," if God's everlasting decree be of no more force in these matters to determine upon any certainty, but such as must be guided by the ranging rule of man's will, which is as much as, according to the old saying or saw, *Quite against the hair?*

Albeit I will not deny in the mean time, that we are not able to discern truly betwixt the vessels of wrath and the vessels of mercy, but by good or evil works, that we see in them; yea, it cometh hereby many times to pass, that such as sometimes seemed in their own conceits to be themselves the vessels of wrath, being afterwards endued with better grace, do in process of time feel the contrary.

But this hangeth not now upon the cobweb of man's will, but dependeth wholly upon God's election; which being always agreeable and stable in itself, is never changed, how variable soever the motions of men are; therefore, if this be the very meaning of Osorius' words, his judgment is commendable enough. But it is one thing to be adjudged somewhat in the opinion of men, Osorius, and another thing to be directed by the unsearchable counsel of God.

What, then, will some man say, did God create his creatures to the end to destroy them? did he create his creature to wrath and destruction? is it credible that his will is to harden the hearts of any to wickedness, whose will is to have all saved? or that He who hath predestinated his creatures to glory, can cast them into destruction? And can it be possible that He who doth testify of himself in the Scriptures, which will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he live and be converted, shall now alter his nature, and will not the life, but the destruction, of a sinner? Whenas also all things are good that God hath created, can he hate the work of his own hands? yea, not only after he hath created it, but also before he hath made it? I am not ignorant, Osorius, of these and such-like your not absurdities, but cavils rather, which you are wont to thrust upon us now and then.

To the which to make a plain and distinct answer, first, the nature of causes itself must be considered; then must a plain distinction of God's will be opened; for when question is made of God's will, the Scripture doth not speak thereof always after one manner and phrase of speech, nor express the same every where after one only signification; sometimes this name of will is taken in a most large and ample signification, for that which God's decree hath determined shall come to pass in all matters. As in that place of Paul, "God doth take mercy on whom he will have mercy, and doth indurate whom he will, &c." And again, "God did whatsoever he would do in heaven and in earth." (Psa. cxiii.) And in another place, "Because it seemeth so good in thine eyes, O Father." (Luke, x.)

And this will, serving in each respect to as many purposes as the foreknowledge and essence of God, doth both go before all other mean and secondary causes in order of time, and of its own power also

doth dispose all things, good Sir, not as though it would enforce them against their wills, by any outward coaction, but doth so dispose and order things with a certain secret power, as that through their voluntary and serviceable yielding, they attain at the last to the same purpose whereunto the will of God did first and chiefly forcordain and direct them.

Whereby it cometh to pass, that though the will of God of itself make no persons evil properly, yet that wicked persons notwithstanding shall accomplish the will of God, if not according to the event and success properly and absolutely, yet by accidental means; so that in this wise, albeit the destruction of the wicked proceed from the voluntary corruption of man, not from God's will, as from the nearest cause, yet do not those wicked persons fulfil their wickedness without God's will. Forasmuch as it is a due scourge and punishment of sin, man is not punished therewith without God's will.

Again, by this word, *will*, is signified sometimes that wherewith God (by his express word) doth notify himself "to be delighted, to be well pleased, and which is acceptable in his sight." Of which sort are all things which be naturally good and commendable. In which signification, "God is said not to will wickedness, nor to will the death of a sinner." And of this will speaketh the Apostle, "This is the will of God your sanctification." (1 Thess. iv.) And this will the faithful only do perform properly and simply.

We have spoken now of will, we must now treat somewhat of the order of causes; wherein this is to be noted above all other, to wit, that the first causes have always relation to the utmost ends, and the mean and concurrent ends and effects to the mean and middle causes.

Forasmuch therefore as the will of God, that is to

say, the decree of God, is the original of all causes, we must then seek out what the last end is which may be answerable to this will. Now the same is sufficiently discovered by Paul: "If God (saith he, Rom. ix.), willing on the one side to shew his wrath, and to make his power known, do with much sufferance and lenity bear with the vessels of wrath prepared unto destruction; and on the other side, to make known the riches of his glory towards the vessels of mercy, which he hath prepared to glory, &c." By which words who doth not easily perceive that the last and principal end of God's workmanship doth consist in this, not that wicked men should perish, but that the largeness of his heavenly mercy should more mightily increase in the salvation of his faithful?

Now because this could not be brought to pass by any other means, unless there were some on the contrary part upon whom the severity of God's justice might be executed, it seemed good therefore to the Almighty Creator of all the creation (in this unspeakable workshop of the whole world) to dispose his vessels unto several uses, not all unto honour, nor yet all unto dishonour; but some he made serviceable instruments of his justice, other some meet instruments of his mercy; not that he created his creatures to this effect, as to the final and utmost end of his purpose, that they should perish, but because he had so determined with himself in his secret counsel before the foundations of the world, not to have mercy upon all; therefore it could not otherwise be, but that such as should be forsaken of him, being forsaken and yielded over to themselves, should fall away of very necessity.

For God's grace withdrawing assistance, man's imbecility must withal needs fall to the ground; and nature being now overthrown, God's justice could

not but execute his office, and punish grievously of very necessity. And hereof cometh the destruction of the reprobates and persecutors of his people, the efficient cause whereof consisteth truly in every of their own corruption, but the cause deficient in the will of God.

And therefore we ought not to judge alike of the causes of *election* and *damnation*. For though these be certain branches of predestination, and concur altogether in one kind, one original, and one end, yet do they differ notwithstanding in the manner: the fountain and original of them both is the decree of God, and the end is the glory of God. And yet is not election to life everlasting of the same sort that reprobation to destruction is; for he hath chosen by making, he doth reject not by doing somewhat, but rather by forsaking.

And in the salvation of the godly, the whole cause is so wholly shut up in God, as that besides him no person nor cause can come betwixt, that may challenge any interest in the title of election and salvation. But the matter goeth otherwise in the destruction of the reprobate; for albeit such as perish are not damned at all without the will of God; yet besides this will also the obstinate rebellion of man's will thrusteth itself in, whereby they do worthily procure to themselves deserved damnation. For God doth neither so cast off those whom he doth cast away, as one that did enforce them to commit filthiness, but forsaketh every such one, and yieldeth him over to his own guiding.

Now free-will being nothing else but frailty and feeble weakness itself, unable to defend the brittle inclination of nature against the monstrous assaults of insatiable lust, yieldeth itself coward captive to every storm of subtle temptation. By means whereof it cometh to pass, that man's life being left void of

the help of God, as a ship destitute of a pilot, tossed to and fro with outrageous winds and waves of the sea, which of herself she cannot withstand, doth easily drive itself upon the rock of damnation, and rends in pieces, having none other guide but itself.

But the estate of the elect is after another sort; for whom God hath chosen, those doth he not yield over to their own conduct, but stirreth them forward with the force of his secret good will, and doth draw them unto himself; and doth so draw them, that, being called, they must needs obey; moreover, he doth so call them, that he doth forthwith justify them that are called, and doth so justify them with his free and bountiful mercy, that he doth at the length glorify them whom he hath justified. In all which action of salvation God's grace doth so accomplish all and every part thereof, as that nothing at all is left for man's will to glory upon, but very much peradventure that may overthrow it. Whereupon the Apostle very aptly saith, "That it is neither of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that taketh mercy."

On the contrary part, I mean in the shipwreck of damnation, man's wayward perverseness being left unto itself, doth therein thoroughly play all her parts so, that there is nothing now wherewith it may justly accuse God, neither is there any man condemned, but he that through his own default doth purchase to himself damnation. In which damnation two things offer themselves in the mean time to be considered—not only what he suffereth which hath deserved to be punished, but what he hath deserved which suffereth, and how righteously he suffereth; in the one whereof man's offence is declared; in the other God's justice is discernible.

The first whereof the divines do call the evil of the offence, the other the evil of the punishment;

Paul calleth it "the reward of sin:" therefore whereas a man doth commit and is punished for that evil, let him thank himself for it; but whereas he is righteously punished herein, let him not murmur against God, as though he were the author of evil; for that which is righteously done, cannot be unorderly done. Although the punishment seem evil to him that suffereth that he would not suffer, yet he is himself the author of that punishment, because he did that which he ought not to have done. Moreover, neither is that thing forthwith evil in the sight of God, that appeareth evil to man's judgment: these things therefore are to be weighed by the circumstances of the end.

For even as the cloudy overspreading of the darkened night doth not diminish any part of the clear daylight, but rather beautifieth the lightsome clearness of the bright sunshine; even so, where the persecutors of the church do dash sometimes on a rock, and are drowned, although it be evil to them that perish, properly and of its own nature, yet in that they dash on the rock and perish in respect of God's ordinance, and in respect of the end whereunto all things are directed, it is not evil in the sight of God, but turneth to good rather, and to the setting forth and beautifying of his glory.

So Augustine not unfitly: "It is good (saith he) that evils be; neither is there any inconvenience in this, that evils may not happen without God's will, which yet are performed contrary to his will; that is to say, against that rule and ordinance which himself doth allow and command.

To conclude. Albeit the salvation of the elect and the destruction of the reprobate do proceed both from one original, namely, from the secret counsel of Almighty God, yet this same decree nevertheless doth not express itself after one manner at all times,

if you have regard to the manner of the operation. For the cause of salvation of such as are saved is so wholly shut up in the closet of God's mercy, that God only and alone is the whole and only efficient cause thereof; so that the same can by no means be ascribed to any other. But the damnation of the reprobate, albeit cannot escape the knowledge of the most secret purpose of God (because no one thing, be it of never so small value, can be done without his will), yet if we seek the true and efficient cause thereof, whereunto may it be more properly imputed than to sin, and to the devil, the father of sin?

But forasmuch as God doth compel no man to commit wickedness, but rather yieldeth them over whom he forsaketh to their own lusts; hereupon doth it consequently follow, that the first seeds of original corruption (being destitute of the grace of God), sucking up more deadly poison of raging lust by the contagious motions of its own natural will, clean contrary to God's will, is become by that means the cause and procurer of its own destruction. The cause deficient whereof (as I vouched before out of Augustine) is only in God; but the cause efficient consisteth no where else than in man only.

These premises considered and duly examined, I return to the question that was proposed:

Whether God by his bare decree did create his creatures to destruction, and made them vessels of wrath?

Whether we will not grant that the promise of God was universal?

Whether we may imagine such a will in God as will not have all to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth?

I do answer, God's promise is without all controversy general, and is extended generally to all man-

kind; yet with this proviso, all whosoever do believe or shall believe in the Son of God.

And there is no doubt, but that his will doth agreeably condescend with his promise at all times, and in each respect very readily bent, inclinable, and favourable towards the salvation of all in general; so that those *all* be understood with the same proviso, to wit, all that are engrafted in Christ Jesus by faith. Again, as under the name of this universal subject, *all* (to speak with Augustine), not every particular of all the generalities, but the generalities of every particular, is comprehended; for else, as all have not the true faith, so neither is the promise made unto them all, who do not believe in the Son, nor is there any will in God to save them, but to cast them off rather.

But as concerning creation, if the end thereof be sought for, I do answer, that God did create man unto righteousness: "for we were created to good works," according to the testimony of Paul, "that we should walk in them." But man, abusing the freedom of his own will, contrary to the will of God, to wit, contrary to the rule of righteousness, falling quite away from righteousness into unrighteousness, did at the length through the same unrighteousness throw himself headlong down into unrecoverable destruction.

What then? Shall we say that these things chanced without God's knowledge, and against his will? or else with his will, or not regarding the same? for one of these we must grant of very necessity. If we say, against his will, we shall overthrow his omnipotency; if without his knowledge, we shall then impair the excellency of his wisdom. If you say that he regardeth it not, I beseech you, what difference will be betwixt you and that filthy pig Epicure? It remaineth then, that we boldly pronounce, that this

work was achieved, God not only willing it, but foreknowing, and withal permitting it so to be done.

Which being agreed upon, there remaineth further to be inquired, whether this will and sufferance of God were idle and fruitless, or effectual? but to assign unto God an idle and fruitless foreknowledge (as the Epicures do), we are altogether forbidden by the Scriptures. Then if we grant, that this is accomplished through the effectual and determinate decree and will of God, and withal that no man is able to withstand his will, what shall we conclude then? that the reprobate are altogether excusable, because the fault of their reprobation resteth wholly in God?

This saying indeed, thus spoken, might seem to be somewhat peradventure, if so be that God had not made man perfect when he created him at the first, and had not enjoined him a law and rule of righteousness, and had not strengthened him with a sound freedom of will; adding thereunto further a certain severe caution of wholesome counsel, and a fatherly forewarning of the danger that would ensue. But now, whenas our first father Adam fell, we were all overwhelmed together within the self-same downfal, in such wise that we were neither able to shake off from our shoulders that law of justice wherewith we were yoked, nor accomplish the perfection thereof, were the freedom of our will never so mighty: and therefore he that doth offend, hath no cause whereof he ought to quarrel with God, but hath matter of contagion enough, and more than enough, to quarrel against his own lusts, Adam, and the devil. Whereupon we conclude at the length, that the things which appertain to destruction of mankind, can neither escape the knowledge and counsel of God, and yet the providence of God to be nevertheless void altogether of blame and reproach.

But the Osorians will deny that this ought to be attributed to predestination or God's decree, but to his sufferance only. Certainly, this is not to be doubted, but that God doth permit and suffer the things which he hath decreed; but they do win nothing by this distinction, seeing that they fall back into the same quagmire, out of the which they can by no means clear themselves.

First, whereas God useth his sufferance, it is out of all question, that he doth the same wittingly and warily; furthermore, whereas he had comprehended all those things by his unsearchable wisdom, and foresaw the events thereof, we must needs confess that he was able of his omnipotent power to forbid all whatsoever he were not willing should be done, if it had been his good pleasure so to have done. Now my question is, why he would not? What! because he regarded it not? But this swinish blockishness of Epicure ought neither to be admitted into any Christian cogitation, neither can any such retchlessness agree with the gracious mercifulness of God. What then? was not God sufficiently able? who shall let him? doth there lack in him then any mean to help? to think so, were heathenish infidelity.

But some man will say, seeing that the fall of Adam might have been stayed by an only beck of God's countenance, if it were not his pleasure so to do, why yet at the least would he not make stay of that well-spring of sin in Adam, so that the same might not have ranged to any farther infection of the posterity? Finally, why doth he daily give so great scope to Satan, whom he may so easily restrain?

The premises considered, what remaineth but that of necessity we yield that he did will the things which he foreknew would come to pass, as not restraining the proceeding thereof, being otherwise of ability

enough to stop and overthrow it quite if he would; or else, how shall Paul's saying be true, "He taketh mercy on whom he will have mercy, and he doth harden whom he will," if we make this an infalible rule that these things are suffered contrary to God's will, or not performed by his will? forasmuch as he doth all whatsoever him listeth both in heaven and in earth.

Moreover, whereas he is called by the predestinate counsel of God "the Lamb slain before the foundations of the world were laid," and before the fall of Adam, by what means, I pray you, could a plaster be prepared before the wound made, but that through the same providence it was decreed, that a wound should be made of necessity?

But, lo! a new onset again upon us. *If this be true, then must it needs follow, that both God is the author of sin, and withal that men were created by him to destruction also.* I do answer to both the objections; first, that God is not the author of sin, but the author of his own creature, out of which creature springeth sin; so that sin now is the work of the creature, not of the Creator; secondly, where it is objected that God did create his creatures to destruction, this is most untrue; for God doth condemn nothing of his own nature, but sin only.

When God created man at the first, he created him perfect, upright, and without sin; he endued him also with free and absolute ability, not to sin; then he armed him with sufficient furniture against sin, to wit, with an especial admonition, so that the matter doth sufficiently declare itself, that God did so make man that he should not perish, but be saved. Afterwards sin began to bud out, taking the sap thereof not from God, but from Satan, and the free-will of man. Whereupon immediately ensued damnation, not laid upon man's shoulders by reason

of his creation, but willingly purchased by reason of his own sin.

For if Adam had stood fast, in that uprightness wherein he was created, and God had condemned him then, being in that uprightness, there might have been some cause peradventure that might have moved him to this just complaint, that God by his bare decree had unjustly created his own creature to the end that he should be damned.

But now since the whole race of mankind did cast itself underfoot, through the default of his own lust, and not through God's default, this will be a good answer to the question, that God did not make his creature unto destruction, but that the creature itself, by defiling itself with sin contrary to the dignity of his creation, hath made itself an abominable and ugly changeling, and transformed itself from the creature of God into the creature of the serpent. So that the Creator himself, in destroying his creature, may well be adjudged to have condemned now not his creature, which he made, but the creature of Satan, which the serpent destroyed.

But you will say, *Then was the image of God deformed as soon as it was created.* I know it; but by whose default? by God's default or man's default? But why did not the good Creator of the world forbid it to be done, whenas he foresaw it would come to pass? As though he gave not an especial commandment to the same effect in plain words: nay rather, if your reason be so captious, as will not be satisfied but with natural reason, I might more reasonably demand this reasonable question of you, why did not man obey the express restraint of God?

For what do ye read? Was not Adam forbidden to touch the unhappy apple of unlucky knowledge? was he not carefully admonished and forewarned by denouncing the danger that would ensue thereupon?

And being sufficiently armed with the power of free-will, had he not strength enough in himself to take heed? Why then did he not look to himself, at the least in season, if he were not willing to believe and obey God's advertisement?

Certainly, as long as he reposed himself and his whole safety in the safe-keeping and custody of the Lord, he was in no danger at all; but setting God's commandment at nought once, whenas he chose rather to become the bond-slave of Satan, aspiring to be as wise as his Creator and God, here what should God's justice do now, which was not bounden to be any more careful for another body's servant?

And yet for all this, God of his mercy did not so forsake and yield over his creature, although his creature most unkindly forsook him, being his Creator; he did beautify this runaway with the light of reason, whereby he might know what ought to be eschewed, and what ought to be embraced. Furthermore, to make him more careful to regard virtue, he planted into him very deep roots and pricks of conscience; he added moreover statutes and laws, not only imprinted within every one's heart, but engraven also outwardly in spectable tables.

Finally, besides these written ordinances of the law, he did ever now and then raise up Prophets unto them, who with lively voice and teaching should never cease by aiding, by promising, by terrifying, by obtesting, by sweet exhorting; briefly, by all manner of means should never cease to retain the people in an universal obedience according to order and duty.

What shall we say to this also? that he furnished the very Gentiles themselves (though they were never so beastly and barbarous) with the doctrine of philosophers, oftentimes with counsels of grave men, with wonderful helps of good letters, and precepts

hilosophy, persuading them to all things, and
al not sparing to prick them forward to the em-
ing of virtue, and eschewing of vice, with hor-
examples oftentimes as with a spur? I beseech
now, what wanted to be added more either to
's justice, to express mercy? or to his mercy, to
ess justice? or to his diligence, to express his
inual fatherly carefulness?

ut here wanted natural strength, you will say;
was not God to be blamed for this, but man's
rather. And yet neither in this behalf did
's fatherly goodness deny his assistance; for even
his sore also he made a plaster, and to cure this
ersal poison of nature, he gave as universal
ridatum, made with the precious blood of his
begotten Son, wherewith the weakest creature
e world, and the most overwhelmed with sin,
ht easily attain remedy of eternal life.

orasmuch therefore as mankind was of every
so wonderfully fenced with so many and so
t benefits of God's gracious mercy, what is there
any man may either want to be supplied by this
most bountiful God and Creator? or what could
good and merciful God have done more liberally
his creatures? But here bursteth out more con-
ion and quarrelling amongst the divines, wherein
plunge themselves too much.

'or whereas this faith in Christ is not pertinent to
ersons, and that the greater sort of people do
acknowledge the Son of God, and that he is not
faithfully reverenced as becometh, and that they
se not the safety of their imbecility in this Christ
hey should; now cometh here the question, what
cause should be then of this his rejection? from
nce it proceedeth? from out the will of men, or
n out the decree of God, or out of both causes
g coupled together? Osorius here grounding

his authority upon his fine Cicero, doth very mightily affirm, *that they were therefore made the vessels of wrath, because they would not be made the vessels of mercy.*

But how this may be true, I cannot conceive sufficiently. Although I do not deny this, that those which are made vessels of wrath are altogether replenished with a rebellious will, wherewith they do voluntarily forsake the offered grace of their vocation, yet this same will is not the cause of reprobation, but the effect rather, and doth follow, and not go before it, and itself is made rather, than maketh rejection. For neither such as be razed out of the book of election are therefore become the vessels of wrath, because they did forsake mercy; but they do therefore throw away mercy offered unto them, because, being excluded from the grace of election, they were fore-appointed to be the vessels of wrath, and castaways: so that Osorius might have spoken more truly on this wise; that such were made the vessels of wrath, whom God would not have to be the vessels of mercy. And for this cause, those Pharaonical persecutors of the church were subject to wrath, not only because they will not be partakers of God's mercy, but also because they cannot.

Besides this also, inasmuch as all the mercies of God are contained in Christ only, and in the knowledge of Christ, as it were, fast locked in the ark of God, in what sense will Osorius say, that they which will not believe are made the vessels of wrath, as though the sin of infidelity did not rather proceed of the ignorance of judgment, than of any motion of will and of purpose? For it consisteth not within the compass of natural strength, for every man that will, to be able to know Christ as him listeth; but such as it is given unto from above, that they may

be able to know, and have a will also to know Christ.

Otherwise, in what sense do the Scriptures teach, that Christ shall be "the stone of offence, and rock to stumble upon, to them who do not believe, and do stumble upon the word of faith" (1 Pet. ii.), whereunto they are marked, if the whole matter were achieved not by the decree of God, but did hang upon the determination of man, even as the Apostle doth testify in another place, "that all do not apprehend faith." Again, we hear also by the testimony of the same Paul, "that it is neither of him that runneth, nor of him that willeth, but of God that taketh mercy." Finally, "of them which are ordained (saith Luke) to eternal life, and whose hearts, as the same Luke recordeth (Acts, xiii.), God doth open, to make them know the word of God." And again, the same Paul doth deny them to have known the Lord of glory; for if they had known him, they would not have crucified Christ. (1 Cor. ii.)

But what was the cause that they knew him not, but because the whole matter thereof rested not in their own wills, but because by God's secret decree it was not given to them that had ears to hear, and eyes to see? For their ears were made deaf, that they should not hear; and their hearts were blinded, that they should not understand. And therefore the Lord himself doth openly pronounce, "that many were called, but few are chosen." (Matt. xx.) Moreover, in another place, the same Lord calleth his flock "a little flock." And why doth he call it a little flock, good Sir, I beseech you?

If God's mercy, so largely poured abroad, and so freely offered (as you seem to blaze it out), do extend itself to all persons indifferently, without exception, why do not all persons then indifferently repair unto Christ? at the least, why is not the greatest

part drawn unto him? forsooth, *because they will not*, say you. You are come back again to the first question. For I demand what the cause is why they will not, but because it is not given unto them; so that ye may perceive now the very well-spring of this fountain springeth not from man's will, but from the counsel of God. Or else, how doth Christ name them which be his to be but few in number, but that he foreknew assuredly that it would be so? or how did he foreknow it, but because it was decreed first of an infallible certainty?

And therefore Christ, teaching his disciples, spake openly and plainly unto them, "that it was given unto them to know the mysteries of the kingdom, but to others in parables, that seeing, they might not see; and hearing, they might not hear." Likewise Peter, confirmed by the same Spirit (speaking of the rock of offence), doth openly denounce not only what they should do which should be offended at Christ, but also that they were ordained of very purpose so to do.

And yet I will not deny that which they teach of the mercy of God; I do know and confess that it is far and wide dispersed abroad every where, and that the same mercy of God denieth itself to no person (as Augustine saith) but to such as will not receive it. But in this same very mercy, nevertheless, two things are to be considered: that God doth not only offer those promises of benefits and blessings, of his mere mercy and bounteous liberality; but also that he doth inspire the heart of man inwardly with his Spirit, to receive those things that be offered.

And so after the first manner of speaking, I do confess, that there is a certain general grace of God, and a certain free choice of election laid open to all without exception, that he may receive it, that hath a will to receive it; so that under this word, *laid open*, God's outward calling be understood, which

consisteth in precepts, in exhortations, in rules written either in the ten commandments, or in the conscience, or in preaching of the word.

And in this sense may we rightly say that Pharaoh himself wanted not the grace of God; nor Saul; no, nor any of the rest whom he did oftentimes allure with gentle promises, terrify with miracles, reward with gifts, invite to repentance with prolonging of punishment, suffer with much patience, alluring and calling all men daily to amendment of life. All which be infallible tokens of his merciful will, called *voluntas signi*.

But after the second manner of speaking: if we behold the mercy of God, and that grace which maketh acceptable; or if we respect that will of his wherewith he not only willeth all to be saved, but wherewith he bringeth to pass that those whom he will, shall be saved; the matter doth declare itself sufficiently, that that mercy and grace of accepting those things whereunto they are called, is not laid open for all and every one indifferently, but is distributed through a certain special dispensation and peculiar election of God, whereby they that are called according to the purpose of his grace are drawn to consent.

By means whereof it cometh to pass, that the same calling, according to God's purpose, failing, every man hath not in his own hand to choose or refuse that earnest desire and general grace indifferently offered, but such as have either received the gift of God, or are denied the gift of God. Neither doth the matter so wholly depend upon the choice of our will, either in choosing or refusing totally; for then might it be verified, that there was no predestination before the foundations of the world were laid, if our election were necessarily guided by our wills, and that our will were the foundation of our salvation. There-

fore whereas they say, that God doth accept them which will embrace his grace, and reject them which will not receive it, is altogether untrue; nay, it rather had been more convenient to fetch our fountain from the well-spring of grace, than from the puddle of our own will.

So that we might speak more truly on this wise, that God doth endue us with his grace and favourable countenance, because we should be willing to embrace his ordinances and commandments; on the contrary part, as concerning those that will not receive his grace offered, that such do worthily perish. And that the very cause that they will not receive it, doth hereof arise, because their will is not holpen, and that they do therefore not receive it, because they are not themselves received first.

For as touching the objection urged out of Chrysostom, *that God did as much unto Pharaoh indeed, as he could do to save him*, if ye refer God's doing there to that will which is called *non signi*, but to *beneplaciti*, which God could and would utter in those whom he made vessels of mercy, whereof St. Paul maketh mention treating of the mercy of predestination; surely the Scripture is quite repugnant against it, saying, "God did harden the heart of Pharaoh." For if God did harden the heart of Pharaoh, how then did he to Pharaoh as much as he might? But if Pharaoh did harden his own heart, after that God had not mollified his heart, had not tamed his insolency, and not bowed him to godly inclinations (which he is accustomed to do to his elect), in what sense then is he said to have done as much to Pharaoh as to his other vessels of mercy, whom election had predestinated to be saved?

But to let Chrysostom pass awhile, let us hear Augustine hereupon, and make him, as it were, judge of the cause. For where question is made,

:ther God did call men indifferently by a general
›iration to faith and salvation, Augustine doth
ce this answer:

' Forasmuch as vocation or calling is taken two
ıner of ways, to wit, internal and external, true
; (saith he) that all men are indifferently called
:r the manner of that external calling, but all
not as indifferently drawn by this internal voca-
ı :" and if the cause be sought for, why all are
drawn indifferently, but that to some it is given,
›ther some not given, he maketh this answer:
ome there be that will say (quoth he), it is the will
nan; but we say, it is the grace and predestina-
ı of God. But God doth require men to believe.
onfess (saith he), yet is faith, nevertheless, the
: of God; for He that doth require faith, doth pro-
se withal, that he will bring to pass that they shall
form that which he commandeth, &c."

And again: " If it be demanded, whether mercy
therefore given to man, because he believeth, or
ıt mercy were therefore bestowed upon him, be-
ıse he should become believing, to this question
maketh the very answer of the Apostle, *I have
ained mercy, because I should be faithful.* He
th not say, because I was faithful, &c." And this
ıch hitherto out of Augustine. Let us now come
Pighius. And because we are happened upon
s place to discourse upon, to wit, the equal dis-
nsation of God's mercy, it shall not be amiss to
nsider briefly his opinion herein, agreeing with
ıorius altogether.

For these be the speeches of Pighius: " God doth
er himself (saith he) an equal and indifferent fa-
er to all persons; he overspreadeth all men ge-
rally, with the one self-same gladsome beams of
ercy and clemency, without any difference. Now
some through this lenity become tractable, and

other some hereby made more indurate, this discrepance proceedeth from the corruption of men. There is no inequality of distribution of lenity and mercy in God." For proof whereof, taking a similitude out of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the third chapter:

"For as not every land watered with like bountifulness of the heavenly dew, doth yield like fruit to the husbandman, but one land yieldeth forth corn, another thorns and brambles; the one whereof is blessed of God, the other accursed; even no less joyously doth the mercy of God shine indifferently, with general and equal largess and bounty towards all universally, which being set open to all alike, doth deny itself to none, but such as will refuse it themselves.

"But some turn to amendment of life through this mercy, other some do abuse this mercy to more outrageous licentiousness of sinning." And again, fetching a similitude from the heat of the sun: whereas the sun yieldeth one self-same heat, we do see, that through the same, the earth is made more stiff and hard, and the wax softened, and made more pliable: hereupon Pighius gathereth, that whatsoever difference is betwixt the good and the reprobate, the same wholly to issue out of the corruption of men, and not out of the will of God.

But our expositors have sufficiently answered this slippery device, that this assertion of Pighius, and of his mate Osorius, *that God's mercy is poured alike into all men*, is utterly false and absurd; and where they do affirm, that God maketh no choice in the dispensation of his grace, and that there is great difference betwixt the godly and the ungodly: indeed, that there is great difference betwixt the good and bad, we do not deny; but where they do ascribe the principal motion and efficient cause thereof in man's will only, and not in God only, they

are altogether deceived. For as concerning the common nature of man, truly in this we may with more certainty determine equability of condition in mankind, as that they retain one semblable condition and quality of free choice, forasmuch as all being created out of one lump, are alike all poisoned with one kind of infection, as men that be altogether unable of themselves to do any thing available to salvation.

And forasmuch as this imbecility doth infect all mankind alike, as with a general pestilence, it appeareth therefore evidently, that this difference standeth not so much upon the determination of their will; or at least, if it stand upon their will, yet that it doth not proceed first from man's will, but from the calling of God, which offereth itself not alike to every one, nor after one manner to all in general, but doth diversly draw some after one sort, and some after another. For, as I said before, the Scriptures have set down a double manner of calling, the one whereof is general and outward, the other is inward, according to purpose; to wit, the calling of them whose wills the Holy Ghost doth inspire and enlighten with an inward effectualness.

But this similitude of the clay and wax is ridiculous, and worthy to be laughed at, because that this distinction cannot be applicable to *free-will* after the fall of *Adam*; for of the whole offspring of Adam, not some be pliable as wax, nor some lumpish as hard earth; for where God doth fashion vessels of one kind of clay (as Paul saith), some unto honour, some unto dishonour, no man is so mad to affirm, that the clay is the cause of this difference, but the potter rather.

Moreover, to as small purpose serveth that place to the Hebrews, which treateth not of grace and free-will, but of the word of God, and men whom he doth exhort by way of demonstration and compa-

rison of fruitful ground, to receive the word of God fruitful, and profess the same with effect. The same also is to be understood of that parable of the good ground yielding to the husbandman plenty and abundance of fruit, mentioned in the Gospel. But how may these be applied to free-will? what will Pighius coin hereof?

If God's word take root in none but such as be good, what availeth this sentence to establish the doctrine of free-will? For the question is not here, whether they only be good, which receive the word of eternal life effectually; but this is the point that must be touched: from whence men receive ability to be made good: of the nimbleness of their own will, or of the calling of God? And therefore that parable serveth to no purpose in this case, as being applied for none other end, but to signify the dispensation and disposition of God's holy word, which in a manner may aptly be compared to seed, which though the husbandman do sow upon every ground indifferently, yet it yieldeth forth fruit but in a few, yea, and in those also that be good grounds.

But having now rent in sunder these slender and trifling cobwebs, the adversaries, notwithstanding, be never a deal the more quieted; but having picked together a fresh supply of skiptacks, do rush upon the grace of predestination with a new hubbub again, for the maintenance of Free-will's quarrel. For with these shuttlecocks do these redshanks, with their Colonel Osorius, set upon us.

For to admit (say they) *that God doth make choice but of a few, and pass over an infinite number of others, this seemeth to argue no small repugnancy in God's mercy, and a wonderful cruelty in him, neither is it consonant to reason. For if he suffer the more number to perish, because he will not save them, he is cruel; if he cannot save them, he is not omni-*

potent. Moreover, if he cast them off without just cause of offence or desert, he is unrighteous; if in equal cause he make unequal distribution of his election, he shall be judged an accepter of persons. But the almighty and most merciful God doth nothing now that is not in all respects most consonant to reason; no cruelty, no unrighteousness; finally, no one thing that is not replenished with goodness.

Albeit this mousy and drowsy chaff, long since blown abroad in the eyes of Augustine by the Pelagians, hath been sufficiently fanned away in his book entitled, *De Articulis falso impositis*; yet, following Augustine herein (more than I need), somewhat to please Osorius withal, lest he exclaim again that his arguments are not thoroughly resolved, I will answer in a few words in this wise: it cannot be denied, that few are chosen, and many called; yet is not the goodness of God any jot impeached in this respect, nor his cruelty increased.

First, in that he did choose few, or any at all, was an especial work of his goodness; then in that it pleased him to proclaim a general calling to the participation of his Gospel for all men universally, was also a point of great clemency; but in that those that are called do not come, proceedeth not of any cruelty in God, no, nor yet is any fault thereof to be laid to his charge, but unto men's disobedience; but how can it be said to be man's fault, say you, seeing that not their wills, but God's predestination withstandeth them so, that they cannot be able to come? Indeed, that man's will is no obstacle unto them to come, this doth no man affirm, for hereof springeth all the fault that is in man.

Again, to say that God's eternal predestination is no prejudice to them that fall away, surely no man can deny this likewise; but how this predestination of God is an estoppel, must be seen not by pouring

in new poison (for that needeth not), but by forsaking the old; thus therefore the will of man is an obstacle, but not alone. So is predestination also an obstacle, but not without the will of man; so that here both man's will worketh, and God's predestination worketh, each one in his own kind, but after a several manner of operation; in the difference whereof, because Osorius will seem so buzzardly blind, we will not refuse to open it unto him.

And first, God's predestination indeed hath her operation according to the infallible will of his most free decree, not so much in the things themselves, as most especially in the wills of men, and expresseth in this their will such a kind of operation, that itself in the mean time is forced of none, and doth always go before the actions of man's will, and doth guide and govern those wills; which direction and conduct man's will doth attend upon, which withal worketh also in things subject unto it, and after a certain manner of her own, doth move itself freely, that is to say, doth with earnest affection bend itself willingly of her own accord and voluntary inclination, to the things which it embraceth or despiseth; for it doth neither choose any thing, but that it willeth; nor refuseth any thing, but that itself willeth not; finally, attempteth nothing at all but willingly, that is to say, of her own accord, and with a very willing mind: and yet not altogether so freely as Osorius surmiseth, which is in very deed the cause of Osorius' error herein, and drowneth his judgment most in this question.

For as often as he heareth mention made that will doth use her certain free choice, in consenting or dissenting, he dreameth by and by, that the same will is such as is subject to the direction of none other, but is at her own liberty; and is endued with full and absolute power in herself (which power

the Greeks do call αὐτοεξουσιαν, or αὐτονομιαν) to eschew the things that it willeth, and to do the things that it willeth, so that it doth nothing of necessity, but which it might otherwise do according to its own pleasure, if it will.

Again, if a man make never so little motion of the purpose of predestination, he doth by and by interpret thereof, as though nothing were left for man at all to be able to conceive with reason, or deliberate with judgment, or make choice of, through any voluntary motion of will, but to be enforced to all things by a certain external coaction, as it were, by unavoidable and fatal necessity; both which are utterly false, and, to speak directly, the very dotage of Osorius.

For as we do not despoil will of her liberty, nor banish it out of the world, nor raze it out of our writings, so do we not magnify it like an idol; we do not root it out of nature, but we make it subject to God; nor do deny that it is free after a certain manner, but do declare in what sort it is free; for then it is free, when it is made free: we do not so derogate from it, as though, in attempting or relenting, it had no feeling or sense; but we do neither esteem it of so great a price, as though it achieved any thing of her own strength, without the special conduct of God's predestination. Moreover, we do neither so establish this same predestination working in men's wills, as though it enforced them against their wills, and violently to do the things they would not. For will cannot choose but will; yea, willingly always and freely whatsoever it doth; nor can do any thing but that it willeth; or else, will were no will at all, whether it did well or otherwise. But to will well, and to do well, she is not able of herself, but borroweth her ability thereunto from elsewhere; and yet to do evil, hath it more than enough in itself,

yea without any help at all, which she doth both will of herself, and doth of herself bring to pass freely; albeit not altogether so freely yet, but that this freedom is always captivate with miserable thraldom and bondage. For will being left destitute of heavenly assistance, is so subject and servile to her natural lust, and overwhelmed with backward affections, that when it doth evil, it can do no better of itself though it would; nor is of itself able to do any thing that it doth otherwise than of very necessity.

Whereby appeareth evidently what kind of freedom man's will enjoyeth, which, whether it consent to good things, can neither will or do any thing of itself, being not assisted; again, if it dissent, cannot otherwise dissent but of very necessity, being left over to her own strength; for so deadly an infection hath poisoned the very roots and whole offspring of nature, that it is neither able to will any good thing, but being holpen by grace, no, nor so much as to think a good thought.

What, then, shall there be nothing left (say you) *in the power of man's freedom?* Yes, truly, Osorius, I do not spoil man's will so naked, that it can do nothing in heavenly things; but your opinion tendeth rather to this effect, that God's predestination can appoint no certainty in human actions; for if man's will do possess such a full and absolute freedom, as you say, as can by no means be subject, what scope then give you to God's election, but that it perform nothing at all freely, but be directed always by the free conduct of some foreign guider, so that the whole force hereof now be not of Him that calleth, but of him that is called rather?

But if, according to Paul's doctrine, the whole exploit of things be governed by Him that calleth only, what shall become of man's freedom then? If you

l cut these two asunder, and yield part thereof to l, and part to predestination, ascribing all to man's ver and ability, and little or nothing at all to d's predestination, why then do you not instruct distinctly what and how much each of them doth form? and withal, wherein the diversity and dif- ence of them both consisteth? which if you will distinguish duly and orderly, according to their ural and proper distinctions, what other doctrine ye teach us, but that God's predestination must ds appear, both in order of time to be first and er, and in power always more mighty and far mounting all the force of man's will; which being nted, what will follow hereof at the length, but t man's choice will be proved at the length so none otherwise free, but that it must always be ondage, either to God's grace, being holpen to d, or to her own lust, being cast off to wicked- s? But meseemeth I do hear what the secret sperings of Pelagius brood, and amongst them efly Osorius, the stout champion of that crew, bark against this:

To consent or not to consent (say they), *is in our power, nor is the grace of God otherwise effec-, but as we embrace his aid and assistance offered us; whereupon they conclude at the length that in our own power either to entertain the grace of l, or to forsake it.*

This consequent we deny, as the which being le without all form of art, is also as void of all nd of truth. As concerning assenting or dis- ing, I do confess that these motions are num- d amongst the residue of the natural powers of 's will, if we do consider of them, as in their and naked powers, without their objects; but sent rightly to the things which appertain unto and God's calling, Augustine doth answer very

discreetly: "That unto this we are altogether unable of ourselves, but that our ability hereunto proceedeth wholly from Him, which doth first bring to pass, that, of unwilling, we may be made willing; and doth draw them that are obstinate to obedience, creating a new heart within them, to make them his own willing, voluntary, and serviceable servants."

Moreover, where they say that grace is none otherwise effectual unless we do put our helping hands also together with grace, and that none are holpen, but such as endeavour thereunto of their own accord: it is true also, and the reason is, because God doth work in man not with any foreign constraint only, as he usually accustometh in brute beasts and stones, but with man's own voluntary inclination and motion. But whence this voluntary motion (in things appertaining to God especially) doth arise, Augustine will teach you, "who doth deny that this grace of God doth find any good will in us, but doth make our wills to be good." And again, where he testifieth, "that no man is able to resort to this grace for aid, but whose steps the Lord doth guide thereunto; insomuch that he boldly pronounceth, that the beginning of grace is even to feel a want of grace."

Now therefore followeth upon these propositions thus granted, that wheresoever God's effectual grace is, there is no defect of will; on the contrary part, wheresoever appeareth any defect of will, there God's grace is ineffectual, which is comprehended in these two operations, namely, in "eternal calling and inward drawing;" so that the receptacle of grace is with us indeed, but not as of ourselves, but of the grace of God.

But the refusal of grace is both in us, and withal cometh of our own selves; and yet so nevertheless of our own selves, as that being rejected from God's

race, we cannot but reject his grace, nor are we able of ourselves to do otherwise, though we would never so fain. And what kind of freedom shall will be said to enjoy here, than the which no kind of servile thraldom can be more miserable or more wretched?

But our good Sir, here, will deny this, *that God, according to the inestimable goodness of his fatherly nature, doth reject at any time from his mercy, which is indifferently and equally laid open for all in general.* Hereof hath been sufficiently discoursed before; yet I will add this one saying: if God's grace do reject no person from him, then must we of necessity confess, that he doth not make choice of any likewise. For where all are generally and indifferently chosen without respect, there surely is no man cast away.

Again, where is no rejection at all, there can be then no place for election; for in choice we are not said to choose all, but to accept out of all, not every one, but whom we like best; where a choice is, and no man rejected, there is not a choice or election properly, but an acceptance, and an allowance rather. Neither can that be termed a choice of men, which the Grecians do call ἀνδρολογιαν, after the proper manner of speaking, except it be out of the multitude of a remnant.

But God (say you) *hath left no man so destitute of his grace, but that every man is able of himself to be converted, and to embrace grace if he will; or not to be converted, if he will not.* Who can better unloose this knot than Augustine: "When the Gospel is preached, why do not all believe they are not all of the Father? If we shall say (saith he) because they will not be converted, we shall answer rate, to what purpose then was this spoken? *Converting us, O Lord, thou shalt quicken us.* And

again, *O God of Hosts, convert thou us, &c.*" And therefore the same Augustine speaketh not unfitly in another place: "God doth help them that are converted, and forsaketh them that are forsaken; but to be converted, God himself helpeth, &c."

If none be converted unto God but those only whom himself helpeth, hereby it appeareth plainly, that they which turn themselves away from God do not therefore turn away because they will not turn unto him; but that they will not therefore turn rather, because God forsaketh them; that is to say, because the Lord of Hosts converting doth not quicken them, that they may have will to be converted.

Albeit I will not deny in the mean whiles that unwillingness doth proceed from men themselves, and from their own free-will; yet this unwillingness notwithstanding is not so free itself, that they which are forsaken can do otherwise than they be unwilling of very necessity; neither can there be any defect of this will any where, but where God's effectual grace was not present before. "For as no man is good (as Augustine witnesseth) that will not be good; so there is no man evil but through his own voluntary will, which will being forsaken of God, can nevertheless not do any otherwise but evil."

And why doth God forsake them? (will you say;) *why doth not God help them whom he hath created?* Let me move you a counter-question, I pray you, even in as few words. And why do they not ask it of their God? if they be without, why do they not knock? if they be unbelieving, why do they not seek? if they dwell in sin, why do they not repent? *How can they* (say you), *seeing that they have no free-will?* (as you say.) Admit the same—but in whose default? in God's default? But God did create man perfect at the first, and endued him with freedom.

is it man's fault? Let them then accuse themselves, God.

But ye urge again: *And why then doth he commu-ate his grace to some, which he denieth to others? t is he not indifferently merciful towards all, and inclinable to all universally?* At the beginning, en God created man, he did then create also all nature of man, fully furnished with all integrity l freedom; afterwards, when this state of inno-cy and freedom was lost, whenas also the whole ıp was defiled withal, God might withal have so aken all the same in general; nevertheless, his rcy doth not so, but would rather by election ose some out of this abominable corruption, forsaking the other altogether in the mean time; y he denieth help unto them, unto whom he was bound to give assistance.

And what though he were not so indifferently rciful towards all; yet was he injurious to none. hat! do you not hear what himself speaketh? Is thine eye therefore wicked? is it not lawful to with mine own as it pleaseth me?" Or at least, do ı not hear the Apostle? "O man, what art thou t contendest against God?" Whereas God doth e thee nothing at all, dost thou therefore snarl at n, because, doing wrong to no man, he doth en-ge the riches of his mercy towards them whom it aseth him?

But forward crawleth Osorius' invective. *Foras-ch as this is the mind and meaning of Paul, what rageous fury is this madman intoxicated withal, t would endeavour to persuade such a construction Paul's testimony, which would both overthrow the te of human society, and withal make God guilty unrighteousness?*

Since this is the infallible meaning of Paul, which have heretofore confirmed after the judgment of ther, Bucer, Calvin, and by the testimony of the

Holy Scriptures chiefly, which also Osorius himself (were he never so sober and sound witted) can never be able to confute; to what end tendeth this so foolish and childish exclamation, proceeding from an old and grey-headed man? whereunto serve these tragical outcries, that this ruler of the roost so ruffleth up of a trifle, thundering out such monstrous outrages and frantic exclamations?

Which doth overthrow (saith he) *the state of men.* And what kind of estate of men is this at the length which Luther doth so overthrow? If he mean the state of the commonwealth and civil liberty, herein truly are many several degrees and estates, as well of offices as of personages; for there be princes, there be dukes, there be knights of the noble order; there be citizens, there be divers and several magistrates, some high, some low, under whom are the mean and inferior subjects, even the rascal rabble and multitude: so be there also several distinctions of ages, arts, handicrafts, and manuary occupations; some young, some old, some rich, some poor.

All these now, albeit in number innumerable, and in kind and quality distinct, are nevertheless confederate and knit together in a certain general unity, and mutual conformity of allied league, through a certain civil policy and institution of manners; are beautified with mutual amity; are united and linked together to God in one participation of religion; are orderly governed by force of laws; do exercise mutual traffic together; are restrained from licentiousness of life with one manner of general correction; so that if they live not in full perfection of virtue, according to the prescript rule of the laws, yet do they much less offend, for fear of justice and judgment.

Now, Sir, in this general regiment and state of things and of persons, what one city, what one village,

r what family, was ever made one mite the worse y Luther's doctrine, either in respect of their ue obedience to civil magistrates, or in breach of omestic tranquillity, or in their dutiful allegiance to heir princes, or in any other civil society?

One only disorderous order of people hath intruded itself upon this state of human society, usurping a certain princely superiority (I know not y what means), crept in at the first; sure I am it was never established by God, nor by nature, nor yet by any necessary institution; but pressing to the perch, partly through fraud, partly through oppression, and chiefly through the ambitious arrogancy of their own proud prelacy, not to undertake any necessary or profitable function in the weal public, nor to join in administration of office with others, for the behoof of any common weal; but to hale all other governments under their jurisdiction, and to make subject all other estates, potentates, and empires under their stately superiority, by erecting a certain new-found and Lucifer-like monarch upon the earth.

It is that Romish, tyrannical, and papistical dominion which I mean and complain upon, which through incredible subtilty, craft, and secret sly underminings, under a commendable title of the church, hath by little and little enhanced itself to so wonderful loftiness, that all other estates and degrees (being enforced to yield their necks to the yoke, as it were) must, maugre their beards, not only submit their heads and shoulders to their oppression and tyranny, but also, like miserable bond-slaves, must with all reverence and humility prostrate themselves, to kiss their feet.

In this imperial throne is enthroned chief above all others, and triumphing over all other estates, the most mighty potentate and monarch, the bishop of Rome; next unto him (as the principal stays and

proud pillars of this hierarchy), advance themselves the cormorant cardinals; then follow in order the roysting rout of mitred prelates, of the scarlet crew of rochettes and shavelings. I speak not here of good and virtuous bishops, nor of true ministers of Christ; but of such as hang only upon the beck of the bishop of Rome.

Last of all, after those jolly champions, whole droves of monks and friars come tumbling in heaps together, a rabble of rascals; as of all other people the most lazy and lewd, so surrounding the whole world in such unmeasurable swarms (issue as it were and brood of the earth), that the earth itself is scarce able to foster up her own generation.

And therefore if your meaning concern the overthrow of this sort of people, in this point I do agree with you, Osorius; that Luther travailed indeed earnestly herein, but achieved not so much as was needful for the Christian commonwealth; for albeit he could not utterly raze out the raking regiment of those Romish roysters, most inordinately raising themselves, not only above all empires and regiments of the earth, but also beyond all whatsoever is called God; yet did he prettily shake them; he plucked off the vizors of those apish stagers, discovered their fraud, made the world acquainted with their subtle sleights and lying doctrine, and confuted them with the manifest force of the truth. Finally, albeit, by opening the light of the Gospel, he could not utterly rend in pieces that shrine of the beast, which so many hundred years had suppressed and drowned in darkness the knowledge of God's word, yet was his industry and labour not unprofitably employed to the defacing thereof.

And I would to God he had been able, not only to have defaced the power and outrage of the see, but also to have plucked the same up by the roots,

and brought the memory thereof to utter confusion, and banished it clean out of the minds and memories of men and nations for ever; in so doing, truly he could not have done any exploit more acceptable to God, and more profitable to the state of Christianity. Truly, many thousands of men and women had been wonderfully preserved thereby, who through the more than barbarous and unspeakable cruelty of this consuming gulf, have been miserably swallowed up and devoured within a very few years in England, France, Spain, Scotland, Flanders, Germany, and other Christian nations; for as yet cannot this insatiable cormorant be sufficiently englutted and fully gorged with Christian gore.

And yet for all this, poor silly Luther is accused, which durst so boldly presume to unlade and cure Christian consciences of so cankered a fistula, of so poisoned an imposthume, and so raging a carbuncle. And because he did dare to undertake the patronage and defence of the truth against manifest heresies, and more than palpable errors, there is no less laid to his charge than high treason, as though he practised the utter overthrow not only of all Christian society, but of the state of the whole world also. And why may not the wolf with as good reason condemn the silly lamb for troubling his water? Let Isaac also be accused, because he restored to the Philistines the wells pure and cleansed from the filth and baggage which themselves had maliciously dammed up before. Let the physician likewise be indicted of murder, who ministering wholesome potion to his patient against the pestilence or frenzy, hath preserved life. Furthermore, let it be lawful for Osorius himself to bark against the shining of the sun, because it reneweth the gladsome countenance of the pleasant dawning, by driving away the dazzling darkness of the ugly night.

Finally, let him quarrel with Christ himself, and his most sacred Spirit, who did not only himself raise up Luther for this purpose, but also by plain foretellings did so many years before prophesy of the darkness, decay, and overthrow of the self-same see. "And he poured out his vial (saith he) upon the seat of the beast, and his kingdom was covered with darkness, and they did gnaw their tongues for sorrow, &c." (Rev. xvi.) Which prophecy, forasmuch as it cannot by any probable allusion be applied either to the Jews or to the Turks, let the Romish see bethink itself well, what kind of kingdom at the length is foreshewed here, by the words of the Holy Ghost.

And to the same end do the words of St. Paul tend likewise, where he declareth in what manner the "*revealing* of the son of perdition should come to pass." But after the proper phrase of speech, nothing is said to be *revealed*, but that which before did lie close and hidden in covert. And therefore if of very necessity the divine Spirit of Christ must be had to the discovering of this covert enemy, which could not otherwise be espied by the policy and wit of man, certainly it could not be, but that this antichrist, whatsoever he be, must lurk and shadow himself wonderful covertly and craftily, and that much people should be deceived in him before he could be *revealed* and detected to the world.

What person this son of perdition is, I do not at this present trouble my brains about; surely, for my part, I know no one person else, neither by application of the signs, notes, or circumstances, and plain demonstrations (wherewith St. Paul doth paint him out unto us) can I guess upon any other whom this counterfeit may resemble in any proportion, besides this one prelate only, who so lustily vaunteth himself in the temple of God. And therefore these thunderbolts and great flashes of Osorius' lightning,

touching the overthrow of the state of Christianity, do no more touch Luther, than the lying cavillation of Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, did concern the prophet Amos to be a seditious person, when he accused him in the presence of Jeroboam the king. "Behold (saith he), Amos hath conspired against thee, even in the midst of the house of Israel." (Amos, vii.)

Even such-like legerdemain doth our Osorius utter here, very finely expressing unto us the wonderful and singular sleights of the papistical subtleties which those catholic counterfeits seem long since to have sucked out of the crafty wiles and practices of that old comical Phormio: who, being chiefly to be detected for some crafty conveyance, step forth like tall fellows first, and become accusers of others; supposing they shall hereby acquit themselves clear of all suspicion of crime, if they can first accuse others of the fault, whereof they ought themselves to be impeached. And here, in my opinion, the very self-same, or very like unto the same, seemeth to have happened to Luther, wherewith we read that wicked Ahab did charge Elias the Prophet even in like deceitful manner, saying, "Thou art he (quoth he) that dost trouble all Israel."

Not much unlike to that example of Nero, whereof historians make mention, who having himself set Rome on fire, playing and singing upon his harp, the destruction thereof in Homer's verses, whilst it was on flame, did afterwards lay the burning thereof to the Christians' charge, to the end he might procure them (though altogether innocent) to be maligned, hated, and persecuted of the people.

Even in like manner, Osorius, whenas ye Papists and the generation of your holy father have long since turned the state of the whole world, and the conditions and decrees of all civil society, quite upside-down, according to your own lust and pleasure;

yea, and daily moil and turmoil the same, and have left nothing sound and in peaceable order throughout the whole earth, continuing still all manner of outrage, persecuting continually with fire and sword, with your cursings and bulls, with execrable inquisitions, horrible punishments, scourges, and torments, and with all manner of horrible tortures triumphing, as it were, upon the ransack of all Christian peace and tranquillity; yet do ye Papists, nevertheless, rail rudely upon Luther, "Thou art he which dost trouble all Israel."

And why should not that song be chanted rather even into the ears of your holy father the Pope? for this is he, the very same Trojan horse, out of whose belly hath issued all calamity and mischief. This is that Davus, that disturbeth all things; this is that Babylonical strumpet Thais, the brewer of all misery. What will become of that see hereafter, I know not; hitherto surely, surely it hath so behaved itself, that it may be worthily called the plague and canker of all Europe, which may be easily made manifest by many and sundry testimonies.

And although I speak thereof nothing at all, yet will their own doings and proceedings, faithfully described by historiographers, and deeply imprinted into the present views of the world, sufficiently bewray their dealings.

The great and manifold turmoils of changed estates, the sundry uproars of people, schisms, slaughters of Christians, the horrible disturbances of kings and kingdoms, the sundry alterations of the Roman empire, changes and translations of the same from out of the east first into the west, do evidently declare the same; whenas the Pope of Rome, renouncing the oath wherewith the Romans and Italians had obliged themselves to the emperor of Greece, did send for Charles Martellus out of France

into Italy, and crowned him emperor, contrary to the ancient order of election.

Afterwards, because the Frenchmen would not yield to their outrageous ambitions, practised in procuring the pre-eminence of the Pope's election, the empire was suddenly translated from France into Germany; by means of which inordinate alteration, can scarce be expressed by tongue, how great and how cruel wars and contentions followed betwixt the Frenchmen and the Germans, in the reign of Henry the First and Otto, being then emperors. Neither was this amity of the Pope towards the German empire of any long continuance, whose only and special practice was, that not only all bishops, but emperors also, should run to Rome for the investiture and confirmation: provided always, that it might by no means be lawful for any of them to intermeddle any thing at all in the Pope's jurisdiction.

Now because the Germans could not be made pliable hereunto upon the sudden, as men who reverencing the dignity and majesty of the empire (after the example of Otto and other their ancestors), were not willing to yield to the abasing of their lawful authority and prerogative imperial; hereupon began incredible stirs and uproars to be kindled. This was the occasion of the great wars of the two Henrys, the Fourth and the Fifth; then also of Frederic the First and the Second; after them of Ludovic of Baviere, and of his brother Frederic of Austrich. And again of Ludovic and Rodolph, whom Pope Gregory the Seventh of that name had privily raised up against Ludovic, the true and lawful emperor, sending him a crown, with this proud inscription or poesy, *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.*

What should I here renew the remembrance of those old tragedies of the emperor Henry the Sixth,

wherewith the whole world is well acquainted? upon whose head Pope Celestine the Fourth, vaunced upon a high throne, did set the imperial crown, not with his hand, but with his foot, and immediately with the same foot overthrew the same crown again, most arrogantly boasting, that he had authority to create kings, and to depose them again.

What shall I speak of Chilperic, the French king, whom Pope Zachary, against all equity and conscience, did depose from his true and possessed inheritance, and advanced in his place Pepin? And it lacked very little, but that king Philip had been driven to the very same extremity, against whom Pope Boniface the Eighth did by all means possible tease and egg to battle, Albert king of the Romans, to drive him out of his kingdom. Likeas before him Pope Hildebrand did maintain in arms Henry the son, against his own natural father, Henry the Fourth, who brought to pass by his cruelty that the father (being taken prisoner by the son, and shorn a monk) was thrust into a monastery instead of a prison, where he perished miserably through famine and want of food.

What shall I say of that, where Pope Alexander the Third, that most meek servant of the servants of God (treading upon the neck of a most renowned emperor, as upon the imperial majesty trodden now under foot), applied thereunto this triumphant sonnet, taken out of the Psalms of David, *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, &c.* Neither was Francis Dandalus, king of Crete and Cyprus, and duke of Venice, any jot more friendly intreated, whom Clement, the proud Romish prelate, would scarce at the length, after long suit, admit unto speech, though chained with an iron rope, and lying under his table amongst dogs.

Surely I shall seem to measure the sands, when I

enter upon the gulf of this Romish hierarchy. Briefly, therefore, and to be short: what nation, what country, what territory, what island did ever hear of the name of this see? which hath not withal been pinched with their cramps, spoiled with their exactions, and beggared with their trumperies, or, at least, scarce peepeth as yet from the tyrannical thraldom thereof? yea, what uproars, what commotions, what wars have wasted or consumed any Christian nation these many hundred years at any time, whereof this Babylonical strumpet hath not been wholly, or at the least for the more part, the author and procurer?

And no marvel at all. For what may be looked for else, at the hands of so proud a prelate, who being inflamed and boiling inwardly, as it were, with such an incredible inordinate desire of Lucifer-like superiority, as that he would only and alone rule the roost, and have all others in subjection under him, how then could such unmeasurable ambition be possibly satisfied without infinite troubles, uproars, and tumults? And therefore, as touching that clamorous accusation against Luther, *to be a common barrater and disturber of all civil society*, seemeth to me to be framed of Osorius, none otherwise than as though he would that Luther should only bear the name, but that the bishop of Rome should win the game.

Deal plainly therefore, Osorius, and point directly to the butt that you ought to have shot at. Name the person by name, if ye will be taken for a good proctor at the bar; yea, if ye be so careful for the preservation of the commonweal of Christendom (as you are a courteous and civil gentleman), let the force of your hot eloquence be blown directly against those persons, which are enemies to Christendom indeed, which tread empires under foot, which do writhe and wrest sceptres out of the hands of princes,

hurl violently with all the force of his eloquence against Luther, speaking in this manner: *What! as soon as these books of Luther were scattered abroad, do we not see how the quiet and peaceable estate of the church is vexed and troubled every where? how monks are driven out of their cells, spoiled of their goods, canons thrust out of their colleges, abbots and bishops thrown out from their rightful possession?*

Indeed we see this to be done in many places, Osorius; even so also do we see the dark clouds to vanish away after the rising of the sun in the morning; we see also the foggy mists to be scattered abroad, the darkened night to be driven away, the smaller stars to lose their brightness, and the heavens to wax clear and beautiful, and fair of hue, and men that before seemed blind with drowsy sleep, to awaken and shake off their sluggishness at the clear shining of the glittering light.

Now concerning your objection against Luther in the behalf of your church, of the bishops and monks, you shall then make your part colourable and good, whenas ye have rightly defined, first, what the true church is, who be true bishops and true monks. When I do hear this word *peace* named, when I do hear mention made of the church and of bishops, I cannot choose but acknowledge them to be honourable names and commendable titles; yea, even such as all men do most gladly and joyfully embrace; but yet truly under these names lurk many times many crafty conspiracies.

I know that it is not unfitly rendered by the poet, that *peace* is the most precious pearl of dame Nature's store; and surely as every man excelleth in virtue and piety, so for the more part is he studious and careful most for the due preservation of *peace* and of concord. And therefore good men do love *peace*, yea, and maintain *peace* among themselves;

shew himself rebellious against the superior powers? where did he disturb the peace and quiet government of any weal public? what church or congregation did he molest and trouble? what wars was he the author of? what kings or bishops did he ever minister poison unto, either in the communion bread, or in the wine within the communion chalice, as we read in the histories hath happened unto the Emperor Henry, unto Victor, and unto John king of England?

And I would to God there had never been besides these any other poisoned after the same sort. When or to whom did Luther ever offer his feet to be kissed, or upon whose neck did he tread with his feet at any time? Finally, in what nation or country was Luther ever known with his curses, excommunications, and bulls, to have usurped upon the majesty of any prince, or to have abated the due obedience of the people, or else to have allured and drawn away the hearts of the subjects (which were by oath obliged to their higher power) to rebel and pursue the destruction of their rulers and magistrates, contrary to their oath, contrary to all religion, contrary to all law, reason, and common course of nature itself? Which inordinate outrage being neither to be found, by report of any chronographer, amongst the Scythians, nor yet amongst the cruel Massigetes, yet this do we read, yea, and have seen with our eyes to have been practised of late here in England, by the treachery of Pope Pius the Fifth against our most gracious Queen Elizabeth, yea, and not long since against the late renowned Kings Henry the Eighth, her father, and Edward her brother.

But it comes already to my mind what answer Osorius will make to all this. For all that I have spoken touching the overthrow of the peace of the church, and the scattering abroad of the possessions thereof, Osorius will forthwith take holdfast of, and

great admiration; but who doubteth of this, that the only unity and peace of the church and of the Gospel is that which is of Jesus Christ alone, &c.?" Now as the *peace* of Christ and Christ's true church doth always live in a perfect unity, so together with unity doth it always enjoy perfect truth and verity.

On the contrary part, that *peace* and *church*, whatsoever is not grounded upon the rock of Christ's infallible truth, is not *peace*, but battle rather; is not the church of Christ, but a conspiracy of naughty packs; and therefore we do see many times come to pass, that under the name of *peace*, very natural dissensions are fostered, and many persons are deceived by the painted vizor of the title of the *church*; yea, they are many times accounted seditious persons, which do uphold and maintain *peace* and tranquillity most.

After this manner Tertullus the orator did accuse St. Paul to be a seditious fellow; so was Christ himself also, and his Apostles, exclaimed upon as seditious by the Pharisees; the holy martyrs were likewise charged with treason, and procuring of uproars, by the unbelieving emperors and miscreant infidels: even so fareth it now-a-days with Luther and the Lutherans.

Luther (saith he) *doth rend asunder the peace and tranquillity of the church with his writings and preachings, doth tear in pieces Christ's coat that is without seam, raiseth tumults and uproars, doth entangle whole Christendom with dissensions and variety of opinions.* And why so, Osorius, I pray you? Forsooth, because he doth discover the lively well-springs of sound doctrine, because he doth instruct men to conceive the most wholesome and sovereign grace of God in his Son, and declareth unto them the true rule of righteousness, and the true peace which is in Christ Jesus; because he al-

lureth all men to the only mercy of God, excluding all man's merits and vain confidence of free-will.

Now because their blear-eyed dulness could not endure the sharpness of this light, from hence flush out all these floods of complaints; from hence rush out all these tragical scoldings and exclamations wherewith these rhetorical beacons have conceived s grievous a flame, raging out in this wise: *Is no this monstrous wickedness? is not this horrible madness? is not this intolerable presumption? what fever doth make thee so frantic, Haddon? what furies do possess thee, Luther? what pains of heinousness do pursue thee?* and such-like pleasurable ornaments of hot eloquence, which scarce any man can read without laughing; for who can endure to hear common outlaws complaining of sedition?

Truly I suppose, Osorius, that with the very same words, and even in the same manner of outrage, or surely not much unlike, Herod and the whole nation of Pharisees did cry out, whenas the fame of Christ's birth being bruited abroad, it was said, "that Herod the king was exceedingly troubled, and with him all Jerusalem also." (Matt. ii.) And therefore, according to this logic and rhetoric of Osorius, let us condemn Christ himself for a seditious troubler, because, unless that Child had been born, and that Son had been given unto us, those troubles had never arisen amongst the Jews.

What shall we say to that, where the same Christ afterwards, being now of well-grown years, did declare in plain and open words, "that he came not to send peace on the earth, but a sword, but division, but fire; and that he desired no one thing more earnestly than that the same fire should be kindled?"

Wherefore, if it be so much to be feared lest breach of peace and concord breed offence, let this Portu-

guese advise himself well, whether Christ shall be here accused as far forth as Luther, because in the Gospel he is said "to stir up the father against the son, the daughter against the mother, the stepmother against the daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against the stepmother, two against three, and three against two;" or whether Luther ought to be acquitted with Christ, forasmuch as in this accusation he cannot duly be impeached with any one crime, which may not also as well be charged upon Christ.

If the peace of the Catholics be disturbed in these our days through Luther, the same also happened to the Pharisees in old time, by the means of Christ and his Apostles; yea, not to the Pharisees only, but also in stirring up all the nations of the earth in an uproar; wherein yet no fault can be laid upon Christ, who is himself the prince of *peace*, and can by no means be unlike himself. In like manner, and with like consideration, Luther's doctrine is to be deemed, as I suppose. For what a stir soever the papistical generation keep in these our days, yet surely is not their *peace* hindered by Luther; or, if it be, yet ought not he to be accused, that ministered wholesome plaster to the wound; but the fault was to be imputed rather to them, whose cankers were so incurable. that could not endure the operation of the medicine.

And therefore, as touching the crime of sedition and troublesome disturbance of peace laid unto Luther's charge, therein the accusation is wrongfully *misturned*, and Luther injuriously dealt withal. For it is not Luther that hath turned the peace of the church upside-down: but the worldlings, with their Osorius, do in a corrupt sense define the *peace* of the church.

It is an undoubted truth that they speak, and

which we also do confess together with them, to wit, that the church of Christ, as it is one and most peaceable, so delighteth in nothing more than in *peace*. But let Osorius give us such a *peace*, under vizor whereof lurketh no conspiracy against the Lord; let him give such a church, wherein are not fostered enemies and traitors of the true church. I speak it not, because I reckon them all enemies of the church that are resident within the borders and territories of that pontifical hierarchy; so neither Luther's vehement writings were bent against them all; nay, rather Luther carpeth at no man's person privately, invadeth no man's possessions, nor seeketh the loss of any man's life; only against the wicked assertions, determinations, and decrees of your pestilent patched doctrine; against the established erroneous falsehoods, abominations, and heresies; against the wicked worshipping of idols, bread-worship and stock-worship, and most pestiferous superstitious absurdities, wherewith the force and efficacy of the evangelical faith was well near overwhelmed (not without manifest peril of the loss of many thousands of Christian soldiers), Luther undertaking the necessary patronage of the truth, endeavoured with all his skill and force, not to the end he would hurt any man, but that he might induce others to the same clear light and sweet joys of understanding, which himself had sucked out of the pleasant source of holy Scriptures.

If your darkness vanish clean away at the view of this light; if Herod with all his Jerusalem be troubled; if the "gentiles do fret and fume, and the people imagine vain things;" if monasteries fall down altogether; if idols shiver in pieces; if the issues and sprouts of religion, never planted by God, be plucked up from the bottom of the roots, is this the fault of Luther, or the grievousness of the malady

rather, that will by no means endure the lancing of the sore? or is it because the botches and plagues could not be handled, but would of themselves burst out, and vanish away into vapour and smoke?

And what if lands and possessions, long times englutted with gorbellied monks, became a prey to the spoilers, or were turned to some better uses? first, what an injury is this to impute that unto Luther, which princes and magistrates in their several dominions did establish, as they lawfully might? Moreover, what is that to Luther? or what marvel is it if the birds do pluck their own feathers again, which they gave before to the chough? And what should let but that a man being better advised might revoke and employ to better purpose, as may seem him best, the thing which he did foolishly or wickedly lavish out before?

But hereof enough; and I am long since thoroughly wearied in spending so much breath and loss of so much of time, in contending with such a trifling brabbler, who accustoming himself to nothing else almost but to lying and slandering, yet, amongst so many notable lies, and heaping together so many slanders upon slanders, hath not hitherto justified any one of all his lies to bear, but even a bare resemblance of truth.

And here again cometh to hand another most shameless and abominable lie: so cunning a craftsman he is, that the further he proceedeth, by so much more he contendeth with himself; yea, and exceedeth himself in slandering. And this is it forsooth: *that Luther* (as he saith) *doth accuse God to be an unrighteous God.* Good words, I pray you, my good lord. In what place of all Luther's speeches or writings did you ever find any such word or syllable, wherein he laid the crime of unrighteousness upon God? *Not so; but a man may gather no less by his*

assertion. And no marvel, if you be the expositor thereof yourself; for what other thing else doth the venomous spider suck out of the most sweet honeysuckles and pleasant roses but poison?

But go to. Let us hear at the length this notable collection. *For Luther doth affirm, that all things do proceed from out of God's eternal predestination, as well when such as being vessels of wrath are damned through their own default, as also when such as are vessels of mercy without any their desert are advanced to glory*. This phrase of speech being not founded first by Luther, but long before his days preached by Paul, and confirmed by the full consent of the whole Scriptures, Osorius, knitting and platting together many absurdities (which are both false and ill-favouredly placed by the means of wrong misconceiving the said phrase of speech), is come at the last to conclude on this wise: *That God of necessity must be accounted unrighteous, as one that doth unjustly punish poor wretched miserable men for the evil deeds, which they do not of their own accord, but whereunto they are forced through eternal coaction.*

But this conclusion is not Luther's, but framed by Osorius himself. And I think no man alive besides Osorius was ever able to forge so mad a conclusion, who if he were as void of desire of frivolous cavilling and slandering, as Luther is clear of this reproach, to condemn God to be an unrighteous God, he would never have patched up his papers with such frivolous libels and unsavoury arguments, bewraying therein his notorious ignorance. But that the matter may appear more plainly, let us display and unfold his whole captious argumentation, which he hath framed to entangle Luther withal, standing in arms, as it were, against him with a certain brood of ill-favoured coupled propositions. And in this sort crawleth forth this slippery device for the more part:

ve proved before out of Augustine, was once concluded upon by Cicero.

First, such as do affirm, that God is the chief and principal cause of all things, and do grant all things o be subject to his will, do not err, except Augusine do err, who discoursing upon the will of God, "The will of God (saith he) is the first and sovereign ause of all forms and motions; for there is nothing lone that issueth not from out the secret and intelligible closet of the highest Emperor, according to inspeakable justice; for where doth not the omnipotent wisdom of God work what it pleaseth him? which mightily stretcheth his power from one end of he world to the other, and ordereth all things most weetly?"

Thus much Augustine. And yet this cause doth not therefore induce such a necessity of coaction as Osorius doth imagine, as that no freedom of will should remain in man; that he should do nothing of his own accord; that he should deserve nothing worthy of punishment; but should serve instead of an instrument, as it were, enforced through fatal coaction, and should be governed by another's power, that itself should bring nothing to pass, wherefore it ought to be punished. Now forasmuch as Luther's assertion doth maintain none of all these, what is become of that horrible accusation, wherein Luther is said to accuse God of unrighteousness?

It is not agreeable with justice (saith he) *that such as are only instruments of wickedness should be punished; but according to Luther's doctrine, men in doing wickedly seem nothing else than instruments of wickedness.* Where find you this, Mr. Doctor? where have you it? who ever besides Osorius spake on this wise, either waking or sleeping? Sometimes God's providence doth use the service of man to punish evil-doers; even so did God avenge him upon

If it be determined by the sure and established decree of predestination, what shall become of every thing; and that it cannot be, but as He hath decreed, whatsoever He hath decreed shall come to pass; then is it necessary that all things must be bound and tied to an everlasting necessity.

If all things be brought to pass by an absolute necessity, then must God be accounted the only author and worher of all things, whether they be good or bad.

If all things, good or evil, be ordered by the guiding of God, the author thereof; then remaineth nothing for man's free-will to put in execution.

If this be granted, it followeth hereupon, that men when they rush headlong into mischiefs do not now commit wickedness of their own accord; but are, as it were, tools and instruments of wickedness, applied thereunto by another's hand, and enforced with marvellous coaction.

Which propositions being thus argued by Luther, there ensueth upon the same (being laid together) this necessary conclusion, that God doth deal unjustly, if he will punish that in man, which himself willeth and determineth to be done.

The logicians that have described the form of a *sorites* do deny that this kind of arguing is of any substance, unless the parts of the true properties and differences do accord and answer each other, with a necessary coupling together of the kinds and the forms, and that the proper effects be applied to the proper causes. Of all which there is not so much as one observed in all this heap of words and sentences; wherein, if I might as lawfully utter some foolish skill, by creeping forward after the same sort with foolish childish degrees of propositions, it would not be hard for me to conclude, out of granting the freedom of man's will, that there were no pedestination nor providence of God at all in heaven, which

we proved before out of Augustine, was once concluded upon by Cicero.

First, such as do affirm, that God is the chief and principal cause of all things, and do grant all things to be subject to his will, do not err, except Augustine do err, who discoursing upon the will of God, "The will of God (saith he) is the first and sovereign cause of all forms and motions; for there is nothing done that issueth not from out the secret and intelligible closet of the highest Emperor, according to unspeakable justice; for where doth not the omnipotent wisdom of God work what it pleaseth him? which mightily stretcheth his power from one end of the world to the other, and ordereth all things most sweetly?"

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the sins of his own people by the Babylonians. Again, to take vengeance of the Assyrians, was Cyrus the duke of Persia raised up: so did God use also the malice of the Jews to finish the work of our redemption; for unless that nation had conspired against the Son of God, we had not been redeemed.

And what is the devil himself, but the rod of correction in the hand of God, and, as it were, an instrument of vengeance, ordained to punish the outrages of evil-doers? yet doth it not therefore follow, that devils and wicked persons, when they are called instruments of God's wrath, are nothing else but instruments, as though they were forced only, and themselves did nothing at all; and as though, by doing nothing, themselves deserved no wrath.

For neither do we so imagine men to be like unto stones (as I have said before), as though we left unto them no ability in action; even as the mind of man, unless it be aided, can of itself do nothing but sin; so doth no man sin at any time, but by his own voluntary motion; which sin albeit he doth not commit without the will of God, yet because he doth commit it contrary to the will and commandment of God, he is not acquitted of his fault.

As when a murderer killeth men, albeit he seem after a certain manner to execute the will of God, yet because he doth not the deed only, being of the mind simply to serve his God, but rather to follow the rage of his malice, therefore is he neither excusable, as being not faulty, nor is God to be accused for unrighteous, because he executeth his wrath.

Therefore it is false and slanderous which Osorius doth conclude upon the assertion of predestination. For he concluded two absurdities chiefly, but with a far more gross absurdity: the first, *that God is the cause of destruction and reprobation*; the second, *that they which offend are punished unworthily*. Both

which are unmeasurably vain; for albeit the decree of God be the first and sovereign cause in all actions, by the which all other second and inferior causes are governed; and although there is no condemnation to the reprobates without the same decree, yet nevertheless this same condemnation is both adjudged righteous, and floweth also from their own will properly, and not properly from the decree of God. For many things be done against the will of God, by a certain wonderful and unspeakable manner (as I have said), which come not to pass notwithstanding without his will.

He ruleth over the minds of men (as Augustine reporteth), and worketh in their hearts to incline their will whither him listeth, either unto good things for his great mercy's sake, either unto evil things according to their deservings, after the proportion of his own judgment, sometimes manifest, sometimes secret, but always most just and righteous, bringing to pass, by a certain marvellous operation of his own power, that in the things which men do against the will of God it cannot be, but that the will of God must needs be fulfilled."

Wherefore the will of God (as you see) is the first and sovereign cause of all causes and motions, which nevertheless must be so understood, that this first cause respecteth properly nothing but the last end. Now this end is the glory of God, and the most excellent commendation of his justice and mercy. In the mean time, other middle ends do depend upon their own middle and proper causes, and are referred unto the same; whereby it cometh to pass, that betwixt God's decree and the condemnation of the reprobate, many causes of condemnation do come between; to wit, infidelity, the inheritable corruption of nature defiled, and whatsoever fruits spring thereof.

Now the proper efficient cause of this infidelity and natural corruption, is man's will, not God's predestination; which corruption and infidelity, notwithstanding, are so governed by God's decree, so subject thereunto, that although they be not executed by the decree of God, yet chance they not at any time besides his decree, nor without his decree; "whereof God (as Augustine saith) is not the cause efficient, but the cause deficient."

Now therefore where is that fatal and everlasting necessity, Osorius, which (as you say) *doth thrust men, maugre their heads, by violent coaction, without any their own will, into all kind of wickedness? where are the undeserved punishments of offenders? where is the overthrow of the commonweal? where is that heinous accusation of the unrighteousness of God? and where are now those Protagorists and Diagorists, and men far more wicked than any of those, of whom you preach so much?* What answer shall I frame to this your malapert and currish slandering, O son of Gemini? If God have commanded you to lie so shamefully without controlment, and to backbite virtuous personages in this sort, what remaineth for them, but that they patiently endure this general grief of the godly, and recomfort themselves by the example of David, "if peradventure the Lord will behold their affliction, and will render unto them good things for this cursed slander?"

In the mean space this one thing delighteth not a little, that whereas this fellow doth counterfeit and lie in all things, yet he doth the same so openly, that no man can choose but laugh at him; and withal so impudently, that every man may detest him; and again so blockishly, that every man may despise and deride him for it. Whereby it cometh to pass, that he doth not so much prejudice to Luther by evil speaking, as he doth bewray his own ignorance to

the world, by worse proving his false and forged lies, seeing he hath neither seemed to have learned any thing of the truth as yet, nor proved those lies which he hath forged, nor ever shall be able to prove any of them.

Go to; and what gain (think ye) have you made by these your slanders and lies, whenas ye accuse Luther amongst the number of atheists, Diagorists, and Protagorists, and far more wicked also than any of these? *as one that doth condemn God of unrighteousness, affirmeth him to be the author of evil, despoileth man of judgment and reason, bringeth in fatal necessity (excluding all action and operation of will), compelleth men to do wickedly against their wills, teacheth that they may freely be evil, and go unpunished, covereth their naughtiness with an excuse.*

These and other unspeakable treacheries, when ye lay to Luther's charge, do ye believe that ye shall make any man give credit to your talk? and do ye not think that some one or other will rise up upon the sudden, which by reading Luther's books will espy this your manifest falsehood in lying? Let every man that will, peruse Luther's writings over and over, which he hath left behind him as pledges and testimonies of his faith: who hath ever judged or written more honourably of God's justice? who hath ever with more vehemency reproved man's unrighteousness, or condemned it more sharply? so far is he from shadowing the wickedness of naughtypacks with a cloud of excuse.

And where then hath this man affirmed that God is the author of evil? or where doth he tie men to a necessity of sinning, such a necessity especially as Osorius dreameth of? This doth he affirm, that nature, being left destitute of grace, cannot but sin of very necessity, which necessity, notwithstanding, proceedeth from no where else, than from will itself being corrupted. But Osorius doth so snatch and

wrest this sentence into a cavillation, as though Luther did bring in such a necessity as should leave no freedom to man at all; moreover, such a necessity as should so abolish all liberty, as though will could undertake nothing at all of his own voluntary choice; but should be forced and whirled, as it were, to all things through coaction and constraint. Such indifferency useth Osorius here, both to make an open lie himself, and to charge Luther with a lie also; in the first whereof the vain error of Osorius is easily espied, and in the second his unshamefaced impudency discovereth itself.

Now to make the same appear most evidently, it will not be impertinent in this place to make a short collection of all the sentences and arguments of each party, touching the whole cause of free-will and predestination, which being compiled into certain brief places, it will not be amiss likewise to expound the same, that by this means the reader may more easily conceive, and more substantially discern betwixt the doctrine of each party, as well of them that are of Luther's opinion, as also of them that hang upon the Pope's sleeve; what is truth, and what is false; and how slanderous a tongue Osorius hath. Whatsoever therefore hath been taught by Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Calvin, and other divines of sound judgment, of free-will and predestination, is to be reduced for the most part into this Brief.

A BREVIAT of all LUTHER'S Doctrine of FREE-WILL and PREDESTINATION, gathered out of his Books: and withal the contrary Arguments of the Adversaries, and the Solution of the same.

First, as concerning man's corrupt nature, thus they teach, that man is so wholly and altogether defiled, that he is not able of himself, nor of any part of himself, to attain unto God; but they deny not but man may come to God by the help of grace.

2. *That it is not in man's power to prepare himself to receive grace, but all man's conversion to be the gift of God, in the whole and of every part.*

3. *That the grace of God is not so offered, as that it resteth in our choice afterwards to take or refuse.*

4. *That the grace of God is not so given, nor to this end only, that by his aid only it should help our weakness, as though there were otherwise somewhat within us; but that the work and benefit thereof is his own; that our stony hearts may be converted into fleshly hearts; that our wills be not bettered, but wholly renewed; that being regenerated in hearts and minds first, we may will that which we ought to will.*

5. *That mankind having lost that freedom which he received in his first creation, fell into miserable bondage. And they deny that man, being in this servile estate, is endued with any free ability to do good or evil, as that he may apply himself to whether part him listeth; and here they expound freedom to be that which is opposite to bondage.*

6. *Touching the effectual operation of God's grace, thus they do affirm; that our will is not so raised up by the conduct thereof, that it may be able of itself if it will, but that it is renewed and drawn, so that*

it must follow of necessity; neither that it can be able otherwise but to will.

7. *They deny, that in perseverance, man worheth together with God, as that of his own power it may obey the guiding of God; moreover, in rendering reward, they deny that the latter grace is given to every man instead of recompense, as though by well using the first grace, man had deserved the last grace.*

8. *That man can do nothing at all, especially in the things which appertain unto God, but so much as God himself vouchsafeth to give; and that God doth give nothing according to his good pleasure, but the same is altogether free, without all respect of any man's deservings: finally, that God doth give nothing of set purpose, but that he pursueth his own work to an end, in a certain perpetual order and course.*

9. *That man doth not so work together with God, as bringing or adding any thing of his own, but doth work by measure only in spiritual things, by how much he is forced by the cause agent. So doth the mind see, but being enlightened. Judgment doth discern and choose, but guided by the direction of the Holy Ghost. The will is obedient, but being first regenerated. The heart is willing, but being renewed. Man doth endeavour, doth will, and doth bring to pass, but according to the measure that he hath received.*

10. *Moreover, whereas it is declared, that man hath a will as well in good things as in evil things, then if question be moved what kind of thing will is of itself, they do answer with Augustine, that will is always naturally evil; that of itself it can do nothing, but frowardly bend itself against the justice of God; and that it is made good through grace only, and so made good, that it may then of necessity love and follow righteousness, which it abhorred before.*

11. *They do confess with Augustine, that men* :n *they sin do never sin, but of their own accord,* l *by the proper motion of will; and that they do* nly *that do post over the fault thereof to any others* to *themselves.*

12. *Again, when they are directed to good things* the *Spirit of God, yet that their will is not ex-*ded *here; forasmuch as even this is the very grace* God, *namely, that their will is inclined to desire* d.

13. *That even from the first creation, nature is so* ıkened, *that sin must cleave thereto of very neces-*; *which necessity, nevertheless, proceedeth not* m *God, nor from nature simply, neither from any* tiny, *nor yet any foreign coaction; but from the* ruption *of nature, and from every man's proper* l *peculiar inclination, and is to be ascribed there-*o; *to which inclination is annexed unavoidable ne-*ity *of sinning, as Augustine recordeth.*

14. *Luther, Calvin, and the others, when they seem* ake *away free-will, the same is to be so construed,* that *they do not wholly take the same away; but in* t *sense only in the which the adversaries do establish* same; *that is to say, wherewith they do establish* rit *and prevention in free-will.*

15. *Last of all, whereas the whole difficulty of this* troversy *doth consist in three words chiefly, to wit,* l, freedom, *and* necessity; *but divines do distin-*sh *the same after this manner:*

*The will of God is taken two manner of ways; some-*es *for his secret counsel, wherewith all things are* essarily *carried to the end whereunto God hath di-*ted *them before. And so do we say, that nothing* lone *besides this will: it is also sometimes taken for* t *which God approveth, and maketh acceptable unto* self. *And in this sense we do see many things* e, *now and then, contrary to his will discovered*

in the Scriptures; and therefore, according to his will, God is said that he willeth all men to be saved, whereas yet not all, nay, rather but a very few are saved.

16. *Freedom also, which is peculiar to man, is discerned by two manner of ways; either as it is set opposite to bondage; and this freedom Luther doth utterly deny, as he may well do; or as it is not contrary to coaction, or fatal necessity. And this freedom Luther never gainsaid; forasmuch as there is no will, which can endeavour any thing against her will, or the thing which she will not, or which will may sin at any time except she will herself.*

17. *Likewise necessity is to be taken two manner of ways; the one of certainty and unchangeableness, as hath been declared before, which Osorius cannot deny; the other of violent coaction, which doth offer force unto will. And the same is imputed to Luther falsely.*

18. *But now that former necessity (which is called unchangeable), albeit it take her beginning from the cause of God's predestination, yet this predestination doth not cast such a necessity upon things, which may remove free-will; no more doth it take away the justice of God wherewith he doth render to every one according to his works. These things being thus set down and duly considered, it shall be an easy matter not only to withstand the cavillations and subtleties of Osorius, but to confound the residue of the sophistical brabbles of all other adversaries also, wherewith they practise busily enough (but all in vain) to oppress Luther's cause, weaving their cobwebs (as I may term them) for the more part after this manner hereafter following:*

The ARGUMENTS of the ADVERSARIES against the foresaid Assertions propounded and confuted.

If our actions be first determined and decreed upon, two inconveniences do ensue upon this assertion:

1. *That the freedom of man's will must utterly perish.*

2. *That men shall be constrained by necessity, as if they were bound in bonds, &c.*

There are so many and manifest testimonies in the Scriptures concerning the truth of predestination and the foreknowledge of things to come, that they can by no means be denied. As to the objection of inconveniences, it is untrue; for the freedom of man's will doth not so perish, but that men do always choose the things that they will of their own accord and willingly.

Then also neither is any such necessity laid upon any man, which by force of coaction may drive him to do that which he would not; moreover, although it rest not in our freedom that we may be chosen or forsaken, it followeth not therefore, that we have no freedom to any other things. This is therefore a captious argument, falsely concluding from the proposition, *secundum quid, ad simpliciter*; as if a man would argue in this sort:

A fleshly man doth not conceive the things that are of God; ergo, the force of man's wit doth conceive nothing at all in any matter whatsoever.

Osorius maketh Luther worse than Diagoras; and Pighius maketh him worse than the Manichees. Pighius' argument is framed in this manner: *The Manichees, because they would not ascribe wickedness to God, did imagine two beginnings. Luther, ascribing wickedness and mischievousness to God, maketh us like unto a saw, whom God doth draw and drive forth and back whither him listeth.*

Manichee doth appoint two natures in man: the one good, the other evil; whereof that one could not sin, this other could not do well. Luther doth neither affirm two natures in man, neither doth so condemn the same nature of man wholly of itself; but as it is corrupted after the fall, he doth affirm, that of necessity and always it doth resist God's Spirit, yea even in the very saints themselves, being even from their very childhood inclined to evil. Then that wicked men are as saws in the hands of God, not only Luther, but Isaiah also, doth confess.

And again, whereas he saith, that the remnant of flesh (even in the holy ones) is like a wild savage tiger, ever resisting against the Spirit; and whereas also he doth convince the whole fleshly judgment of man of faultiness natural, he differeth herein nothing at all from Paul and Augustine. Augustine writing upon John, "Let no man flatter himself (saith he); of himself he is a Satan; let man therefore take away sin that is his own, and leave righteousness unto God, &c."

Osorius is not so blockish as to make Luther equal with Diagoras, but much more wicked. And why so?

He adjudgeth it to be more tolerable to think there is no God at all, than to conceive that God is wicked and unrighteous.

But Luther doth conceive him both wicked and unrighteous; ergo, &c.

Undoubtedly, a very heinous fact, yea more than diagorical, if so be that any man either were ever so detestably abominable, as to be able to conceive any such thing of God. But from whence shall this mild and charitable allegation of this most courteous prelate appear at the length unto us to be truly vouched against Luther? Forsooth, unless I be deceived, as the man is not altogether blockish, he

will coin us this evident demonstration out of the bottom of his own brain:

Whosoever doth impute the fault to another of the thing he cannot avoid, doth unrighteously.

Sin is a thing in man that cannot be avoided, as Luther doth say; ergo, God imputing sin unto man, after Luther's doctrine, is unjust.

The major proposition is true in those persons which were not themselves the cause of the things which they could not avoid; but man through his own will hath thrown himself into that necessity of sinning, which he is not able to overcome; whereupon the fault of the trespass that he committeth is justly imputed unto himself; nor can he, notwithstanding, choose but do the thing that is committed; and so by this reason the major is false.

Moreover, as touching the minor, two things are to be considered in sin, as it is taken to be the punishment of sin cleaving fast unto us—the *act* and the *imputation*; for although the act be not taken away altogether through the corruption of nature, yet through Christ the *imputation* of the sin is taken away; therefore if a man cannot be free from sinning, let him obtain a remedy for sin in Christ, in whom sin, though it be unavoidable in this weak nature, yet cannot be hurtful at all, because it is not imputed. Whereupon Augustine very fitly, "Sin (saith he) may be avoided not when the proud will is advanced, but when the humble and meek will is holpen. And the same is holpen in them which call earnestly by prayer, which do believe, and which are called according to God's purpose."

He is in vain commanded to make choice, who hath no power to apply himself to the thing which he doth choose.

But we are commanded to choose both life and death, as well good as evil; ergo, we have ability in us

to apply ourselves as well unto life as unto death, as well unto evil as unto good.

These things are alleged, like as if there were any man that did utterly drive away will or ability of free choice from men. We do confess that man hath a free, not a coacted power to choose good or evil; for we do choose both, not through any coaction at all, but of our own voluntary will, albeit our choice is not all alike in both; for we make choice of the things that appertain unto salvation after one sort, and of the things that are wicked after another sort. For wicked things, and things that are not godly, every man greedily catcheth after, and of himself is greedily carried thereunto; yet so nevertheless of himself, as of his own nature he cannot otherwise do, if he be not holpen. But good and godly things no man can choose, through the natural inclination of free-will, unless he be thereunto assisted by the aid of the Holy Ghost.

This therefore that is read in the Scriptures, "God left man to the power of his own counsel: he set before man's face life and death, good and evil, advising him to choose life, &c." (Deut. xxx.), is a true saying, but with this restraint always annexed, that of himself he was able to rush into all evil, and being aided by the Holy Ghost, he might be able to do well; on the other side, not being holpen, that he is neither of ability to do any thing acceptable to God well, nor could choose by any means but work the thing that was displeasant unto God.

If man be not the thing that he cannot be of his own power and will, but be compelled of necessity to be that which he ought not to be; ergo, this is not now to be imputed to man, nor yet seemeth he to be in any fault for it.

The answer is out of Augustine: "Nay rather it is therefore the fault of the man, that he is not with-

out sin, because it came to pass by man's will only, that he should come to such a necessity, which could not be countervailed by the only will of man."

If to sin be natural, not voluntary; then either is it not sin now, or surely not to be imputed.

But if sin be voluntary and not natural, nor of necessity; then in respect that it is voluntary, it is avoidable by will, that it need not cleave unto us of very necessity.

Augustine doth answer, "God created nature at the first pure and sound, which may not be accursed as if it were the cause of sin; but afterwards man's own will did defile this good nature, which being now corrupted conceiveth sin, which neither can be healed without the grace of God. Moreover, touching the thing that is done by will voluntarily, it cannot be denied, but that the same will may be changed, and so the will being changed, the thing also that was done voluntarily may be altered." But whereas it is said, that will may be changed by will itself, this savoureth surely of a wonderful arrogancy: "Forasmuch as the flesh willeth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh (as the Apostle himself witnesseth), and these two are at war against each other, so that ye may not do the things that ye would." (Gal. v.)

Either a man may be without sin, or he cannot be without sin. If he cannot, what reason is it that sin that cannot be but present, should be imputed? If he may be without sin, how is will then bound by necessity, which might have eschewed the thing that was committed?

And to this also Augustine maketh answer, "That a man may indeed be without sin if God do help him, we do not deny; but this reason proveth not that there is any man without sin that is not holpen, neither do we agree thereunto; but when a man may

be without sin, and by whom; that is the thing that is in question: if thou wilt say in this present life, and in the body of this death, how then do we pray in this life, "Forgive us our sins?" If man can of himself be without sin, ergo, "Christ died in vain, &c." But Osorius underproppeth his free-will here with this crutch, in coupling the grace of God with it, disputing on this wise:

By the assistance of God's grace, nature may subdue sin.

The grace of God doth assist them that be his own; ergo, in the things appertaining to God, all necessity of sinning is quite excluded.

Lest Osorius may not seem to differ nothing at all from the Pelagians, he doth uphold the cause of free-will with an addition of grace; and yet, for all this, he doth not so catch the thing that he gapeth for, but that a necessity of sinning shall always be resident even in the holy ones of God. *Grace assisting* (saith he), *nature may exclude sin.*

If he mean the perfect assistance of grace, by the which all infirmity of nature is taken away, the major is true, but the minor is false. For to confess, as truth is, the riches of God's graces to be wonderful, and his blessings which God poureth into his elect to be magnificent, yet this grace of God doth not make any man of such a singular perfection in this world, but that the best of us all many times offend in many things, and do pray daily, that our trespasses may be forgiven.

The grace of God indeed doth help our infirmities, that they may be lessened and pardonable; but to be clean cut away, that I do utterly deny: it doth indeed help our infirmities, yet leaveth it us, nevertheless, in our infirmities, that he may always help us. How plentifully the grace of Christ was poured upon his holy Apostles, no man is ignorant; which

grace, notwithstanding, did not make perfect their strength to the full measure; but the same grace rather "was made perfect through their infirmity." (2 Cor. xii.) "In part (saith St. Paul) we do know, and in part we do perceive; but when that is come which is perfect, then shall that which is imperfect be abolished. For now we behold as by a glass in a dark riddle, but then shall we see face unto face; now do I know in part, but then shall I know as I am known." (1 Cor. xiii.)

And therefore to answer at one word: If Osorius do mean that assistance of God's grace which may make absolute and perfect obedience in this life, Augustine will immediately deny the same, who discoursing upon the first commandment, whereby we are commanded "*to love God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourself*"—"We shall fulfil that commandment (saith Augustine) when we shall see face to face." And immediately after, "And therefore the man hath profited much in this life, in that righteousness which ought to be accomplished, who doth know by profiting how far he is distant from the full perfection of true righteousness."

Lastly, whereas it is argued from the power of God's grace; that sufficeth not to exclude necessity of sinning; for it may come to pass through grace, and the absolute power of God, that a man may not sin at all, and that the fire may not burn also; and it might have come to pass likewise, that the punishment of the whole corrupted mass in Adam's loins should not have been derived into the posterity, if it had so pleased God; yet are not all things done that may be done, unless the decreed will of God do join together with his power. Not unlike unto this is the very argument of Celestius the Pelagian against Augustine:

If God will, it may come to pass that man may not sin in words nor in thought.

But God's will is, that no man should sin; ergo, nothing withstandeth but that man may not sin in words nor in thought.

The form of this argument should rather have been framed on this wise: If God will and do minister help withal, it may come to pass that man shall not sin at all; but God willeth and helpeth withal, that a man shall not sin at all in word nor in thought; *ergo*, &c. I do answer with Augustine unto the minor, that it is true indeed, that God willeth and helpeth against the force of sin; I do add over and besides, that no man is holpen but he that willeth and worketh somewhat himself also.

But two things are to be noted here, both who they be that are holpen, and how God doth help them. Forsooth, such as call upon him, such as believe in the Son, such as are called after the purpose of his will, and such as whose will is stirred up to this end, to crave earnestly for assistance: "Because whom he hath foreknown, them hath he also predestinated to be made like unto the image of the sons of God." (Rom. viii.) Furthermore, it must be considered, by what means he doth help; not to the end that no more dregs of sin should from thenceforth cleave fast in the flesh, but to the end that sin should not reign in the mortal bodies of them whom himself hath sanctified through grace.

What thing soever God will have to be done, must of necessity be done.

God will have all men to be saved; ergo, it is of necessity that all men shall be saved.

I do answer unto the major, all things that God will have done, must be done of necessity, so that God yield his help also together with his will, that they may be brought to pass. Then I thus answer

to the minor, that it is true that God would have all men to be saved, with this addition annexed, *all*, to wit, *all* that believe in the Son; for without the Mediator, he will have no man to be saved. But now since it is not given to all men to have faith, nor that all men do repair to Christ for help, the fault hereof is to their own unbelievingness, not the will of God. But some of Osorius' pupils will urge again:

Forasmuch as faith is the gift of God, and his will that all should be saved, is an universal promise; and that the greatness of his mercy is prepared ready and set forth to all indifferently; why then is not given to all indifferently to have faith? is it because God will not give it, but so should he seem an unrighteous distributer, and so should he offend in justice distributive? or is it because men will not embrace the kingdom of God? But this doth argue that men may take holdfast of the gift of faith, if they will. And how then is the power of free-will suppressed?

I do answer first out of the Scriptures, then out of Augustine. "And they believed as many as were foreordained to life everlasting." (Acts, xiii.) Augustine: "Two things are to be holden to be resident always in God, *That there is no unrighteousness with God*; and likewise, it must be firmly believed, "that God hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and on whom he will not have mercy, them he hardeneth;" that is to say, on whom he listeth he will not take mercy, whereupon whether he gave any thing, or require that is due unto him; neither he of whom he requireth it can well complain of his unjust dealing; nor he to whom he giveth, ought to be overproud, and boast of his gifts; for the one neither rendereth any more than is due, and the other hath nothing but that which he hath received."

If God had commanded us to do the things that him-

self saw were impossible for us to do, he might seem worthily to be accused of unrighteousness.

This objection were perhaps to some purpose, unless the Scriptures had provided a triacle for this malady, namely, *faith* in his Son, in whom when we do believe, endeavouring in the mean whiles, as much as lieth in us, we do then fulfil the whole law of works; that is to say, we do attain full and absolute righteousness, as well as if we had fulfilled the whole, being endued with righteousness now; albeit not properly our own, yet enjoying him notwithstanding, which of God was made our righteousness by faith; whereupon Luther, in his book of Christian Liberty, hath written very excellently:

"That which is impossible for thee to bring to pass in the whole works of the law (saith he), which are in number many, thou shalt easily accomplish with small labour, namely, by *faith*, because God the Father hath placed all things in *faith*, so that whosoever is endued with this *faith*, may possess all things; and he that is void of this *faith*, may possess nothing at all. After this manner the promises of God do give that which the commandments do exact, and they do finish that which the law commandeth; so that now he only and alone is he, that may command; and he only and alone is he, that may bring to pass, &c."

To what end are ordinances to live well prescribed? why are threatenings added to the stiff-necked and rebellious, if men were not able to live well? why is a freedom of choice set out unto us, to enter into whither way we will, if we cannot be able to hold the right way? who is so mad to command a blind man to keep the right path? or who will command that man that is so fast bound, as being unable to move his arm but unto the left side, to reach him a thing on the right side, which is not possible for him to do?

Augustine will answer, that which man is not ble to attain to by nature, unto the same may he et attain by grace; he doth mean there of living ommendably, not of living perfectly, which was ever as yet granted to any one person in this life no, though he were aided by grace), but to Jesus hrist alone. But ye will demand again, to what end hen was the law published, and natural choice set ut unto us, if that choice be not free to make hoice of these things that are set forth to our elecon? I do answer, that this complaint of nature ight be not altogether impertinent, if He that gave he laws had created the same nature, such as we ave at this present.

But now whereas he did at the beginning create *ature* upright and unspotted, God, according to he self-same *nature*, did publish his law unto men, hich should be holy and undefiled; neither could e do otherwise, whose commandments, if we be ot able now in this corruption of nature to acomplish with due obedience, there is no cause why he fault thereof should be imputed to God (who can either will nor command any thing but that which most righteous); but we ourselves, and our first rents (authors of this disobedience), and the devil he counsellor, are to be blamed therefor. God cannot be unlike himself. If we become unlike to ourlves, whose fault is it, ours or his?

Furthermore, touching the objection of the blind d the man that was bound, hereunto I do answer, at the similitude is not in all respects correspondent, r this cause; for if God had blinded man at the st, or had chained him fast with such ropes of nessity, and afterwards had commanded him whom had made blind to keep the right path, or him hom he had first bound fast to reach afterwards er to the right hand, this were perhaps not alto-

gether from the purpose that is cavilled; but now forasmuch as the cause of this blindness was procured by man himself, and not sent by God, he is not to be blamed that giveth necessary counsel (to speak as Augustine doth), but he that hath entangled himself into such a necessity, out of the which he can by no means untwine himself again.

A righteous and wise lawgiver doth never proclaim such statutes, the performance whereof will exceed the ability and capacity of his subjects.

God is the most righteous and most wise lawgiver; ergo, God, in publishing his law, did prescribe nothing beyond the capacity and ability of his own creatures.

I do answer unto the major two manner of ways; first, that the same is true indeed, in those laws which were established of the Lawgiver to this only end, that the subjects should exactly perform the same; but albeit God did desire this thing chiefly that all men should precisely and thoroughly observe his ordinances, yet, besides this consideration, there are many other ends and causes; 1. That the judgment and wrath of God against sin should be made manifest. 2. That we might be more easily brought to the acknowledgment of our sins and weakness. 3. That, understanding our weakness, the more we feel ourselves heavily oppressed with this burden, the more sharply we should be provoked (as with the schoolmaster's rod) to flee unto Christ, who is the end of the law. 4. That by this schooling, as it were, we may learn what way we ought to take, that if it be not given us at the least to attain the full and absolute obedience of the law, yet that, beginning to be obedient, we may profit as much as we may.

Secondarily, we do confess, that the major is true in respect of those laws, for the due observation of the which there is no cause to the contrary, either

the Lawgiver, or in nature itself, but such as ap-
ıreth rather in the subjects, whose only fault and
orderous licentiousness procureth the breach
:reof. As for example: if a prince do send forth
ambassador, in all respects whole, sound, and
ll instructed, to whom afterwards he giveth in
mmandment to put some matter in execution,
ich he might very easily bring to pass, unless
ough his own default and disorder he made him-
f lame, halt, or unable to execute the command-
nt of his prince; now if this ambassador, for want
health and strength, become unable to execute
embassy, ought the prince to be blamed for it?
the ambassador rather, who, by his own folly,
h disabled himself?

And that is it that Augustine doth seem to imply
his book, *De Perfectione Justitiæ*. "Nay rather
this cause (saith he) the man is blameworthy,
it he cannot perfectly do his duty, nor live with-
t sin; because by man's own will it came to pass,
it he should be driven to that necessity, which
ld not afterwards be shaken off again by man's
l alone."

Thirdly, here is to be noted, that there be four
nner of means or ways to observe the law:
Either by the force of our own strength, and by
s means the greatness of our strength is overcome
the law: 2. Or by the help of some other; and
nothing withstandeth, but that we may fulfil the
mmandments of the law: 3. Or by the operation
the Holy Ghost in us to make us to live godly:
Or by imputation through faith in the Mediator,
o freely forgiveth our imperfection, and justifieth
sinner and wicked also.

All sin is voluntary; ergo, no man sinneth of
cessity.

Here must be a distinction added in these words,

will and *necessity*. If *necessity* be taken in this place for coaction, then is the consequent true; but if it be taken for every unchangeableness, which of itself cannot be otherwise altered, then is the argument faulty. Moreover, in the antecedent, if the word *will* be taken for a sound *will*, and able enough of itself, such as was in the first creation of nature, the consequent were not amiss, and was true indeed in Adam; but if we take it for that will which is in us now defiled, and full of corruption, the argument concludeth no necessity at all, no more than if a man should argue on this wise:

Every man by nature is two-footed; *ergo*, every man may go.

If nature here be meant for sound, the argument is good; but if it have relation to one sick of the palsy, or to a maimed man, or one that is bound with ropes, being fallen in the hands of thieves, yourself will deny the argument. And why so? not because man is not two-footed by nature (if ye regard his first creation), but because this nature is wounded through the disobedience of our first parents, and maimed altogether, so that now either we have no feet at all, or they be not sound surely; or if they be whole and sound, they are not at liberty to tread on the ground, but fast bound by thieves, and holden captive under sin; so that either we be not able to go at all, or at least less able to tread the right track that we ought to do, unless the holy Samaritan come, and let loose our bands, namely, the assisting grace of Christ Jesus, of the which Augustine speaketh very notably: "If we will maintain free-will (saith he), let us not gainsay that from whence will taketh her freedom; for he that denieth grace, whereby it is made free either to eschew evil, or to do good, is willing to continue still in bondage, &c." And therefore when we debate or dispute of *will*, the

question must not be referred to nature itself, but rather to the corruption of nature.

There is no necessity of sinning where will hath a freedom to do.

All men are endued with a free-will to do; ergo, there is no necessity of sinning in men.

Where *freedom* of *will* is, there is no necessity of sinning. This proposition is false; for there is not such a repugnancy betwixt *will* and *necessity*; whosoever sinneth freely, the same also sinneth voluntarily. No man is enforced to sin, but is drawn to wickedness by the enticements of his own will, and not by any foreign constraint. Chrysostom saith, "He that draweth, draweth him that is willing." Wherefore if our own will do carry us headlong to sin, let us not impute it to necessity, but to lust."

And therefore to make a distinction of these things, Osorius, and that ye may be satisfied if it be possible, voluntary and necessary are not opposite; for they may both light together at one time in *will*. When *will*, enlightened by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, doth earnestly covet after everlasting life, this it doth of *necessity* indeed, yet neither unwillingly, nor constrained thereunto; for it cannot come to pass by any means, that will may be any time enforced to will that which it will not; nay rather, Augustine is of this opinion, that it standeth as much against the convenience of reason for man to will the thing that he will not, as if a man would contend that any thing could be hot without heat.

And yet that necessity in the mean time wherewith wicked men are said to sin is not so absolute and unavoidable, as that they cannot choose but continue in their wickedness; for as soon as the Holy Ghost and the grace of Christ preventeth them, that chain of *necessity* is forthwith broken in pieces. And therefore Augustine doth say, that it proceedeth of

to do any good, we must seek for ability that may satisfy the law in heaven, and not in ourselves.

If man were not of power to be obedient, God should instruct and exhort in vain.

In vain, I confess, if he should use none other means but external precepts to lead to the true profiting in godliness; but as now, since he maketh his doctrine effectual through the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, it is far off that his doctrine should be fruitless.

God commandeth nothing that is out of our power.

True it is, if you mean of that power, not which is ingrafted in our natural corruption, but that power which God doth give to his holy ones peculiarly from above.

In the conversion of a sinner, God himself doth by his own will convert him alone, but doth allure and exhort him, that he may convert himself; for in much lenity and patient suffering he doth not punish him, but granteth space and place of repentance, and provoking, soliciting, and pricking him forward to repentance, useth many occasions, exhortations, and corrections. And therefore it is our part to be converted, and to turn again, and his office to receive the sinner that returneth, and to quicken him.

The collision and fallax of this reason is in the insufficient numbering of parts, or derived from the cause insufficient; for albeit God do work all these in the conversion of a sinner, yet doth he not use these external means only, but ministereth also in the mean space the motion of the heart withal, and the inspiration of a secret renovation.

In the regeneration and conversion of man, every of us have of ourselves sufficient to be obedient to the calling.

It is in every man, I confess, but not of every man, but proceedeth from another, who calleth inwardly before that man doth outwardly obey.

The Tridentine fathers do object, that man may refuse to give his consent, and to reject grace when it is offered.

That is true indeed, and too true; neither doth any man imagine that grace is so thrust upon man in his conversion, as though he should be constrained to receive it, whether he would or no, which neither he can refuse, though he will. But this is the meaning hereof, that the Holy Ghost, with his secret effectual operation, doth so enlighten the hearts of his elect, that the grace (which he granteth of his own liberality) shall be received; that the will cannot choose but receive it with a hearty desire and earnest willingness; yea, most joyfully and gladly. But if it happen that grace be forsaken, that proceedeth from the corruption of our own flesh, and our natural faultiness naturally ingrafted within us.

Again, *it is also in our power to give our consent.*

"In us indeed, but not of ourselves," as Augustine reporteth, who saith, "that grace doth not find good will in us, but doth make them to be good, &c." And in another place, "Who runneth to the Lord for grace, but whose footsteps are directed thereunto by the Lord. And therefore to crave the assistance of grace is the very beginning of grace."

God hath set before all men indifferently a certain general grace and promise, and a free desire of choice, that all men may conceive it that will.

We do not deny, that we have altogether a general grace of God, that calleth us to external salvation; but this must be confessed withal, that grace to embrace the things whereunto we are called is not granted to all in general without exception; but distributed by a certain peculiar election and predestination of God to some; whereby it cometh to pass, that it is not in every man's power that will, to refuse or take

holdfast of this grace, so generally offered, but in their power, unto whom it is given; for to take or refuse grace offered is not in our own power. Otherwise what place were left for God's election, before the foundations of the world were laid, if our will were a rule of his election, or the cause and beginning of our salvation?

And therefore this their cavillation, *that God doth receive them that will be received, and doth reject them that will not be received*, is untrue; it had been more agreeable with reason, to begin rather at the grace of God, than at our own will; and it had been more convenient to have said, that the grace of God is granted us, to the end we may will those things that he commandeth us, and that such as forsake it, are worthily rejected indeed; but in that, that they are forsaken, cometh hereof, because they are not first holpen, that they may be able to receive.

If all the work of our conversion be in God only, and that our endeavour avail nothing thereunto, what remaineth then for us, but that we must become no better than stocks and stones?

There is none of us that affirmeth that men do nothing towards their conversion. This is it that we do affirm, that men when they be converted do consent to the word of God, do love, do wish and earnestly desire to be saved. But yet we do call these the effects, not the causes of mercy, who being now made the vessels of mercy, could nevertheless not have been able of themselves to bring to pass that they should have attained the first and primitive election of God.

Augustine saith, that men are worthily cast away for sin; ergo, on the contrary, if men are rejected for their sins, why should they not as well be predestinate for their good works?

Augustine doth not mean here that reprobation that is contrary to predestination, but under this reprobation he doth understand the last end and effect of reprobation, namely, damnation; and in this sense it is true that men are damned for their sins, not forsaken, as they are neither predestinate for their good works.

Luther and Calvin do deny, that it is in man's power before grace received to seek and desire it; but Augustine affirmeth the contrary.

Nay rather, what is more common in Augustine's mouth than these speeches? "Couldest thou be converted unless thou wert called? Did not He that called thee back again, bring to pass that thou shouldest be converted?" And again, "Do not presume upon thy conversion; for unless He had called thee back again, thou couldest not have been converted." And in another place, "God doth not only make willing of the unwilling, but maketh also obedient of such as are stiff-necked and stubborn."

The doctors of the popish faction, although they deny not that nature is very much corrupted in original sin, yet yield they not this much, that man can do nothing else but sin; neither that any thing else is taken away from nature besides the supernatural gift only, whereby nature might have been made more perfect, if it had not fallen; and therefore that nature was beautified with those supernatural gifts, of the which she is now spoiled, the natural power and ability of will remaining in her force notwithstanding.

This is most untrue; whereas nature and will itself, not by alteration of substance, but by access of sin and disposition, is so depraved and revolted from God, so weakened and spoiled through its own operation, as that it may not be converted, but by the only grace of God, having of herself no part in this work, but as far forth as it is prevented by God;

whereupon Augustine doth witness, "that will doth not go before, but is handmaid to well-doing." Wherefore the same nature and substance of will remaineth still not changed into a new shape by God's creation, but defiled with the corruption and filth of nature. The same affections also do remain that were before (in respect of their substance); but in respect of their disposition, they be so putrefied and stinking, that nothing can be found in them now that bringeth not with it some matter of filthiness.

Whosoever is holpen, he doth work somewhat together with Him that helpeth him, and suffereth not himself to be applied merely passively.

Will being not renewed is holpen of grace; ergo, free-will even since the first creation seemeth to bring much to pass, and not to be altogether applied passively.

In the major proposition should have been added *per se, by itself.* For whatsoever worketh by itself, having the help of another, is not altogether plied passively; but with this exception, the minor must be denied, for freedom of choice, whenas itself never preventeth grace following her, but is altogether holpen of grace going before (according to the testimony of Augustine), what can it bring to pass at all of itself? or if it can do any thing at all by itself, that which it is able to do, it doth in moral good things, external and civil exercises. Certainly, to deserve eternal life, to purchase the favour of God, salvation, justification, and the everlasting kingdom, free-will is altogether ineffectual, but is a mere sufferer only, nor hath any thing but that which it hath received, and is altogether unprofitable, yea when it hath done all that it can possibly do. And this is it that Luther seemeth to stand upon.

Let him be accused that will say that God commandeth things impossible.

Melancthon doth answer, whatsoever were the occasion of this saying, surely those which vouch the same, and so busily urge it, seem void of understanding in the causes why the law of God was given. Worldly wisdom supposeth that laws are published only because they should be observed; but the law of the Lord was ordained for this cause chiefly, that the judgment and wrath of God should be laid open against sin; that it should convince us of wickedness, and increase the horror thereof; that wickedness might be restrained from too much licentiousness; that putting us in remembrance of our own weakness and frailty, it should, instead of a schoolmaster, instruct us to Christ, as it is declared before.

And there was no lie found in their mouth. (Rev. xiv.) To this Augustine maketh answer, advertising us how man may be in this sort said to be true of his word, through the grace and truth of God (who otherwise of himself without all doubt is a liar): as is that saying, "You were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord." When he spake of darkness, he added not, "in the Lord;" but when he spake of light, he annexed by and by "in the Lord."

But Osorius will urge against us here; *ergo, nature being holpen through grace* (saith he), *may eschew all lying and sinning.* To answer hereunto again out of Augustine, "He that will speak so, let him be well advised how he deal with the Lord's Prayer, where we say, 'Lord, forgive us our tres-'passes,' which we needed not to say, except I be not deceived, if our consents never yielded to false speaking, nor to the lust of the flesh. Neither would the Apostle James have said (chap. i. 3.), 'We 'are all trespassers in many things;' for that man doth not offend, but he whom flattering lust hath allured

saved, and can make able also to be saved? But if it be understood of his revealed will, which is called *voluntas signi*, what marvel is it if such will not be saved, but perish besides the will of God, which are left to the power of their own free-will, by the secret and unsearchable will of God?

Whatsoever is voluntary may be avoided.

Sin is voluntary; ergo, sin may be avoided.

This is answered before out of Augustine. The major were true, if it be understood of nature being sound; but now nature is wounded and defiled, either because it doth not see by reason of her blindness, or because it doth not perform by reason of her weakness.

God would not command the things which he knew man could not do.

Augustine maketh answer, "And who is ignorant hereof? but he doth therefore command some things which we are not able, because we may know what we ought to crave at his hands."

Where nature and necessity bear rule, there is no just crime in sinning.

The Lutherans do teach, that sin doth cleave fast within us by nature, and that of very necessity; ergo, according to the Lutherans' doctrine, there shall be no just crime in sinning.

And hereunto answer is made before. In the major I do distinguish *nature* and *necessity*. If it have relation to *nature* that was sound, and *necessity* of coaction, true it is, that there is no accusation or just crime of sin to be laid there; but if it mean *nature* corrupt, and *necessity* of invincible and unchangeable bondage, it is false; of which *necessity* Augustine speaketh. But now faultiness punishable ensuing did make a necessity of freedom.

There is no reason to make it sin, where is no power to be able to avoid it.

I do answer, that it was true in Adam, who committed that whiles nature was sound; which he might have eschewed; but in us not so, who in this corrupted and forlorn nature now, whether we may avoid it, or not avoid it, yet doth sin follow us of necessity. For if will could eschew sin, yet can it not clear itself from sin of herself, and of her own ability, but only through the assistance of helping grace; whereupon will deserveth no commendation, though it can clear itself, but if it eschew not the sin which it might eschew, so much the more doth it aggravate the trespass.

And why cometh not forth any one such at the length which can or dare boldly profess, that he hath ever eschewed the sin that these jack-braggers boast so much may be avoided? On the contrary, although will cannot escape from sin, yet doth it not therefore cease to be sin, because it sucked this imbecility, not from nature (wherein it was created at the first), but from him which might have been without sin, if he would.

No man lacketh the grace of God, but he that will cowardly faint of himself.

True it is; but to make man not to be faint-hearted in himself, it is needful that the grace of God be present first, without the which all our good will is ineffectual. Moreover, whoso being holpen with grace, doth begin to will well, and to endeavour well, is not now altogether a cowardly craven; but he that is faint-hearted, is therefore faint-hearted because he was not assisted with the effectual grace of God.

God doth constrain no man forcibly.

I do grant, but that they may be made willing, he doth first of unwilling make them willing, and draweth such as are stiff-necked, to become inclinable; creating new hearts within them, and renewing a new spirit within their bowels, to make them tractable and willing servants for himself.

But thou, according to the hardness of thy heart, dost procure to thyself vengeance.

The Apostle speaketh here of the external blessing or calling of God, which he exerciseth indifferently, as well towards the good, as towards the evil; and not of the spiritual grace of regeneration, wherewith he doth peculiarly seal and establish his elect unto himself.

The grace of God is none otherwise effectual than as we be not sluggish or retchless to use his help offered unto us; ergo, it is in our power either to receive the grace of God offered unto us, or else not to receive it.

I deny the argument. For where the effectual grace of God is (which worketh in us not only by outward calling, but also by the inward renewing and earnest motion of the mind, as Augustine writeth to Simplician), there can be no defect of will. And again, wheresoever is any want of will, there is not God's effectual grace, which is comprehended within these two parts, "outward calling and inward drawing." So that the receiving of grace is within us indeed, yet cometh not of ourselves, but of the grace of God; but the refusal of grace is both in us, and of us; and yet in such wise, as that being left over to our own weakness, we are not able to do otherwise of ourselves.

There is objected out of Augustine, Hypognosticon, third book, that we have lost our freedom not to will, but to be able, and to perform.

First, by the consent of the learned, it is certain that this book was never made by Augustine. 2. The adversaries do not interpret it aright. 3. Let the premises be joined with that which followeth; for he doth confess, that there is a free-will, having judgment of reason indeed, not by which it may be apt either to begin or to end any godly action without God, but only in the actions of this present life.

And forthwith followeth in the same Augustine, "When we speak of free-will, we do not treat of one part of man only, but of whole man altogether, &c."

Whereupon their error is condemned, which do affirm, that corruption is wholly included within the flesh; whereas by testimony of the same Augustine, corruption hath defiled the inward powers of the soul likewise; whereupon he speaketh in the same place on this wise: "Free-will being defiled, the whole man is defiled; wherefore without help of the grace of God he is neither able to begin to do any thing that may be acceptable unto God, nor yet to perform it."

The Scripture doth every where describe the freedom of will, where it testifieth, that God will render to every man according to his deserving; whereas it containeth ordinances and precepts of good life; where it exhorteth every where to godliness, forbiddeth to sin, and threateneth punishment: out of all which it is most assured, that the power of free-will is declared.

If the whole Scriptures treat altogether every where of these, where be the premises then? First, as touching merits, Augustine doth answer, "Woe be unto the life of man, though never so commendable, if God deal with us after our deservings!" As concerning reward, he doth answer after the same manner: "That reward is given indeed, to them that deserve it; but yet so as to deserve, is given first from the grace of God, and proceedeth not from man's free-will, unto whom reward is given afterwards;" that is to say, "Grace for grace," as Augustine saith.

Moreover, as concerning the precepts and commandments indeed, God doth command us to walk in them, but he doth promise that he will bring to pass

that we may walk in them, that is to say, that he will give us both a mind and feet to walk withal.

Where a recompense is made, there is a consideration of merit.

Nay rather, the conclusion would have been more correspondent on this wise: Where recompense doth follow, there doth consideration of obedience go before. For of obedience the argument is good enough, but of merit stark naught.

Where recompense is, there is regard had both of obedience and of merit, out of the Master of Sentences, whereupon they argue on this matter: Hope doth not trust to the mercy of God only, but to our merits also.

And therefore to hope, being void of merits, is not to hope, but to presume, as they affirm.

This Treatise here toucheth merits and obedience both. I answer unto both: first of *obedience*, the assertion may be granted; but that *obedience* is meant here, that is made acceptable to God, and proceedeth not from the will and ability of our free-will, but from the grace of God only. But of merit, if the worthiness of the work be regarded, we do utterly deny it; if they understand of *obedience* approved, and acceptable in the sight of God, we do not strive against them, so that they will reknowledge this much again, that this obedience of ours, how ready soever it be, doth not spring from our own ability; but that we ought to acknowledge it (as a gift received by the benefit of the heavenly grace) to be his gift only, and none other's.

Against this master-like sentence, I will set down the opinion of Basil: "He that trusteth not in himself, neither looketh to be justified by works, that man hath the hope of salvation reposed only in the mercies of God." Augustine, disputing against the Pelagians, which did say that the same recompense which shall be given in the end, is a reward of good

works going before, doth answer, "that this may be granted unto them, if they likewise again would confess that those good works were the gifts of God, and not the proper actions of men; for those that are such, that is to say, proper unto men, are evil, but yet are good gifts of God, &c."

Whereupon in another place, "If thy merits (saith he) come of thyself, they be evil, and for that cause are they not crowned; and therefore that they may be good, they must be the gifts of God." And again, writing to Sixtus, "Be there no merits of righteous men? Yes, truly; because they be righteous men, but their merits brought not to pass that they were made righteous; for they be made righteous when they be justified, but after the manner of the Apostle's teaching, freely justified through the grace of Christ." And again, writing upon the 94th Psalm, "If God would deal according to men's deservings, he should not find any thing but that he might of very justice utterly condemn, &c."

But these sayings, because they appertain to the judgment of yielding reward, do concern our cause nothing at all, who do not treat now of the last judgment, but of the grace of election properly: "Which grace, whosoever will say is given according to the proportion of deservings, Augustine doth call the same a most pernicious error."

It is furthermore objected, that Augustine, writing unto Prosper and Hilary, doth not only in the very title of the book join free-will with grace, but also heaping a number of arguments together, doth very earnestly endeavour to confirm, that man hath free-will.

I do confess that Augustine in these books, as many times otherwise, doth by certain arguments framed out of holy Scriptures teach free-will, and withal join it with grace; but such arguments are they, as himself afterwards confuteth. More-

over, consideration must be had in what wise he doth join both these together, and how he doth part them asunder again; they that do fortify grace in such wise, as that man's free-will may in no sense be admitted withal, do not judge thereof rightly. For man's will, whether it be good, or whether it be evil, doth never cease to be after a certain sort free, either free to righteousness, or free to sin; which if it be good she receiveth her goodness of grace, if it be evil, she sucketh that evil of herself, and therefore sucketh it of herself, because it is severed from grace.

Furthermore it must be considered, in what sense Augustine doth construe *free-will*. Surely, if our adversaries do interpret free-will after this sense, as though it contained in her own power a *free* election of choosing good or evil, they swerve altogether from Augustine's interpretation, who by this vocable free-will seemeth to signify nothing else than that will only which worketh those things voluntarily that it worketh, whether they be good or evil.

Another objection out of Augustine: "Believe the holy Scriptures, both that there is free-will and the grace of God, without whose help man can neither be converted to God, nor profit with God." Again, out of his second Epistle to Valentine: "The catholic faith doth never deny free-will either towards good life or towards evil life; neither doth it attribute so much unto it, as that it may be of any value without the grace of God; whether it be converted out of evil into good, or whether it continue profiting in good, or whether it attain to the everlasting good; whereas now it feareth not lest it quail and wax faint, &c."

What is meant else by these words of Augustine, but that under the name of free-will, that will be understood in man, which is capable as well of evil as

of good, and may be evil of itself through corruption of nature, but good only by reformation of grace?

All actions that men take in hand do proceed from God, the first mover and ruler, as from the first cause thereof, according to Luther's doctrine.

All sins are actions; ergo, after the Lutherans' doctrine, all sins do proceed from God, as from the chief and first cause.

First, in the major this word *actions* must be distinguished: some *actions* are natural, some are divine and supernatural. Now if the major have respect to these *actions*, then is the major true, and the minor to be denied; for the major doth not mean properly these actions which are not of nature, but against nature; of which sort are sins and the *actions* of wicked spirits; or if it do mean those actions, it may be denied. There is besides these a third kind of *action*, which is called a free and voluntary *action*; I call it free for this cause, whereby will is willingly evil, without all coaction, as Augustine witnesseth. And these kinds of actions, which are proper and peculiar to man, do proceed from will, as from the nearest and most proper cause, although not altogether without the providence and ministry of God, which as it poureth itself abroad throughout all manner of things, by a certain secret influence, beyond all reach of capacity; even so doth it incline and make pliable the very wills of men, to whatsoever purposes it pleaseth him; yet so, notwithstanding, as that no man is constrained thereto by this inclination.

For neither is any man compelled to be evil against his will, when he doth naughtily, except he will himself; so that now it is needless for any man to seek for the cause of sin without himself, as Calvin truly teacheth. But Osorius doth object here again:

Whosoever doth entice and allure another to wickedness, is as much in fault as he that is allured thereunto, at the least is not void of blame.

God doth move and provoke men's wills to do heinous offences, after the Lutherans' doctrine; ergo, God himself, according to the Lutherans, as the first motioner and cause of evil, cannot be clear of fault.

The major is true there, where both he that doth allure, and he that is allured, are led both by one kind of consent, are holden both together under one self condition, and have both regard to one self end in their doing. But now all these things do chance far otherwise in God than in man; for as God doth work nothing but that which is wrought with a marvellous pure and sincere will (who can will nothing but that which is most good), even so doth he attempt nothing at any time, but that he may do of his most free justice, nor is tied to any conditions or laws. Now where no law is, there neither is any sin at all; for sins properly are defined, not so much by the bare actions, as by the conditions, laws, and ends.

At a word, to make this matter more discernible, God commanded Abraham that he should kill his son; if any other had commanded the same, or if the father had attempted to do the same, at any other's commandment, he had surely sinned. But now since it was the Lord's commandment, neither was there any sin in Him that did command, neither in him that did assent; no, though he had slain him indeed. What shall we say of this? That the same Father of heaven and earth, when he gave his only begotten Son to be slain; yea, altogether undeserving it (for this tragedy was not played surely without his hand and secret counsel); shall we therefore say that He sinned, because in this work he willed the same that the murderers did? For neither was his

consent absent, nor severed from their will, which did crucify the Son of God, nor yet his ordinance; yet was this ordinance of his clear from sin notwithstanding, but their fury lacked not sin.

Indeed, his consenting will did will the same that they willed; but not after the same sort, and for a far other manner of end; for in them that did crucify Christ, appeareth a treble argument and plain demonstration of sin: first, because they brake the laws that were commanded them, contrary to all equity and right. Again, for that they laid violent hands upon the innocent, being inflamed with malice and despite; wherein also they did not respect any other end, but to imbrue their mad murdering hands with innocent blood, to establish thereby their arrogant ambition; all which were far otherwise in God; for, first, who ever limited any laws for God, which he might not break? Wherefore, being free from all law, he neither did any thing here, nor at any time else can do any thing that is not in all respects most lawful for him to do.

And yet neither did the Father here so procure the death of his Son, but that the Son himself did voluntarily of his own accord yield thereunto. Moreover, in this the Father's will was nothing amiss, in his ordinances nothing malicious, in the end nothing but most glorious, and for our salvation. For on the other side, in all this action was wonderfully uttered and expressed his most just judgment against sin, his most excellent piety towards his Son, and his most tender love towards mankind; for in that he did most sharply and with severest justice punish our sins in his own Son, he restoreth him to life, and to a most ample kingdom withal, and thereby provided most fatherly for all our salvation generally.

We read likewise in the holy Scriptures, "It is necessary that offences shall come, it is necessary

that heresies be, &c." And it is not to be doubted, but that this necessity doth issue from the ordinance of God. And what then? If these offences do chance altogether besides the ordinance of God, how then do they chance of necessity? Again, if they happen by the ordinance of God, how shall we then defend the goodness of God? Forsooth, even by the same means that I spake of before; for if He which did foreordain those offences were alike affectioned, and of the same mind, nor did respect any other end than the persons themselves do, from whom these offences do arise, there should nothing withstand but that he should be in the self-same fault, and in all respects as blameworthy as they.

But now since there is so great diversity betwixt them in the manner of doing, and the respect of the end: hereby it cometh to pass, that in one self action, that which is committed by men is a most heinous crime, and in that which cometh of God appeareth most evidently a wonderful commendation of justice and piety. But here is yet a very great knot in this bulrush, whereupon Osorius scrapeth again very busily.

To confess this to be true, that offences and heresies must arise by men, yet forasmuch as their wills are not otherwise ordered, but by the guiding and leading of God's direction, it cannot be denied, but that God himself (as one that doth suggest some matter first) must be accounted for an abettor or furtherer; for whosoever shall be the cause of any other cause or action, even the same must needs be an accessary to the crime that is committed.

That offences and other sundry inconveniences of this present life do flow from out the corrupt affections of men, as out of their natural source and spring-head, is most true. And again, that the wills of men, which way soever they bend themselves,

are guided, not without the permission and special providence of God; this is also most true.

Furthermore, that the very will of God and his providence do seem to be in some cause, that offences and inconveniences do arise, I do confess likewise, agreeing herein with Augustine. Well, and what hereof? What if we grant that God is after a certain sort the cause of evil? *ergo*, Osorius doth conclude presently upon the same, that God (as being the cause of evil) cannot be excused of blame. But if he do so, he is at hand that will deny his argument; for it is not a good consequent which is derived from the cause of offences and evils, but only in such offences and sins which are not themselves the very punishment of sins and rewards of trespass, and where the evils that are committed be the uttermost effects of the cause agent; whereof neither of them both may be imputed to God. For neither doth God's providence work in the corrupt affections of men, as the principal cause unto the last end; moreover, neither are men's wills inclined or hardened to wickedness by the operation of God, but where God hath most just cause so to do, as well because God doth all things to make the excellency of his power and majesty to appear more glorious, and to be wondered at; as also because he doth harden the hearts of no person, but to the end with sin to punish the former sins, wickedness, and mischievous facts that have been committed before, yea, and this also most rightfully.

Whereupon Augustine saith, this must be grounded and unremovable within your hearts, that there is no unrighteousness in God; and for this cause, when ye do read in the holy Scriptures, that men are seduced by God, or that their hearts are hardened, doubt nothing at all, but that they have committed before offence enough, for the which they ought worthily

with two reasons: first, if this preordinance of God whereof I speak do bring such a necessity of external coaction upon men, as Osorius doth speak of, as that no man could sin voluntarily, but compelled thereunto by God; it might not seem altogether perhaps from the purpose, to impute the fault thereof to God. But what is he now? or what man hath ever been so horribly wicked at any time, who in performing his treacherous devices can say that he was constrained against his will to commit the fact that he would not have done, being neither led thereunto of any motion of himself, nor blinded with any his own affections?

Moreover, although the will of God doth work together with man's will, or (as Augustine liked rather to speak) whether God do work in the hearts of men to apply their wills whereunto it pleaseth him, either to godliness for his good mercy's sake, or to wickedness and vice, according to their own deservings; or whether man be afflicted with any cross of persecution; yet doth God bring all these to pass, according to his own just judgment, sometimes open and manifest, but always most righteous; for what sitteth more with justice, than to punish offenders, than to tame and suppress the outrageous pride of rebellious nature? But forasmuch as all the works of God are directed chiefly as to one end, from whence then may man take a more large occasion to magnify and extol the justice of God, than out of his own works? And therefore though we confess, that it is one self work which is wrought by God and by man, yet because in the self-same work God worketh by another way, and to another end; namely, putting in use the work of his justice; and because men do the works of pride, of lust, of wrath, and of covetousness; hereupon it cometh to pass, that sin is worthily imputed unto them, the will of God remaining always

circumstances being altered, the state of the conclusion is altered also. All the actions of man's life are governed by the disposition of the secret providence of God. This is very true. Man's will also doth endeavour withal together with the same: here is therefore an operation and working on both parts; God worketh, and man worketh, and both in one matter; but because God doth order things after far other means, and respecting another end, than men do, herein redoundeth unto him the highest commendation of power, justice, and bounty. Men are worthily blamed, as being the very causes of their own harms.

When Joseph was sold by his brethren; when Judas betrayed the Lord; when Absalom defiled his father's concubines; when Pharaoh withheld the people of Israel; when Shimei railed upon David; when Antiochus waxed wroth against the Jews long since; whenas antichrist even now grindeth his teeth against the silly flock of Christ; whenas Paul breathed out threatenings and slaughters—no man will deny but these were heinous and horrible facts; of all which, notwithstanding, no one wanted the singular counsel of God and his especial providence: whereupon it could not possibly be otherwise, but that the things which he had determined before, should so come to pass in the end; for neither doth enter into man's thought any thing that God doth not will before, that man should will; neither doth man's will purpose any thing, which is not both foreseen and foreordained of God.

What then? Shall we therefore accuse God as author of the wickedness of the ungodly, because these things chance of necessity, which God hath purposed shall come to pass, and can by no means be altered? For so seemeth Osorius to conclude his argument. But I argue against him in this wise, and

were present in his eye; but herein they go amiss, where they practise to establish the foreknowledge and permission of God so firmly, that they would have his unchangeable providence severed from the same, which cannot possibly be by any means; for what may a man think, if God do foreknow and permit wickedness to reign, which he is not able to turn away? Where is then his power? If he be able, and will not, where is then his mercy? What father is so hard-hearted, that, seeing his child ready to receive some harm, will not call him from the peril if he may?

But say they, he that doth wickedly, and he also that doth consent thereunto, are both in one predicament; therefore, as it is an absurd thing not to confess God to be omnipotent, or that any thing is done that he cannot do; so is that as false also to say, that any thing which God will not, is permitted without his knowledge, and against his will. For how shall we conceive that God doth permit any thing to be done, but because his will is that it shall so be done? Whereupon we may frame an argument against those persons, who, rejecting the necessary doctrine of predestination, flee only to God's *permission* on this wise:

If God do permit sin, that doth he either with his will, or against his will.

But he doth not permit it against his will (for there can nothing be done against the will of God); then followeth it, that God doth willingly permit sin, and will not stay nor hinder it.

Which being granted, their objection hath a double error: first, because they take away sin altogether from the will of God, casting the same wholly upon his *permission*: next, because they do fear lest God's justice should be blemished, being of this opinion, to wit, if God do work in the hearts of the wicked

when they do sin, then must it be taken for confessed, that the cause of sin shall be forthwith imputed to God, and withal that men shall hereof take just occasion to excuse themselves; both which are easily confuted. For first of all, whereas it is said, that God worketh in the hearts of men, to incline their wills whereunto it pleaseth him, either when he doth thrust upon men outward calamities, as strange diseases, cruel wars, flames of fire, &c. or where he bringeth upon men inward griefs by the service of Satan, executioner of his wrath, as famine of his holy word, ignorance, blindness of understanding, hardness of heart, as appeareth evidently by the Scriptures; I pray you, what mean you by that which you read in the 9th of Judges, "God did send his evil spirit betwixt Abimelech and the people of Sichem, &c.?" when you read in Moses, "I will harden the heart of Pharaoh," adding a cause to the same wherefore he would do it?

And again, when you hear "that the Lord did harden the heart of Sihon, king of Heshbon" (Deut. ii.); when you read in Isaiah the Prophet (chap. vi.), "Blunt the hearts of this people, and stop their ears;" and again (chap. lxiii.), "Why dost thou make us wander from thy ways, O Lord?" what is this in 1 Kings, xxii. "Behold, the Lord hath given the spirit of lying into the mouths of all the Prophets, &c.;" and in Job, xii. "The Lord doth take away the hearts from them that rule over the people of the earth, and he maketh them to go astray, &c." Of the same sense are the words of the Prophet Ezekiel: "If the Prophet be seduced, and speak a word, I the Lord have seduced that Prophet." And in Amos, iii. "If there shall be any evil in the city, that the Lord hath not done." And again, in 2 Thessalonians, ii. "God shall send upon them strong illusion to believe lies, &c."

These, and innumerable like unto these, whoso shall hear every where in the Scriptures, can he doubt hereof, that the sins of the wicked are not hidden utterly from the decreed will of God? or that any thing is done in any of all these by God's *permission*, so as his effectual providence doth not work also withal?

Now as concerning the inconvenience, as though it were of necessity that God's justice should be therefore called in question, and that it would by that means come to pass, that wicked men would hereof take occasion to excuse themselves, as though they should not offend through their own default, but by the compulsory constraint of God's will; if so be those things be so taken according to the very purport of the bare letter wherewith God is said "to deliver over into a reprobate mind, to make blind, to harden the hearts, &c." then is this also each way as false. Neither doth the conclusion of his argument thus shuffled up hang together.

All things that God hath foreordained shall come to pass, do chance through absolute necessity.

God did foreordain that sin should come to pass; ergo, when sins do come to pass, they are to be imputed as well unto man, as being an instrument, as unto God himself, as being the author.

Nay rather, the conclusion ought to have been framed on this wise; *ergo*, God hath ordained that sins should be, which for the same cause cannot but be of very necessity. And so indeed is the conclusion right, and to be granted also; for it is without all controversy, that sins cannot come without the ordinance of God's will, which ordinance, nevertheless, having just cause of defence, ought to be acquitted of all unrighteousness; and to shew that it hath just causes of defence, three reasons may be rendered:

First, this silly earthly worm had scarcely yet thrust his nose out of the dirt, whenas he would needs make himself equal with God, his Creator, far above the reach and compass of his creation, presuming to attain the knowledge of good and evil; then came it to pass, by the most just judgment of God, not by his *permission*, but by his providence also, that free-will being as then thoroughly furnished with understanding and reason (but destitute of grace) could not govern itself, but must needs, both against his own knowledge and conscience, stumble and fall down withal.

And no marvel; for as soon as God had withdrawn his light, right spirit, and helping hand (wherupon issued lack of well-doing, blindness and hardness of heart), it could not otherwise be, but that (the grace of God being withdrawn, and all ability to do well being taken away) this proud presumptuous vermin must fall to the ground, both of very justice, and of very necessity, whereof the one is ascribed to God, and not to man; this other not to God, but to man and to his own free-will. And hereupon ariseth that absolute and unavoidable necessity whereof we treat so much, and withal the most just defence of God's justice.

Then besides this free-will, there is yet another reason, that will plainly acquit the just providence of God from fault, though it work in the sins of men together with men themselves. As when he bringeth upon man either diseases of the body, or blindness of understanding, for sins already committed, punishing sin, as it were, by sin. Even so Pharaoh, that had used horrible tyranny before, in drowning the suckling babes of the Hebrews, was himself afterwards most justly hardened by God, and at the last miserably drowned in the Red Sea.

Even so likewise Isaiah and the other Prophets did

prophesy, that the Jews should be blinded for the wickedness which they had committed. By the like judgment of God came it to pass that which was spoken of the Gentiles: "As they would not give themselves to know God, God did deliver them over to the lusts of their own hearts, &c." (Rom. i.) And in another place, writing to the Thessalonians, "For this cause (saith he) God will send upon them strong illusions to believe lies, &c."

Besides these most just causes, spoken of before, there is yet a third, no less rightful and just; which although it be somewhat dark unto us, yet seemed not so dark to the understanding and knowledge of St. Paul, where God's divine providence doth wonderfully order and dispose his works; to wit, by his judgment hidden indeed, but always just, leading and directing all things to that end, whereby he may make his justice or his power discernible to mankind.

And to this end, at a word, do all the counsels of God and all the effects of the same, tend and be directed; whether he do fashion the vessels of his wrath to destruction, or prepare the vessels of his mercy to glory; or whether he be merciful to whom he will; or whether he do harden the hearts of whom it pleaseth him, or whensoever it pleaseth him so to do; or when he doth stir up the minds and endeavours of men whereunto him listeth, by the service of Satan, the minister of his wrath, or whether he do comfort and make glad the hearts of his chosen, by the operation of the Holy Ghost.

And yet is there no cause in the meanwhiles why any man should complain that the things are done injuriously which are done by God's secret judgment, or that God ought to be blamed in any of all these, whenas whatsoever is done by him we believe assuredly is done, either to express his power, or to make his

glory discernible, or to commend his justice, or else to discover the wonderful riches of his mercy.

Wherefore when Luther doth affirm, that with God all things are done by an absolute necessity, whether they come by destiny, chance, or any fortune at all, why should not it be as lawful for him to speak so, as for Osorius to speak in the like phrase and in like titles of words, that God is of necessity the best, the most just, and the most wise? But I hear the sound of an argument from the popish diatribe.

They say that they abridge not God of his power, no, nor that they can do it, neither would at any time otherwise than as himself hath abridged it. Although there be nothing but that the omnipotency of God can bring to pass, yet would he have nothing lawful for himself to do, that might be contrary to his justice. And because it is an horrible matter that any man should be damned without evil deservings, and that it is not reason that good works should be defrauded of their due reward; therefore it must needs follow, according to the rule of justice, that God should choose them whom he would have to be saved, for the good works which he did foresee to be in them, and condemn the other likewise for their evil doings; for otherwise, if he do not regard the works, then were not his justice constant and permanent.

This objection must be overtaken after this manner; it is one thing to treat of God's *election*, and another thing to treat of his *judgment*. As concerning the *judgment* of God, it is evident, that no man is damned, unless he have deserved it for his wickedness; and that no man is saved, unless some matter be found in him, whereunto his salvation may be imputed. It is far otherwise in *election* and *predestination*, which is accomplished according to God's free determination and counsel, without all respect

of works, either going before, or coming after; or else how can that saying of the Apostle be true, "Not of works, but of Him that calleth, &c." meaning thereby the free election of God?

Whereupon let us hear Augustine very aptly discoursing in his book *De Predestin. et Grat.* "It is said, *Not of works, but of Him that calleth; the elder shall serve the younger.* He doth not say of works done before; but when the Apostle spake generally, *not of works*, here he would that men should understand it, both of works done and already past, and works not as yet done, that is to say, works past which were none at all, and works to be done which as yet were not done, &c." Works therefore have both their time and their place. Certainly, in election they have neither time nor place, neither is any thing here of any value, but the only will of God, which neither dependeth upon faith, nor upon works, nor upon the promises; but works, faith, and the promises, and whatsoever else, do all depend upon it.

For neither are our deeds unto him a rule to direct his *election* by, but our deeds are directed by his *election*, as the effects do consequently depend upon the causes, and not the causes upon the effects; neither doth God work unrighteously in the mean time in this, if he take mercy on whom he will take mercy, or if he harden whom he will harden. And why so? Forsooth, because he is indebted to no man. For since we are all in general, even from our mothers' wombs, overwhelmed and drowned in this puddle of original sin, he may, according to his good pleasure, have mercy on whom it pleaseth him; and again, pass over whomsoever him listeth, and leave them to themselves, that is to say, not take mercy upon them. Whereupon all men may easily perceive, as well the reprobates, what it is whereof they may justly accuse themselves, as also they that

are chosen, how much they are indebted to God for his so great and exceeding mercy.

Even as if one man kill another with a sword, no man doth therefore accuse the sword, but he rather is known to be in fault, which did abuse the sword to murder; with as good reason, forasmuch as men are nothing else but as instruments of wickedness only in God's hand; they that yield of necessity are not so much in fault, as he rather deserveth to be blamed that caused them to do wickedly.

If so be that men, whom God hath created after his own image, were such kind of instruments, which, like unto a sword or saw, were driven not of themselves, and without any motion or consent of their own; or if God were such a royster or hackster that would delight in the slaughter of men, the similitude were not altogether to be misliked. Now to grant unto them that the wills of men are directed, and are subject to a stronger power than they are able to resist, yet do they not suffer only as instruments, brutish and senseless, doing nothing themselves in the meanwhiles.

Men are drawn indeed, but with their own wills, as Augustine maketh mention. Neither is any man evil, but he that will himself; and if man will be of his own accord evil, who ought to be blamed therefore but himself? For where shall we say that sin is, but where a will is found to commit sin? But Osorius ceaseth not as yet from his chattering.

They that do affirm that God hath severed out of all the universal mass of mankind some whom he would prepare to everlasting glory, and some others whom he would appoint to everlasting destruction, not for any other cause, but because it so pleaseth him, do pluck God's providence up by the roots.

The Lutherans do allege none other reason of God's predestination besides his will only; ergo, the Lu-

therans do foredo, and pluck the providence of God up by the roots.

I beseech you, Osorius, if as yet you have not cast away all feeling of an honest and sober divine utterly, return to yourself at the length. Indeed! say you so? *Do they foredo God's providence, which say it is so, for none other cause but because it pleaseth him, &c.?* What kind of argument do I hear from you? Can God be pleased to do any thing that is not most correspondent to reason? or can any reason be of all parts so absolutely perfect, that can disagree from the chief and principal pattern of his will? or do you seem a reasonable man, that do talk so fondly?

But I beseech you, Sir, forasmuch as the will of God, whithersoever it bend and incline itself, is nothing else but a most perfect reason of itself, and of all parts most absolute, and without blemish; and forasmuch also as reason itself is nothing else than the very rule of God's will; nay rather, forasmuch as the will of God is the very essence and substance of God; what kind of coupling do ye desire to be had betwixt reason and the will of God, who indeed can will nothing but that which is perfect, since that nothing is perfect but that which he willeth? And whereupon then riseth this haughty crest of yours, that cannot be satisfied with the bare will of God, being expressed in his plain word?

Neither seemeth it sufficient in your judgment that God should choose any to salvation, unless his secret counsel herein may be made discernible by the deep reach of your own reason, and that he should render an account and reason of his decreed will herein unto your mastership. Albeit I do not deny this to be true, that the profound wisdom of the divine Godhead cannot be sundered from the knitting together of his reason and counsel, that is to say, from itself;

yet out of what school suck you such divinity, O singular pillar of the Romish rout, so earnestly to require and to sift out the counsel and reason of the Creator, even in the very unsearchable wisdom of Him that created you? I suppose you were schooled in your sacred confessions.

Surely you never learned it out of holy Scriptures, if you never noted what answer the Lord made to Moses in the Scriptures, mark now somewhat more attentively: "I will have mercy (saith he) on whom I will have mercy, and I will take compassion on whom I will take compassion, &c." Here you may see a singular *mercy* of God in taking compassion, whereof you neither see nor hear any other rendered in the whole Scriptures besides the only will of God. "I will have mercy" (saith he). Will you know the causes and the persons? He doth not say, Because I perceive them to be worthy of my benignity, whose foreseen works do delight me now, before I take *mercy*; but, I do therefore take *mercy*, because I will take *mercy*, and I will have compassion on him of whom it pleaseth me to have *mercy*. And therefore St. Paul adding a very fit conclusion, "*Ergo* (saith he), God will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and will harden whom he will harden:" with these words bridling our nice curiosity, as it were, and withal giving us to understand that it is enough for us to know, that so is the will of the Lord, although there be no manifest demonstration made unto us of the cause wherefore he would do so. For of whatsoever it shall please the Lord to bring to pass, albeit we cannot attain the reason, yet ought we to ground ourselves upon this for sufficient and lawful reason; because the Lord hath brought it so to pass. We ought also to learn of Christ this lesson: "Because it hath so pleased thy good will, O Father." Forasmuch as it is not lawful for

any creature to presume to inquire any reason beyon the will of God.

Right well therefore, and very profoundly, dotl Augustine give us this lesson: "It is not mee (saith he) to search for the causes of God's unsearch able will; it is not lawful to know it, for that th will of God is the principal and highest cause of a things that are; and therefore if when it is aske why the Lord did it, it is to be answered, because h so willed it: if thou go further, in asking why h willed it, thou askest some greater and higher thin than the will of God is, which cannot possibly b found out." And again the same Augustine in anothe place, writing of predestination and grace, "Go (saith he) taketh mercy on whom he will have mercy and of whom he will not have mercy, he will no take mercy. He giveth to whom him listeth, an requireth that which is due unto him, of whom h will."

Here again ye hear the will of God named, yea, and that alone, wherewith if you be not yet satisfied because it is named alone, hearken what is immediately annexed by the same Augustine; for thus it followeth: "He that shall continue to say God is unrighteous, let him hearken unto the Apostle, 'O 'man, what art thou that contendest with God? 'man with God, earth with the potter, &c.?'" Doth he herein not note you excellently, Osorius, and, as it were, point at you with the finger, as that no man could possibly have noted any matter more notably?

Paul the Apostle doth render no causes at all of God's *election*, but his *will only*. Augustine dare inquire after none. All the whole Scripture is thoroughly satisfied with his *will only*; only Osorius cannot be satisfied, nor thinketh it lawful enough for God to do that him liketh best, unless with subtilty of reasoning, as it were, with cut sophisms

and syllogisms, man maintain argument with his God, earth with the potter; which thing how horrible it is, learn at the least out of Isaiah the Prophet: "Woe (saith he) unto him that will contend with his Maker, a brittle potsherd of the outcast potsherds of the earth; shall the clay say unto the potter, Why dost thou make me thus? did thy hands fail thee in thy work, &c.?" (Isa. xlv.)

As though there were any of the creatures of God that doth understand the mind of the Lord, or were ever counsellors unto him; or as though it were not permitted him to will as him listeth; or as though whatsoever pleaseth him were not lawful for him to do, unless he did give us a reason, and orderly render unto us the causes that moved him thereunto? And what if he will not discover it, Osorius? yea, and what if he ought not? what if when him listeth to display it most manifesty, your bald mazer, and the blockishness of your nimble capacity, cannot be able to pierce into the unsearchable depth of his glory, wisdom, and counsel?

Jeremy the Prophet, being commanded to go down into the house of the potter, and there to behold thoroughly the workmanship of the running wheel, and the hand of the craftsman; when he saw the vessel that was newly made, and was by and by broken again; neither doth he require a reason thereof of the workman, nor yet doth the Lord, being the workman, render any reason unto him; only he declareth his power in making new, and renewing again of that which was broken, in these words: "Am I not of power to do unto you as this potter doth to his clay, O house of Israel?" saith the Lord. "Behold, as the clay in the hand of the potter, so are you in my hand, O ye house of Israel." (Jer. xviii.)

And will Osorius dare be so bold (being a fashioned

lump of the potter's wheel, neither reverencing the majesty of his Maker, nor contented with his will, to require a reason of his creation, besides the lawful will of the Creator? and will he not permit it to be sufficient for God to do in his own works what it pleaseth him best?

For what do these words of Osorius import elsewhere, being squeamish at Luther's speech, *He doth judge them not worthy to be heard in any wise, which will affirm that God doth choose whom he will unto salvation, out of the whole mass of mankind: for none other cause but because it so pleaseth him?* Page 163. First, where hath Luther any such assertion? why do you not set it down, good Sir? And admit that he hath, what is it that your carping cavillation can gnaw at here, if you interpret it aright? For although Luther seem in your goodly conceit to be more than a thousand times mad (whom ye can never name without some gall of railing speech), yet was he never hitherto so foolish, as to have a will to spoil the most wise works of God of reason and counsel in any wise.

There is with God a most perfect, stable, and unchangeable knowledge of all the works of his own hands, but such a knowledge as doth altogether surmount the greatest reach of our nimblest capacities, and seemeth rather to be wondered at, than to be searched out by us. Surely it is far beyond the reason that you make unto us; for deliberately noting with myself, and entering into a very deep view and consideration of the things which are spoken of election, of purpose, of God's providence (for this word predestination, as scarce fine enough for a Ciceronian, you abhor, neither dare ye so much as once to name in all your books), hereunto all your drifts seem to tend, that ye suppose God's justice can by no means be defended, in making a difference be-

twixt them whom he reserveth to be saved, and those whom he adjudgeth to be damned, but by foreknowledge of those works which God doth behold shall be in them. As though Osorius would seem to argue with God with such an argument as this is:

There must be always with God a stable, assured, and upright reason in every choice to be made.

There can be none other just cause of reason of God's election and reprobation, but in respect of the merit that must follow; ergo, to the attaining the grace of election, some preparation of merit must needs go before.

First, I do answer out of Augustine, that it is a most pestilent error to say, that the grace of God is distributed according to merits, and this is one of the errors of Pelagius. Then as touching the major, there is indeed with God a perfect, sound, and unchangeable reason of all his works. "But by what reason he ordereth his works, may not be subject to the judgment of the clay (as Augustine saith), but of the potter." Now I come to the minor, which we do utterly deny; for where you make a definition of God's providence (in *choosing* or *refusing* whom he will) to be none other than such as dependeth upon the foreknowledge of works, this is altogether most brutish and unreasonable. For albeit that preventing foreknowledge of things (which our divines do call foreknowledge) is inseparably knit together to the will of Him that doth predestinate, yet we do not grant the same to be the cause of predestination.

For first, as concerning the cause efficient, forasmuch as the will of God is the very substance of God, above the which there can be nothing more high, there can be no efficient cause thereof rendered, either before it, in limitation of time, or above it in majesty; but the material and final cause thereof may (after a sort) be assigned. The material cause about which it

doth exercise her force is mankind, and those things which God doth give unto men by predestination, namely, *vocation*, *faith*, *justification*, *glorification*. The final cause is two manner of ways, either that which forceth him to doing, by the preventing will and reason of the first agent, or else that which is produced out of action.

And because there may be many ends of one thing, it may be, that there is one end of predestination, another end of him that is predestinated, and another of Him that doth predestinate. As for example: as salvation and life everlasting is the end of predestination, the end of him that is predestinated, is to believe and to live well; and the end of Him that doth predestinate, is his own glory and the manifestation of his justice, power, and mercy. As we do read in Solomon's Proverbs (chap. xvi.), "God doth make all things for himself, and the wicked man also for the evil day."

And therefore if it be asked, whether God do predestinate for the work's sake? it may be answered with St. Paul, that the holy ones are predestinated, not for their good works, but to do good works; so that now the respect of works be understood, not to be the cause efficient of predestination, but the effect rather; for thus we hear the Apostle speak: "Even as God hath chosen us in his Son from eternity, that we should become holy to the praise of his glory, &c. (Eph. i.), not because we were, or should be holy (saith he), but that we should become holy, to the praise of his glory, &c." So that no reason of election may appear, but that which is to be sought for in the free liberality of Him that doth make the election, neither that any other last end may be conceived, but the praise of the manifestation of his heavenly grace.

So that as without God there is no cause efficient, which may enforce predestination; so (if we seek

for the very beginnings of eternal predestination) we shall perceive that St. Paul doth reduce them to four principal heads chiefly: first, to his power, where he saith, "Hath not the potter power, &c.?" 2dly, To his purpose or his good pleasure. For so we read in the Epistle to the Ephesians, where he useth both these words, "Because he hath predestinated us (saith he) according to the good pleasure of his will, &c." And immediately after, "When we were predestinated (saith he) according to his purpose, &c." 3dly, To his will (Rom. x.): "He will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and will harden, &c." 4thly, To his mercy or love, where he saith (Rom. x.), "It is neither of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that taketh mercy."

Last of all, if you demand further for some reason of God's *election*, who shall more lively express the same unto you than the Apostle Paul, writing to the Romans on this wise: "If God (saith he, chap. ix.) willing on the one side to shew his wrath, and to make his power known, did with much lenity bear with the vessels of wrath prepared to destruction, and on the other side to make known the riches of his glory towards the vessels of mercy, which he hath prepared to glory, &c." Unless you have ceased long since to be a reasonable man, Osorius, what more perfect reason can be made unto you, or more manifest of God's workmanship than this, that is here set down in Paul? whereby you may plainly perceive, that all these councils and works of God (which we do see) were begun and achieved, not for any faith foreseen before, nor for any foreknown good works, but to magnify and make discernible his power, and the praise of his grace.

And yet is not this untrue, that the faith of the holy ones was foreseen, and the works of the ungodly were foreknown long before they were; but

I may seem perhaps to have been overlong and tedious in heaping together and confuting the objections of our adversaries. It remaineth now that I make answer to certain slanders and lies of these persons, who being unable to bring any thing to pass with sound arguments and good matter, do attempt the overthrow, with crooked conveyance and with false and slanderous cavillations, wherein as many others do turmoil themselves very much, so doth this our Portuguese over-greedily busy himself more than all the rest.

The CAVILLATIONS of the Adversaries wherewith they do impugn the Doctrine of Predestination, as altogether unprofitable and superfluous for Edification and Institution of good Life.

For this they use to object, that by the means of this doctrine of predestination all carefulness is taken away from men that are fallen to rise again; that to such as do stand, occasion of sluggishness is ministered, because man's travail is altogether superfluous in both respects; if neither he that is wounded cannot be able to become sound again through any his own industry, neither he that is chosen can fall away through any his negligence; by the one whereof desperation is nourished, by the other slothfulness is maintained.

If all things be first decreed upon with God, by his unchangeable counsel of predestination, what need we then any preaching or godly exhortations, whereby men's affections may either be stirred up to embrace virtue, or terrified from their accustomable licentiousness of life? whenas the desperate mind shall think with itself on this wise, whether we live well now or otherwise, we shall be such notwithstanding at the length, as God did foreknow that we should be—if good, then good; if evil, then evil.

Forasmuch therefore as (through the teaching of this doctrine) the very sinews of all endeavour are burst asunder, and that there remaineth a certain fatal necessity only, they do say, that it were more convenient not to have any words or speech at all of this matter.

They do add moreover, that it is superfluous to dispute of that matter, the depth whereof never was man able to reach unto, as a thing nothing fit for the instruction of the auditory; besides that if it were true, yet ought it not be taught (say they), because it delivereth matter very pernicious, not to be received; and because such things being not able to be conceived, may without any danger be holden in covert.

Moreover, there want not some now-a-days which do defend their obstinacy by ancientries, forasmuch as the ancient fathers did either write nothing at all, or else very little thereof, or do teach of this grace preventing the merits of the holy ones far otherwise.

Wherefore they would have the people to be taught on this wise rather: that God of his goodness and mercy would have all men to be saved; and that the cause why all are not saved, is, for that all will not receive the grace indifferently offered unto them; and this manner of teaching they do suppose to be sound. On the contrary, that the other doctrine of predestination doth take clean away all force and use of wholesome preachings, exhortations, and disciplines, &c.

If we only either were alone, or were the first that were urged with these slanders and cavillations, there were less cause to wonder at the wickedness of this our age. But I do see now no new thing here, never spoken of before, nor any other thing but such as many notable learned men have been sundry times cumbered withal long since. Among whom cometh first to hand Augustine, whom (being occupied in this cause) sometimes the Pelagians, but most of all

predestination to the Romans, Ephesians, and Timothy. The same did Luke in the Acts of the Apostles. Christ himself likewise doth make often mention of the same in his sermons; all which did not cease to preach the word of God nevertheless, and do notwithstanding withal intermix divers good and godly exhortations to live well.

Paul, when he said, "It is God that doth work in us to will and to bring to pass according to his good pleasure," did he therefore abate any thing of his godly lessons to make us less careful to will and to work the things that are acceptable unto God? In like manner, where he saith, "He that hath begun a good work in you, will bring the same to effect, even until the day of Christ Jesus;" yet did he not cease to persuade them earnestly in the same Epistle, written to the Philippians, "that they should not only begin, but persevere until the end."

"Believe (saith Christ, John, xiv.) in God, and believe in me." And yet is this nevertheless true, that he spake in another place: "No man cometh unto me, or believeth in me, unless it be given him from the Father." Christ saith also (Mark, vii.), "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." Yet doth God speak in the Scriptures these words also, "that he will give them a heart from above, that they may understand, eyes that they may see, and ears that they may hear, &c." And although it were not unknown unto him who had ears to hear, and who had not, that is to say, the gift of obedience, yet doth he exhort all men to hear.

Although Cyprian did both know and write, "that faith and obedience were the gift of God, and that we ought not to rejoice in any thing, because we have nothing of our own;" yet this was no hindrance at all unto his earnest preaching, but that he taught

"faith and obedience" nevertheless, and most constantly persuaded to good life.

When we hear St. James teach us, "that every good and perfect gift cometh down from the Father of lights;" yet this preaching of grace nothing withstood, but that he continued to rebuke such as troubled the congregation, saying, "If you be bitterly zealous, and your hearts be full of contention, do not rejoice, nor lie against the truth; for this is not the wisdom that came from above, but earthly, beastly, and diabolical, &c." And these gifts of God indeed, as Augustine reporteth, "if there be no predestination, are not foreknown of God; if they be foreknown, then is there a necessary predestination of God which we do defend."

To conclude: Christ doth advertise his disciples, "That God doth know well enough what they stand in need of before they do pray" (Matt. vi.); and yet he willeth them to pray notwithstanding, shewing unto them a form of prayer also.

Sufficient answer is made now, Osorius, if I be not deceived, unto the objections of your fraternity, that is to say, to your trifles and slanders; if not to all, yet at the least to the very principal pillars and chief stays of your vagrant disputation; if not with such force and dexterity as may be able to put your overthwart obstinacy to silence, yet as much for the defence of Luther's cause, as will satisfy the reasonable reader, I trust, saving that there remaineth one quarrel or complaint of yours as yet against Luther; a hanger-by of all the rest, as it were, whereunto I cannot tell what I shall say, whether I were best to laugh at it or answer it; for who can possibly refrain from laughter, to read that ridiculous counterfeit prosopopœia of yours, wherein, like a very foolish rhetorician, you have thrust in upon the stage lust y ruffler, who in the person of a swartrutter

may accuse Luther for the uproars raised by the country boors in Germany.

As though of all that whole rout of clowns any one were heard at any time to accuse Luther as author of this tumult, or would have uttered so much as half a word of reproach against him for the same, if he might speak for himself, and were not compelled to use herein the counterfeit person of another, or as though the histories do not declare sufficiently from whence the spring-head of all this mischief burst out at the first; surely not from Luther, but from another crowbird, from another chair of pestilence, Osorius, whatsoever it was. But go to; let us hear what drunken eloquence this gallant counterfeit swartrutter doth gush out unto us, out of Osorius' drowsy tankard; and with what flashes of thundering words he meaneth to scorch up Luther withal.

O Luther, why dost thou accuse the harmless and innocent? why dost thou rage? why art thou mad?

Truly, I should have wondered, if Osorius would have spoken any thing against Luther, but with some harsh eloquence; nay rather, Osorius, if yourself be not stark mad, what kind of madness, what rage, what accusations do you tell us of here? Wherefore let it be as lawful for Luther to answer for himself again, and with like speech, not to the German ruffler, but to the Portuguese Bishop, whom he might reprove again contrariwise after this manner: O Osorius, why do ye accuse the guiltless? why do ye keep such a stir? why are you so frantic? who if were well in your wits, would never reproach me with such madness.

But what have I done? what have I deserved? is it because I would not incline to the furious disorders of the rebellious? What! did I ever so much as move a finger towards that cause? did I not reprove them forthwith with pen and speech very instantly?

did ever man more earnestly bend the force of his arm against them, than I did my writing? If they would but have hearkened to my counsel and continual admonitions, the matter had never proceeded to so much bloodshed. What! and shall I receive this recompense for my good meaning towards you, to be accounted a madman? *No* (say you), *not because ye wrote against them, do we reprehend you, but because you ministered the occasion of this uproar.*

But from whence do ye gather this to be true, Osorius? *Forsooth, because they did learn this of you, that we were not able of ourselves to do either good or evil; for that God doth* (as you say) *work all in all in us, &c.* Indeed, I have denied that to think good or evil is in our own hand. And what hereof, I pray you? in what respect are these words applicable to the country boors, and to their rebellion? doth that man open a gap of licentiousness and seditious treachery to husbandmen, which doth abate that freedom from man's will in doing or achieving any enterprise, which your divines do falsely challenge as proper to man?

Is it therefore lawful to be wicked, because many times men are hindered against their wills from putting a mischief in execution? or shall the will be therefore not wicked in doing wickedly, because it is not free, but enforced to yield to a necessary servility, which of itself it is not able to shake away? Is the wicked spirit therefore excused, because in doing evil he doth it not so much of any freedom as of necessity? for how shall he be said to be free, which amidst the race of his rudeness is now and then restrained against his will, and is not lord of his own will not so much as in doing evil? yet doth this being not free of himself nothing withstand, but that he continue evil still. What and if I had said, that the will of the wicked of itself is not free, but every

way captive and bond? is it therefore to be imputed to God forthwith, and not to men, whatsoever they shall do wickedly?

As though when men do think or commit evil, they be compelled thereunto against their wills, and are not willingly and of their own motion chiefly drawn thereunto. For to confess this saying to be most true, "That God is he that worketh all in all;" yet doth he bring to pass nothing in men surely without their own wills, so that if there be any evil in them, there is no cause why God should be accused for it, but every man must lay the fault of his own folly and wilfulness to his own charge.

But (say you) *forasmuch as God doth lead men's wills hereunto, by what reason can ye couple the stability of your doctrine with the defence of God's justice?*

I do answer, first, when we do join the singular providence of God, working all in all, in all the actions of man's life, we do set the same forth, as all things may be referred to this, as to the primer cause efficient, which doth not work properly, but in respect of the last end of all things. Here now forasmuch as God is of his own nature best and most perfect, hereupon it cometh to pass, that he which hath ordained all things for himself can in no respect be the cause of evil.

2. Then as touching the middle causes, whereas there is no man that doth not fall through his own default, and the procurement of Satan, it shall be reason therefore that no man seek for the cause of sin, without his own self, and that he complain not of God for the same.

3. But yet to admit that the actions of man's life are not governed without the provident and circumspect direction of God's will; and that it is he alone that inclineth men's wills whither him listeth, yet nevertheless, even He that applieth the wills hath

nclosed also the same wills within certain limits and aws, and, as it were, environed them with certain iedges and bounds; which whether we accomplish or no, seeing he hath made the will of God manifestly discernible unto us, certainly they do not only ufficiently acquit and clear his justice, but also ibundantly commend the same.

4. And lastly, though we be never so unable to he performance of his ordinances, yet for all this an no just accusation of quarrel be framed against God, but the fault must be wholly imputed unto men, ind that worthily. For why would this beastly flesh (being thoroughly fortified at the beginning under the safe keeping of God and understanding) become carter of his own carriage, and guide of his own flattering life afterwards, refusing the conduct and leading of God? which if it can now govern itself rightly indeed, as it ought to do, let it then, a' God's name, enjoy his own knowledge; but if otherwise, yet is God's justice sufficiently enough defended, and even for this same cause, because he first forewarned them of the peril ensuing, it is with very good reason acquitted of crime; for what standeth more agreeable with justice, than to punish sins with sins, and to crush down, with sharp and bitter correction, that proud rebellious arrogancy against the high God his Creator?

But howsoever the matter goeth here, I do marvel at this in the meanwhiles, with what faith and with what face this one place is urged so much, which maketh nothing at all to sedition, whenas many other things may be gathered out of my books every where, which are manifestly profitable for the preservation of peace and tranquillity. For what else do all my books and preachings more earnestly import (the necessary instructions of faith being once established), than that the multitude of the rascal

rabble and ruder boors, together with all other Christians, should conform their lives altogether to patience, and desire of concord, though they were oppressed with never so many injuries? Where did I ever, by word or writing, tease any man to arms? where did I ever give so much as a crooked look against the magistrate?

Nay rather, who ever esteemed of the governors more honourably, or taught the duty of subjects to their princes out of holy Scriptures more earnestly and faithfully? who did ever more carefully advance, and call back to their former dignity, the civil governors and magistrates, utterly suppressed almost through the Romish pontifical tyranny? Whose mind or pen did ever more hatefully abhor disorderous uproars and outrageous rebellions? And if my writings and behaviour do not witness this to be true that I speak, I am contented that this reproach be registered amongst the other beadroll of Osorius' leasings.

After that the light of the Gospel was restored, Carolostadius began to pluck down images, and to make an innovation in many things. The matter being duly weighed, was of itself commendable enough; yet, because he attempted it with violence and uproar, the magistrate not being made privy unto it, I withstood him. The like attempt was made by Zuinglius and Œcolampadius, about the matter of the sacrament. I do not here debate of the truth of the cause; and yet no one thing restrained me so much from subscribing to their assertions, as did the doubt of broils, which I feared would afterwards have ensued.

I will also add somewhat of myself. When the council was called at Worms, being cited by public authority to appear before the imperial seat, I did not refuse. Certainly, the danger was assured and

apparent; for being advertised (as I was on my journey) that I should have regard of my safety in time, I thought better to put my life in hazard, than sustain the reproach of disobedience. Being overcome at the last not by Scripture, but by power, I committed my cause to the mercy of the Lord, and to the authority of the emperor. I only defended my cause constantly. If I had been of so lewd a disposition, and so forward to sedition as you suspect, Osorius, there wanted not at that time both princes' friendship, and favourers of the cause, yea, and perhaps there was time good enough to put it in practice.

But was there ever any prince or subject encouraged by my means to move dissension? This being done not long after indeed, the boors of the country began to range in that outrage (whom afterwards Muncer and Phyfer taking parts withal), brake out into like madness. The commonweal being thus divided and disquieted, how greatly I was grieved withal, what means I used against them according to my duty, what answer I made to their articles, with what reasons I refuted them, what counsel I gave, and what exhortations to command quiet and Christian obedience, mine own writings (extant as yet) do testify for me, and the histories thereof do sufficiently declare. And Osorius himself doth not deny the same; yet, taking occasions of my writings, he shameth not to make me the author of all this rebellion.

And why so? *We* (saith he) *have learned of you that we are not able of ourselves to do good or evil.* And what then? *Hereof we conceived our fool-hardiness; this was the cause that moved us boors to arms.* O notable argument, concluded by clowns, but very clownish surely! I suppose Corydon himself could not have done more rustically. But if you

will take occasion to argue against me, of that which you might have learned out of my writings, (O ye boors!) ye were in them instructed after this manner, that magistrates ought to be reverenced; why did you not obey this lesson?

How often did I teach you that rebellion must be eschewed by all means possible? that no private man should avenge his own injuries? that it was not lawful for any Christian to avenge any private wrong? that Christ had no need of any warlike garrison? that the majesty of the Gospel was able and strong enough of itself to maintain her own quarrel? that there could be no more forcible victory for the truth and pure doctrine than which is achieved with sufferance and patience? that the nature of the same was such, as, the more it were pursued, the more forcibly it would prevail? Why learned ye not to follow these lessons?

Lastly, when ye were in arms, and dereigned in field, and by sound of trumpet had published your articles and requests to the higher powers, how much did I moil and turmoil myself to reduce you to order, and reclaim you from your attempts? teaching you out of holy Scriptures; convincing you, advertising you, chiding, beseeching, persuading, threatening; finally, omitting no part of duty untouched, whereby I might reclaim you from your hurly-burly, to peace and tranquillity?

If so be that my doctrine were of such authority with you, why did you shut up your ears from your master's lessons? If you betook yourselves to arms, through occasion of one sentence wrongfully understood or misconstrued, why did ye not forsake the field, for so many my exhortations and notable exclamations to the contrary?

But go to, Osorius; because, under the person of the boors' complaint, you do so vehemently wrest all

this false suggestion of mischief against me. What if I deny your *assumpsit?* how will you be able to prove it? perhaps by hearsay amongst the clowns. What! of any that be living, or that be dead? But when the poor clowns lived, and were drawn to execution, tormented and stretched out upon the racks (in which extremity men are wont for the more part to utter more than they know), if there were one so much of that whole rabble, muttered ever half a syllable of me such as your carter-like and senseless imagination hath devised against me, I will willingly yield to this accusation of suspicion.

But by your occasion (say you) *this tumult might have been raised easily.* So might the blackmoor change his skin, and Osorius also might leave his lying. But all things are not by and by done, that may be done. But onward. How prove you that it might have been so? *Because* (say you) *that God worketh all in all in us, according to Luther's assertion, and we be instruments only applied and wrest with his hands; hereupon it followeth therefore, since God only raised up these tumults, and was the only procurer, deviser, and accomplisher of this stir, that the boors of necessity must be guiltless and innocent hereof.*

Go to; and do ye suppose, Osorius, that these words were the whole seed-plot of all this rebellion? What shall we say then to that which we read in Paul, "That it is God that worketh all in all?" And again, "That worketh all according to the purpose of his will?" And in the Prophet Amos, "There is no evil in the city that the Lord hath not done?" And again, when we hear on every side, as well amongst the Prophets as the Apostle, "that men are made blind of God, are delivered over unto a reprobate mind;" why might not the boors have taken occasion of these words as well as of mine?

Go to; and what and if I had written these words also, namely, that it is in the power of our *free-will* to dispose ourselves whereunto we list? either to make ourselves earthen vessels, or golden vessels in the house of the Lord? would the boors have the sooner been quieted for this cause? And yet this is the general proclamation of that notorious see of Rome, dispersed throughout all catholic nations; the same do all their records and canons noise abroad (wheresoever they crawl), yea, many years before Luther was born; and the very same also doth Osorius write at this day in Portugal, and many others of the like fraternity elsewhere. What! was there never any commotions therefore of the rude multitude (before Luther was born) in Portugal? none in Italy, Germany, France, England, Sicily, and other nations? Could this, or any other portion of Scripture or doctrine, even so bridle the affections of the unruly, but that they would at one time or other burst out into outrageous extremities?

I add moreover, admit that my words (being either misconceived or misconstrued) might suggest some matter of evil occasion, shall it be less lawful therefore to bear testimony of the truth, because there be some that are so beastly brutish that will mishandle the words and deeds of others, be they never so well spoken? By this reason, away with the Bible, because out of the same the most part of heretics have sucked their poison. What! did not Paul therefore not command the justice of God aright by our unrighteousness, because there wanted not that would abuse his saying to occasion of evil? "Let us do evil (say they), that good may come thereby."

The ancient godly Christians were wont to assemble together, and sing psalms before daylight, and to receive the sacrament of bread and wine. Hereupon began rumours to be scattered abroad, that

the Christians did worship the rising of the sun, and did sacrifice to Ceres and Bacchus. And what hath been so well spoken or established at any time, that the peevishness of perverse and froward persons will not deprave, if they list to pick a quarrel, or slander the good words and well-doings of men?

The same came to pass with Augustine himself through the Pelagians, who after he had once brought in the name and commendation of grace, hereupon forthwith they began to quarrel with him, as though he should affirm, that men are made good by fatal necessity. And again, where he denied that grace was distributed according to men's deservings, this saying they gnawed at, as though he should say, that no endeavour ought to be looked for from the will of man, contrary to that saying in the Gospel, where the Lord spake, "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you; for every one that doth ask shall receive, &c."

And all this have I debated with you, even as it were truth that your counterfeit imagination hath devised, to wit, that I should be the original of all that rebellious insolence. I come now to the finish of my true defence, namely, to deny that there is, or ever was, any boor in all Germany, that did ever justify this slander against me. This was never the speech of any boor, but the rude unshamefacedness of Osorius, void of all matter of probability, to make me author of all this mischief. The very author whereof, if as yet you do not know, and would fain know him indeed, I will tell him you but briefly, yet truly, Osorius.

When Satan perceived that the kingdom of your pride was ready to have a fall, and that the Romish prelate could now no longer maintain his erroneous sacrileges against the glorious excellency of the glad-

some Gospel, he entered by a notable policy into this device, under the pretence of the Gospel, to tickle up mad brains, thereby to bring the Gospel into obloquy and infamy, the overthrow whereof he perceived now past his compass, as the which he was now no longer able to withstand; then also, unless this lying Osorius had set himself forth (as an especial instrument of this wily serpent), upon whose shaven sconce not so much as a hairbreadth may be found growing of an honest or sober man, ye would never have so filthily inflamed the good report and credit of honest personages, standing in the defence of the Gospel, with so many slanderous lies and reproaches.

If Luther should use this or the like counterbuff, according to the frankness of his speech, against your rusty, clownish, and ill-favoured false divinity, I do not ask what you could answer him again, Osorius. But I fear this rather, lest as he should not seem to speak sufficiently in the honest defence of himself, so in respect of your desert he were not able to utter enough against you.

After all this ye add moreover, and demand, *with what honest reason Luther doth join the constancy of his discipline with the defence of God's justice?* To answer briefly; certainly, with more honest reason, than your bloody bishop, or you his scraping scratch-polls (who, having embrued your rochets in so much Christian blood, play the butchers more like than bishops), can join your pride, vain-glorious titles, pomp, arrogancy, cruelty, tyranny, treason, lust, lechery, opinions, heresies, determinations, and intolerable canons of man's traditions, together with Peter, with Paul, with Christ, and with his Gospel, not to speak of the rest of your secret abominations.

I am come now at the length to the triumphant end of this glorious book, where leaving Luther in

ld, and sounding the retreat from the great of free-will, Osorius doth furbish his furniture) triumph against poor Walter Haddon, and thout cause; for because this quarrelling ci- (who a little before did yield over the pre- nce of eloquence to Osorius, and confessed) be the chief carpenter of speech, and named lso the scholar of Cicero many times); he th so variable and unconstant now, *that he ffirm that Osorius' writing is unsavoury, void of ood of truth, and without sense, argument, and which Haddon is so childish in his style, making any resemblance of wit in his utterance, that he eth no commendation of wit at all, but such as h to stand in darkness of speech* †.

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now, Master Osorius, other manner of matters hand, and we live now in another world; in hich we may not occupy our wits so much the polishing of speech, but rather with it bent affections seek for life everlasting, for ion of sins, for the kingdom of God, and how to turn away the severity of God's wrath idgment from us; for the day surely hangeth our heads, which shall bring us either to ever- glory, or else to everlasting destruction. We be well advised how we shall answer in the nent before that judgment-seat; for the Judge ot be dealt withal with flourishing words, but substantial matter.

is must be all our care and endeavour; here- must we enforce all the powers of our souls, not neasurably or abundantly our tongues may be d to pretty conceits; not how loftily our style

ere the Editors have omitted nine or ten pages of the ori- containing an uninteresting controversy respecting the ianism of Haddon's style in the Latin language.

may be advanced, but by what means the terrible countenance of God may be pacified. All other whatsoever are but shadows, though they delight profane eyes of this world with never so glorious spectacles. Undoubtedly, whosoever is stricken with an earnest fear of God, whose soul (being terrified with the multitude of his heinous sins) doth with inward and hearty sorrow sigh and screech out unto Christ, whom the Holy Ghost hath endued with a true and lively contemplation of this transitory world, who hath in heart and mind utterly renounced the world with the pomp thereof: finally, whom the unmeasurable magnificence and unspeakable majesty of the kingdom of the Son of God doth wholly possess, what shall he regard the lofty grace of Cicero, or the proud stately words of his phrase, or his minion devices and toys? so that he speak purely, plainly, lightsomely, and directly to the purpose; so that his speech be clean joined with a mean comeliness, what needs there any more abundance be required in that man? *But he speaketh not like a Ciceronian.* Verily, Christ himself spake not like a Ciceronian; yea, although he had so spoken, he should have profited less. For it cometh to pass (I cannot tell by what secret operation and influence of things), that the humility of the cross, which consisteth wholly in divine inspiration, will not agree with this haughty and lofty kind of man's utterance. For it is one thing for a divine to debate upon holy mysteries, and another to play the minstrel, as Musonius spake sometime of a certain philosopher.

EXTRACT ON JUSTIFICATION,

om the third Book of HADDON *and* FOX *against* OSORIUS.

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is reported that Xenophon, the wise philosopher Athens, did in the describing of the famous virtues Cyrus imagine him to be not such as he was in-ed, but such a one as he ought to have been, and have expressed his hearty wish and desire rather an any true description of the prince, according to e very nature of a description historical. So do I ppose that Osorius hath a will to teach us not so ich what we be, but what we ought to be, and so rposed in his mind to make a proof of the force his eloquence, what it were able to do, in the tolling the praise and commendation of virtue. id hereof who can either be ignorant or doubtful, at all our actions and course of life ought to excel such a perfection, that there needed no supply to required to absolute and angelic integrity? the ich neither the profane philosophers before the th of Christ, neither the Pharisees, had any feeling without Christ, no more did they express the ne in the dutiful affairs of their life, who being ogether estranged from the knowledge of Chris-n religion, were nevertheless not ignorant hereof, at all man's felicity consisted wholly in virtue only, d civil direction of life, and that it was virtue only ich alone could make a passable way for godly inds to attain everlasting felicity; the likelihood ereof, as many their notable lessons did abun-

dantly declare, so above all other who can wonder enough at that heavenly voice of Scipio, the Roman, surnamed Africanus, being an ethnic, whereof Marcus Cicero doth make relation in his Treatise called the Dream of Scipio?

Writing on this wise, "There is (saith he) a certain sure and determined place reserved in heaven for all such as do preserve, aid, and advance their native country, where they shall live in everlasting felicity for ever and ever. There is nothing more acceptable to that high and mighty God, that guideth and ruleth all the world, amongst all the actions of men, than councils, corporations, and societies of men linked and knit together with orders and laws, which are called cities, &c."

If we regard the judgment of the flesh, what sentence can be spoken more plausible or more notable in the singular commendation of virtue than this was? which doth assure the good deservings and mutual amities of men each towards other exercised here, of eternal and infallible rest and joys in heaven? Go to. And what is it else almost that this divinity of Osorius doth train us unto, than to teach the very same that Scipio the Roman did; namely, *that there is no passable way to the attainment of the blessed felicity of eternal life, than that which is achieved by godly actions, with an absolute integrity of excellent life, &c.?*

But heavenly philosophy doth direct us a far more near way. The heavenly Schoolmaster doth out of heaven display abroad, and chalk us out a speedier way, and an easier journey towards heaven, teaching us in the Gospel in this wise: "I am (saith he, John, xiv.) the way, the truth, and the life." Neither will Osorius deny this to be true (I know) in word, but in deed what doth he else than deny it? For to admit him his saying, that there is no passable way

to heaven but which is purchased with absolute perfection of life, what may we win hereof else but that this way to heaven be not Christ, but the special prerogative of our own purchase?

So that by this reason, if our own industry do satisfy all things, what need is there of Christ then? or to what use will his death and passion avail? Yes, forsooth, to this purpose you will say, that by the merit of his passion he may purchase for us the grace and gift of sanctification and regeneration, wherewith being once endued, hereof forthwith springeth that excellency of absolute perfection and other ornaments of charity and virtues, which will make us an easy passage into the kingdom of heaven.

What then? do you so depaint us out the whole office and power of Christ in this one only action, namely, that he shall pour out upon us new qualities and godly actions, by the divine operation of the Holy Ghost? What! doth he not redeem us also? doth he not justify us and reconcile us? Yes. What else? you will say. Doth he justify all men without exception, or the faithful only? If he do justify them only that do believe, I do demand further, what the cause is why they be justified? Is it for their faith's sake, or for their work's sake? If it be for their faith's sake, I ask again, whether for faith only, or faith joined with good works?

I do here expect some oracle from you for an answer hereunto. If you find that there is no hope of any thing to be justified by without faith, then must you needs alter your foundation, that you grounded upon before, to wit, *that there is no passable way to heaven but which is achieved with godly actions of this life* (page 32); *and that it is only righteousness that doth obtain the favour of God to mankind* (page 142); *and in another place, that faith only is rashness.* What! shall faith therefore be quite banished

away? No; but you will couple her with some copemate, that neither faith without the company of good works, nor works without the company of faith, may be able to procure righteousness. But this knot will the authority of the Scriptures easily crack in pieces; for if faith only do not advance the faithful to salvation, except it be coupled with excellent integrity of life, why did not Christ then couple them together, when he spake simply, "He that believeth in me hath everlasting life?" (John, vi.) Why did not Peter couple them together, when he doth "preach remission of sins unto all as many as do believe in his name?" proving the same by the testimonies of the Prophets. (Acts, x.) Why did not Paul couple them together (Acts, xvi.), where he instructed the jailor in faith? "Believe (saith he) in the Lord Jesus, and thou and all thy household shall be saved."

Many sentences might be vouched purporting the same in effect, but it shall suffice to have noted these few for brevity's sake. The history of the Galatians is notably known, who being seduced by the false apostles, did not simply revolt from Christ, nor did simply abandon their faith in Christ, but endeavoured to couple the good works of the believers together with faith in the article of justification before God for the attainment of life everlasting; on which behalf how sternly and sharply the Apostle did reprove them, his own Epistle beareth sufficient testimony. But here cometh a reply by and by out of the same Epistle, where writing to the Galatians, he doth treat upon such a faith as doth work by love. Upon this place Osorius, agreeing with the Tridentine Council, doth build an unseparable conjunction of faith and charity together; so that faith without charity, as an unshapen and unformed image, is altogether ineffectual to the absolute fulness

and perfect accomplishment of righteousness; but that charity which they call a righteousness (cleaving fast within us) is so unable to be severed asunder from the work of justification, that they dare boldly pronounce that it is the only formal cause of our justification.

To satisfy this place of St. Paul, here is an easy and resolute answer: for in the same Epistle the Apostle doth endeavour, by all means possible, to call back again his Galatians to the only righteousness of faith, from whence they were backslidden; and withal, because they should not be seduced with a vain persuasion of counterfeit faith, he doth discover unto them what kind of faith it is which he doth mean; not the faith that is idle, and dead, without works, but which doth work by faith (saith he); and in this respect it is most true that faith is not alone. But what manner of concluding an argument is this?

Lively faith is not alone without charity; ergo, not faith only, but coupled with charity, doth justify.

The argument that is derived from things severed by nature, to things coupled by nature, concluding from that which is *secundum quid ad simpliciter*, is worthily rejected in the logician school, and is called a mere sophistication. If all things that go commonly after a certain manner together, and be done together, must be coupled and applied to one and the self-same operation, by this reason it must come to pass, that he that hath feet, eyes, and ears, and have them not by themselves alone, therefore he shall be supposed to go not upon his feet only, but to walk upon his eyes, and to see with his ears. For the matter goeth none otherwise in faith, hope, and charity, which three heavenly jewels, albeit they be instilled into us by the free liberality of God with remission of sins, and cleave fast within one subject,

yet every of them are distinguished by their several properties and functions notwithstanding.

As for example: if a question be demanded what thing it is that doth justify us in the sight of God, and obtain us everlasting life? I do answer, that it is faith, yea, and faith *only*. If you demand by what means? I do answer, through Jesus Christ the Mediator. Again, if you ask what kind of faith that is? I do answer, not an idle nor a dead faith, but a lively faith, and a working faith. If you will demand further by what marks you may be able to discern a true faith from a false faith? St. Paul will make answer unto you, "The true faith is that, which worketh by charity." If you will demand further yet, what this faith worketh? I do answer, according to the several properties thereof, two manner of ways, namely, faith worketh salvation through Christ, and it worketh obedience of the law by charity. What! absolute obedience? I do not think so. What then? imperfect obedience? But such a faith must needs be insufficient to the full measure of absolute righteousness and perfect felicity.

And where is now that excellent integrity of life which doth purchase us a way into the kingdom of heaven? where is the effectualness of charity available to eternal life? where is that solemn decree of that Tridentine Council, which doth ascribe the only beginning of our justification to faith, but maketh the *formal cause* thereof only charity, as a certain new kind of obedience (which they call a righteousness cleaving fast within us), whereby we are not only accounted righteous, but be both truly called righteous, and be also truly righteous in the sight of God? Annexing thereunto a very dreadful and terrible curse:

If any man dare presume to say, that man is justified either by the only imputation of Christ's righ-

teousness, or by only remission of sins, excluding grace and charity, which is poured into their hearts by the Holy Ghost, and cleaveth fast within them; or if any man will presume to say, that the grace whereby we be justified is the only favour and mercy of God, let him stand accursed. And again in the canon following:

If any man dare presume to say, that justifying faith is nothing else than a confidence of God's mercy, forgiving sins for Christ's sake, or to be that only affiance whereby we be justified, let him be holden accursed.

Behold here, learned reader, a notable decree of this Council, which when these grave fathers did coin, may any man doubt, but that the master of the family was asleep, when the envious man did scatter abroad darnel amongst his wheat? They do discourse and determine upon justification, but none otherwise than as they might argue in Aristotle's school, about natural causes, or powers of the soul.

For how much more nicely could Aristotle himself, the prince of the Peripatetical school, dispute, if he had accompanied them, and debated this cause together with that ghostly Council, than Osorius and the Tridentine divines did philosophically dispute of the formal cause of justification? which consideration of doctrine, if it must be holden for an infallible foundation, then let us be bold, and blush not to root out withal the whole native and essential substance of all mystical divinity, and let us raze out the very foundations of all our religion.

For if the state of our salvation be come to this pass, that it must be established by merits, and not by free imputation only, where then is that righteousness, which is called the righteousness of faith? the force and power whereof is so highly and often advanced by Paul? what shall become of the difference

betwixt the law and the Gospel? which if it be not observed very diligently, we shall wander and straggle blindly in the course of the Scriptures none otherwise than as wants and rearmice at the bright beams of the clear sun.

Moreover, what shall become of that antithesis of Paul betwixt the righteousness of the law and faith? betwixt the grace and merit? and what shall become of all that excluding of glorious boasting upon works? where is that faith imputed to Abraham for righteousness? Moreover, how shall this saying of Paul agree with these Tridentine lawgivers, to wit, "Not to him that worketh, but unto him that believeth on Him that doth justify the wicked and sinner, faith is imputed for righteousness." (Rom. iv.) Moreover, what shall become of those exceptive and exclusive sentences of St. Paul, wherein all the consideration of our salvation being taken away from confidence in works, is ascribed wholly to imputation? Finally, what shall become of all those sweet and most amiable promises of God, if, according to the rule of this doctrine, we shall be excluded from our assuredness of salvation and God's free imputation?

We do hear the Lord promising in the Gospel, "When you have lifted up the Son of Man on high, I will draw all things unto myself." And how can this be true, if all assuredness must be attributed to merits, according to the Tridentines? Not so simply to merits, say they, but we do couple grace therewith; which grace, because it is not received, but through the merits of Christ, hereof therefore it cometh to pass, that the merit of Christ is so far forth effectual to us in the work of our salvation, as God doth pour into us the measure of his grace to work well.

O notable divines! But go to: that I may the

better answer them, may I be so bold to demand a question or two touching Abraham, whose works if we behold, what thing could be more holy? If we respect the uprightness of his life, what was more excellent? if we regard the grace of his sanctification and renovation, where was it ever more plentiful in any man? And now let us hear the judgment of St. Paul concerning all those so manifold and wonderful works. "For if Abraham have any thing whereof he may glory (saith he), he hath it in respect of men, but not of God." What! where the most excellent works of Abraham are nothing worth, shall our most filthy works be available?

Let us have recourse to the first creation of mankind, and let us call to remembrance the ancient age of our first parent Adam, who alone tasting of the forbidden fruit, did he not withal defile all his posterity with that one only morsel? And by what reason, I pray you? Surely, not by way of participation of his offence, but by way of propagation unto the posterity. In this type of Adam, let us behold the thing signified answerable to the type. And by Adam let us consider Christ, who only and alone being found obedient, did by this his own only obedience purchase life everlasting for all his posterity, not by any partaking of his obedience, but by propagation in the posterity only, namely, by faith only, which faith doth only and alone beget us unto Christ.

Take another argument of the same doctrine out of another type.

Even as in old time to the Israelites was external health of body given by the beholding of the brazen serpent, so likewise to us is granted internal health of soul through Jesus Christ.

The Israelites were healed by the only view of their eyes; *ergo*, we are justified also by faith in Christ only. Hereunto may be annexed another argument

as forcible as any of the rest taken out of St. Paul, whereunto what answer Osorius will make, I would wish him to be very well advised.

We are made the righteousness of God through Christ by the very same reason whereby Christ was made sin for us.

But Christ was not made sin but by imputation only; *ergo*, neither are we made righteous in the sight of God but by imputation only.

Hitherto in the behalf of righteousness of faith, out of St. Paul to the Romans. Now let us encounter St. Paul with an argument of the Romanists, which they do knit together for the maintenance of righteousness by works, arguing in this manner forsooth:

Osorius' argument out of the Tridentine Counsel: *There is no justification without the sanctification and renovation of the inward man.*

Sanctification and renovation consisteth in holy actions and works.

Ergo, justification consisteth in good works, and not in faith only.

This captious sophistication can no man better answer than Augustine. Good works do not go before in the work of justification, but follow justification. If works do follow, how do they go together then? if works must be joined together with faith, how are they reported in Augustine to follow? Now therefore to answer the argument. If the major be taken in this sense, that an unavoidable necessity of coupling and conjoining new obedience must needs be required in the work of justification, as the very cause thereof, so that there be no hope for the ungodly man to be justified, but by his own merit and innocency of life, then is the major false.

But if good works be said to be required as the fruits of justification, and not the cause of justifica-

tion, the major is true. And it is not to be doubted, but that with remission of sins, the free gifts of the Holy Ghost are joined, who doth begin and lay the first foundation of renovation and sanctification of life. And yet is it not therefore true, that this renovation is the thing for the which the ungodly man is to receive remission of sins, and to be adopted into everlasting life.

Moreover, whereas the Tridentine fathers do add further, *that justification is not the only remission of sins, but the sanctification and renovation of the inward man* (to speak their own words) *through the voluntary receiving of grace and God's gifts, &c.* By what testimony of the Scripture will they prove this to be true? Surely, if sin be the only thing which did scatter abroad death into the world, which alone doth procure the vengeance of God, and make separation betwixt God and men; which alone doth make us guilty of eternal damnation; which alone forced Christ to suffer death upon the cross.

Now I beseech you tell me, for the love of Christ, what thing is justification else but a continual scourging and suppressing of sin? Even as the life and the health of the body is nothing else but an excluding of death and sickness; even so sin (the reward whereof is death) being utterly extinct through remission, what remaineth else but life? and sin being utterly blotted out, what remaineth else but justification?

Howbeit neither do we allege this on this wise, as though we were ignorant, or did deny that sanctification and renovation, and such godly actions and virtues which do proceed from thence, be the proper and peculiar gifts of Christ, and must be practised of all godly Christians of very necessity. But this is not the state of the question properly, for the state of the question here doth not consist

upon the direction and government of this present life, but of the life to come, and of the cause thereof; not whether virtuous and godly actions of Christian piety ought to be exercised in this life, but when they be accomplished, whether they be of such valour in the sight of God, as to be able of themselves to deserve salvation, and reconcile God unto mankind? and whether virtues or the good works of them which be regenerate be of such efficacy, as may stand upright, and countervail the rigorous curse of the law against the judgment of God, to preserve us from damnation? and whether in extreme terrors of conscience men may undoubtedly and without fear rest assured upon works, when that dreadful question shall be demanded to become the sons of the living God, and to deserve the everlasting inheritance of our Father?

In the which you see two manner of questions, Osorius; in the one whereof we do easily agree with you, in the other not, we only do gainsay you; but the whole authority of God's testament doth determine against you, whereby we be taught "that man is not justified by works, but by faith in Jesus Christ" (Rom. iii.); and that we, whiles we seek to be justified by him, are not found righteous, are not found already endued with excellent integrity, but are found ungodly sinners; so that in this life which we lead in this flesh, we live none otherwise than through faith in the Son of God, who loved us, and delivered himself to death for us.

Let us note the words of the Apostle himself (Gal. ii.): "If being found sinners we live by faith," how can Osorius make it good that we be righteous? but if we be found righteous, how doth Paul justify us to be sinners? but only because whom this life doth make guilty of death, the same is released by faith of the Son of God; not whom he doth find righ-

teous, but whom he doth make righteous; not by living uprightly, but by not imputation of sin.

Neither is this therefore false, that a godly carefulness of living virtuously is required in the faithful, which may exclude presumption of sinning, but it must be considered after what manner it is required. If you suppose it be requisite to the necessity of obedience, you say truly; but if you think it to be an infallible assurance of salvation and eternal life, there can be nothing more false and more damnable; forasmuch as the same is not obtained by our own merits and deservings, but is freely given to the unworthy and undeserved, and is then also given, whenas we are found sinners; so that in this whole work the mercy of the Lord doth bear the whole and full praise and palm, not our works, which do but follow God's reconciliation as fruits, and not make atonement with God.

None otherwise than as Osorius, whenas he doth consecrate, when he doth give orders, when he doth wear his mitre, he doth not all these to the end he would be made a bishop, but because he was made a bishop before; therefore he doth execute the duties appertaining to a bishop; and as the servants of noblemen are known by their several badges, but do not wear noblemen's badges, because they shall become those noblemen's servants.

In semblable wise Christian faith, albeit it work always by love, and doth shew a special demonstration of pure and true faith, doth not therefore procure salvation because it worketh, but because it doth believe in Christ Jesus, who being able alone to give that absolute integrity which is required; for this cause therefore only faith in Christ Jesus doth obtain our salvation, not our perfection and integrity; so that all the whole felicity of our happy life doth not proceed from any efficacy or force of our own

work, but by consideration of the object only, which is received through faith.

Neither are the endeavours and actions of love, charity, and piety excluded in this course of transitory obedience (as I have often declared before), as though by this means they should be of any less necessity not to accompany or not to attend upon faith. Again, neither are works so joined with faith as though they should exclude faith from her dignity and her proper operation, nor enfeeble or abase the wonderful riches of the grace of God, which is in Christ Jesus; nor that they should extinguish the glory of Christ's cross, nor despoil afflicted consciences of their heavenly consolation, nor should destroy the sincerity of sound doctrine which the Apostles have left unto us, which forasmuch as it ascribeth the whole estate of our salvation to no one thing else than to the only free liberality and mercy of Christ Jesus, I do appeal to the secret judgment of all the godly, whether the opinions of them be better, which do establish their safety in faith only; or of Osorius, which doth measure all our assurance and confidence of salvation by the only rule of our own righteousness? and who doth affirm that faith only is only rash temerity. Truly, if the Spirit of the Lord could not digest those Laodiceans, which being drunken with vain persuasion of their own righteousness, had not any feeling or perceivance of their own ugly deformity and filthy barrenness, it may easily be conjectured what we may determine of the haughty spirit of this Portugal divine and of all his divinity.

CONCLUSION

Of the "ANSWER APOLOGETICAL" *against* OSORIUS.

FURTHERMORE, as though all this sufficed not to procure them (the Lutherans) to be maligned enough, he hath forged hereunto opinions false, horrible, and blasphemous, which neither entered into their thought at any time, nor ever escaped from out their mouths or writing, which although it appear manifestly in infinite places, and manifest tokens every where, yet let this one be admitted for example's sake:

What! (saith he,) *shall I believe that I shall recover health, so long as I do not feel myself stricken and pinched with any such grief and sickness, that I make no force whether any medicine be applied, so long as I nourish my own sickness? so long as my own wickedness doth delight me, &c.?*

No indeed, I do not believe it, nor do I think it worthy to be believed. And I pray you, what one of all the Lutherans did ever dream of any such thing in his sleep, or ever taught it being awake? when consciences are shaken with engines of distrust (as oftentimes happeneth amongst the faithful being in affliction), whereas the whole force of the mind doth imagine all possible ways by what means it may countervail the wrath and indignation of God. The Lutherans here have set down a plaster for this sore, taken out of the physic of Scripture, namely, "faith only, and the merits of Christ Jesus." On the contrary part, Osorius urgeth very stoutly, that we are not reconciled unto God by faith in Christ only, but by only righteousness of works, wherein we do exercise ourselves through the aid and assistance

of grace. How true this assertion of his is, I do appeal herein to the secret judgments of the learned.

In the mean space, let the godly reader consider well, with what slanders and injurious accusations he doth reproach godly and virtuous personages; for whereas they do treat of the grievous assaults and combats of tormented consciences properly, and of sinners stricken down and confounded with the remembrance of their own sins, unto whom chiefly appertaineth the comfortable promise of faith; how can it be possible, that this serious and earnest repentance can conceive any pleasure or delight in horrible wickedness? And yet out of this so manifestly false forged slander, Osorius hath clouted up the remnant of all his patcheries. And from hence forsooth are all those so many huge tempests, lightnings, and thunderbolts, so many outrageous exclamations, tragedies, and earthquakes raised up against the poor abject Lutherans, no less unsavoury than shameless.

Wherefore I was so much the more desirous to advertise the godly zealous youth, that they would not suffer themselves to be entangled by any means with the flattering fawning of Osorius' books, and that they behave themselves with discreet moderation in the reading of them, lest, as the serpent beguiled Eve, they also may be carried away from the pure simplicity which is in Christ Jesus. God did not in vain send his Son into the world, nor in vain did he give that special commandment that we should hearken unto him. Moreover, not in vain likewise did the Son himself, descending from out the bosom of his Father, take upon him to proclaim his Father's will out of heaven.

If petitions proceeding from hearty, inward, and most pure love; if most excellent and undefiled prayers; if most commendable conversation of life

in all kind of virtue, might have availed to the attainment of perfection of salvation, I see no cause to the contrary, why the heavenly Father might not have taken away that bitter cup of heavy displeasure out of the hand of his Son. But our wounds could not otherwise be healed, but by the death and deadly wounds of the Son. The wound was more deep and deadly than could be curable by any policy, power, treasure, works, or actions of men.

Briefly, when Osorius hath spoken of and advanced justice and most excellent integrity of life with all the skill that he can, yet shall he never be able to bring to pass the contrary, but that the song which we daily sing unto Christ shall be an unvanquishable truth, *Thou only art holy*. Out of the which what think you may be gathered else, but that all other creatures whatsoever, adorned with never so plausible opinion of holiness, be nevertheless unclean and defiled in the sight of God? And yet do we not hereby derogate one hairbreadth so much from the grace of God, whose riches and treasure we do confess to be unspeakable, and dispersed over the face of the whole earth. Notwithstanding, we do also as boldly profess, that this grace, wherein doth consist the highest honour of most perfect obedience, did never happen to any, nor was ever given to any, but unto Christ alone.

But what need any more circumstance? I will urge one reason against Osorius, and so make an end. What one prayer can be more holy, or knit up in fewer words, than the Lord's Prayer? Herein I do appeal to his conscience. Let him pronounce the same one prayer unto God in such sort, that he be not faulty in some respect, nor swerve in the thought any where from that absolute perfection of righteousness whereupon he doth brag so much, with such an unremovable conversion of mind to Godward, and

in so humble an abasement of himself, and with so deceitful a reverence, as is beseeming so unspeakable a Majesty, and I will yield him the victory.

I do most heartily desire and wish unto the learned reader, and to all other the elect saints of God, whosoever do profess the same, and wear the badge of Christ Jesus, that, departing from iniquity, and gathering all together into one uniform agreement of sincere doctrine by the enlightening and inspiration of the Holy Ghost, we may be all together received into that heavenly Jerusalem, and into that kingdom of immortal glory and eternal felicity, which shall never have end; not for the works of righteousness which we have done, but for the love of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who suffered death for our sins, and rose again for our justification. Amen.

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End of the Extracts from FOX *and* HADDON.

APPENDIX.

This Tract, originally published and recommended by the Lord Protector Somerset, is now become one of the most scarce of those published during the age of the Reformation. The Editor obtained a copy of it too late to be inserted amongst the writings of the reign of Edward VI. It is therefore added to the present Volume in the form of an Appendix.

A SPIRITUAL AND MOST PRECIOUS PEARL;

TEACHING ALL MEN

TO LOVE AND EMBRACE THE CROSS,

AS

A MOST SWEET AND NECESSARY THING UNTO THE SOUL;

WHAT COMFORT IS TO BE TAKEN THEREOF,

WHERE AND HOW BOTH CONSOLATION AND AID IN ALL MANNER OF AFFLICTIONS IS TO BE SOUGHT;

AND AGAIN,

HOW ALL MEN SHOULD BEHAVE THEMSELVES THEREIN, ACCORDING TO THE WORD OF GOD.

He that taketh not his cross and followeth me, is not meet for me. Matt. x.

PRINTED 1550.

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THE PREFACE.

EDWARD, by the grace of God, Duke of Somerset, uncle to King Edward the Sixth, his excellent Maesty, &c. to the Christian reader greeting.

If they be worthy praise, who for a zeal and desire that they have to do their neighbours good, do write and put in print such things as by experience they have proved, or by hearsay of grave and trusty men they have learned, or by reading of good and ancient authors they have understood to be a salve or medicine to a man's body, or to a part or member of the same: how much more deserve they thanks and praise, that teach us a true comfort, salve, and medicine of the soul, spirit, and mind! The which spirit and mind, the more precious it is than the body, the more dangerous be his sores and sickness, and the more thankworthy the cure thereof.

For a well-quieted mind to a troubled body yet maketh quietness; and sickness of body or loss of goods is not much painful to him that esteemeth it not, or taketh it patiently.

But an unquiet mind, yea, to a most whole body, maketh health unpleasant, and death to be wished; and an unsatiable mind with desire of more maketh riches poverty, and health a sickness, strength an infirmity, beauty a deformity, and wealth beggary: when by comparing his felicity with a better, it loseth the grace and joy of that which it hath, and feeleth the smart of that it hath not.

Now then since to amend this in wealth, and to take away sorrow and grief even thence, where in

very deed is no apparent cause of grief, through our weakness, is no less than the work of a very great master of physic, and deserveth much commendation: what is he worthy of, that can ease true grief indeed, and make health where a very sore resteth? I mean, that can ease a man set in affliction, take away grief from him that is persecuted, loose the prisoner yet in bonds, remove adversity in adversity, or make grievous sickness not to be felt, and extreme beggary to be rejoiced at.

Divers learned men heretofore, by reasons grounded of man's knowledge, wrote and invented great comfort against all kind of griefs; and so among the gentiles' and philosophers' books be books of comfort.

But whosoever followeth but worldly and man's reason to teach comfort to the troubled mind, he can give but a counterfeit medicine; as the surgeon doth, which colourably healeth, or the physician which giveth medicines that do but astonish the sore place, and so deceive the patient. But the true healing of grief and sorrow they had not, for they lacked the ground; they lacked that that should heal the sore at the bone first, that is, true faith in Christ and his holy word. All medicines of the soul which be laid on the sores thereof, not having that cleanser with them, be but over-healers: they do not take away the rankling within; and many times, under colour of hasty healing, they bring forth proud flesh in the sore, as evil or worse than that which was first corrupt. This man, whosoever he be, that was the first author of this book, goeth the right way to work: he bringeth his ground from God's word: he taketh with him the oil and wine of the Samaritan: he carrieth the hurt man from thence where he lay hurt, and bringeth him to his right host, where, no doubt, he may be cured, if he will apply himself thereto.

It is read in histories, that the manner among the old Egyptians or Assyrians was, when any were sick to lay him abroad, that every man that passed by might tell if he had been vexed with such-like sickness, what thing that was that did cure and heal him, and so they might use it to the patient. And by this means it is thought, that the science of physic was first found out: so that it may appear that this readiness for to teach another that thing wherein a man feeleth ease of grief, is not only Christian, but also natural.

In our great trouble, which of late did happen unto us (as all the world doth know), when it pleased God for a time to attempt us with his scourge, and to prove if we loved him, in reading this book we did find great comfort, and an inward and godly working power, much relieving the grief of our minds. The which thing now calling to remembrance, we do think it our duty not to be more unnatural, than the old Egyptians were; but rather, as the office of a Christian is, to be ready to help all men by all ways possible that we can, and specially those that be afflicted.

And hereupon we have required him, of whom we had the copy of this book, to set it forth in print, that not only we, or one or two more, but all that be afflicted, may take profit and consolation, if they will; yea, and they that be not afflicted, may either see what they should have done in their trouble, or what hereafter they ought to do, if any like happeneth unto them; knowing certainly, that such is the uncertainty of the world and all human things, that no man standeth so sure, but the tempest of affliction and adversity may overtake him, and if the grace of God do not singularly help him, cast him down, and make him fall.

Wherefore it is most necessary always to have in readiness such godly meditations and medicines as may pacify God's wrath beginning to kindle, and defend in part the bitterness of affliction, whereof this book is very plenteous and full. Fare you well.

A SPIRITUAL AND MOST PRECIOUS PEARL,

&c.

That all trouble and affliction cometh from God.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

CALL all that trouble and affliction, whatsoever is :puted to be contrary to the desire and appetite of ıan's nature; as the unquiet suggestions of the flesh, ıe temptations of the devil, sickness of body, a 'icked and froward mate in matrimony, to have disbedient children, unkind and unthankful friends, ıss of goods, to be deprived of any old liberty or rivilege, loss or blemish of name and fame, the ıalice and displeasure of men, hunger, dearth, peslence, war, imprisonment, and death. And in ıis register do I put all kinds of crosses and afflicons, whether they be bodily or ghostly; our own r our friends', private and singular, or universal and eneral, privy and secret, or open and manifest, eserved or undeserved.

In all such things, I say every Christian man ught first of all to consider the very root, ground, nd beginning, after this wise: that all things, whatoever God sendeth, we ought to take and receive hem patiently. For this is once true, that God is ıur Creator and Maker, and we his workmanship: ıe is our King, our Lord, and Father; and likeas t is not seeming that the pot should murmur against

the potmaker (Isa. xlv. lxiv. Jer. xviii.), even so is it much less convenient, that we should murmur and grudge against God's will and judgment. And although trouble and affliction riseth and springeth oftentimes by the wickedness of enemies, and through the instigation of the devil, or else by some other means; yet ought we never to imagine that it cometh by fortune or chance, without the permission, sufferance, determination, and will of God, but by and with the foreknowledge, providence, and appointment of God. (Ezek. xxviii. Job, i. Matt. x.)

And to speak properly concerning safeguard (it is all one (so that we tempt not God), whether we live in poverty or in riches, in the fire or in the water, among our enemies or among our friends, seeing that God seeth, knoweth, disposeth, and ruleth all things, as witnesseth the first book of the Kings. (Deut. xxxii.) The Lord bringeth to death, and restoreth again unto life; bringeth into the grave, and raiseth up again; putteth down, and exalteth also. And Job also testifieth in his misery; the Lord hath given it, and the Lord hath taken it again. And Christ saith, there falleth not a sparrow upon the earth without your Father's will, yea, the hairs of your head are all numbered. (Luke, xii.)

Seeing then, that all our troubles and afflictions come from God, we ought to humble and submit our hearts and minds unto the obedience of God, and to suffer him to work with us according unto his most holy will and pleasure. Wherefore, whensoever unseasonable weather shall hurt and perish the corn and fruit of the earth, or when a wicked man shall misreport us, or raise up any slander of us, why should we murmur and grudge against the elements, or go about to revenge us of our enemies? For if we lift not up our minds, and consider that God layeth his hand upon us, and that it is he that striketh us, we

are even like unto dogs and no better, which if a man do cast a stone at them, will bite the stone without any respect who did cast the stone.

And again, no man ought to be unwilling or discontent to render again that talent or pledge that was committed to him only to reserve and keep. (Matt. xxv.) It is that God that giveth us life, health of body, strength, wife, children, friends, riches, honour, power, authority, peace, rest, and quietness for a time, so long as pleaseth him. Now if the same God will take again some of these things or all, he taketh nothing but his own, and even that which we did owe unto him; for the which cause to murmur against his will, and to strive against his judgment, it cannot be but an heinous and grievous sin.

That trouble, and affliction, and adversity, are sent unto us of God; even for the punishment of our sins.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

Now what thing moveth or causeth God to send home unto us, and visit us with afflictions, trouble, and vexation? Concerning this point mark this well. Whatsoever any man hath merited and deserved, that ought he to bear and to suffer willingly and gladly. (Prov. xxii.)

Let every man appose and examine himself, whether he hath not deserved to be corrected and chastened of God, if it be not for any special thing at the present instant, yet for other sins committed at other times? Now will our Lord God, in all manners of punishments and visitations, declare the order of his righteousness, and his heavy wrath and indignation against sin and wickedness (Rom. v. vi. Num. xiv. Nahum, i.); for he saith in the second command-

ment, "I the Lord which am thy God, am a jealous and earnest God, and I will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, even until the third and fourth generation, if they hate and contemn me." And in the fifth book of Moses are all the plagues rehearsed, one after another, which shall be poured out upon the wicked and ungodly: and in Luke (chap. xiii.) it is said thus: "If ye do not amend, ye shall all perish." And that we may perceive even before our eyes evidently, how that punishment and plagues are the due rewards for sin, God tempereth and frameth the punishment even like unto the sin; so that they do both agree together as well in form and likeness, as in proportion and quality. As for an example: likeas David defiled Uriah's wife, even so were his wives defiled unto him again. He caused Uriah to be slain and destroyed, and therefore did his son destroy his own brother again, and stirred a sedition and uproar, and hunted and drove his father out of his kingdom; so that no man can sufficiently express the great misery and punishment that David and his people suffered, for the shameful wickedness and abomination that he had committed. (2 Sam. xiii. xiv. xv. xvi. xvii. xviii. xix. xx.)

Now consider and weigh, as it were in a true balance, the righteousness that God requireth of us on the one side, and again the whole trade of our life on the other side. If the generation of mankind had been conformable unto the law of God, and had not swerved from the same, it had been altogether thoroughly happy and blessed evermore, and should never have rotted and dried away like the fruit and flowers of the field. (Wisd. ii. x. Eccl. xv. xvii.)

But it swerved and fell away at the first, even from the beginning. Our first parents and progenitors did neglect and despise God's commandments, and so we through their fall are corrupt and infected, our

reason, senses, and understanding blinded, and our will poisoned. We feel and find in us wicked lusts and affections; we seek in the world lust and pleasure, even against the holy word of God. And likeas if an ass were trimmed and decked in a lion's skin, and would needs be a lion, yet his long ears, being always upwards, should easily descry and bewray him; even so if we adorn, garnish, and set forth ourselves with certain glorious beautiful works never so much, so that no man can say but that we are utterly innocent and unculpable in divers and many points; yet, notwithstanding, we have filthy, unclean, and wicked hearts, full of security and neglect of God, altogether given to the love of ourselves, and to all manner of dissoluteness.

Now therefore if we be assaulted and visited with sickness, poverty, war, sedition, we ought not to ascribe these things, one to the magistrate, another to the preacher and minister of God's word, or to the faith and religion itself, and the third to the elements and stars, or to God in heaven himself, as though any of these were the occasion of such plagues.

Likeas no man ought to accuse and blame the physician, as though he were the only occasion of the corrupt humours within the body, notwithstanding that he hath brought and driven them out, that a man may evidently see and perceive them; but the misbehaviour and intemperate diet of the man himself is the very right occasion, and the only root thereof; even so we ought not to ascribe any blame or fault unto God, if he send unto us heaviness, pain, and trouble, but to think that it is a medicine and remedy meet for our sins, and every man to ascribe the very cause and occasion thereof unto himself and his own sins, and to refer the blame to nothing else.

And this example did the holy men, our godly

excellent gifts and benefits, as well bodily as ghost corporal as spiritual.

As for his benefits before trouble and afflictic we have a notable example set before our eyes in Jc which saith (chap. ii.), " Seeing we have receiv much goodness of God, why should we not be cc tent also to receive the evil?" Likewise Pliny t second, being an heathen man, as he would co fort a friend of his, whose dear spouse and wife v departed out of the world, among other things wrote after this manner: This ought to be a singu comfort unto thee, that thou hast had and enjoy such a precious jewel so long a time.

For forty-four years did she live with thee, a there was never any strife, brawling, nor contenti between you, nor never one of you once displeas the other; yea, but now thou wilt say, So much t more loath and unwilling am I to forbear and to without her, seeing I lived so long a time so quie with her. For we forget soon such pleasures a commodities as we have proved and tasted but a lit time only. But to answer to this, take thou he that thou be not found unthankful, if thou wilt on weigh and consider what thou hast lost, and not r member how long thou didst enjoy her.

And again, in the very time and midst of affli tion and tribulation, God giveth us grace to consid other good and prosperous things, which we ha and enjoy still, that through the remembrance a consideration of them, our smart and pain may l eased, mollified, and mitigated.

As for an example: thou art a weak, impoten and a diseased man in thy body; but yet hath Gc given thee reasonable and convenient goods and po sessions to sustain thee with; or else, if thou ha scarceness and lack of goods and riches, yet tho hast no lack of bodily health.

Now if we will not set and weigh the one against
: other, then are we like unto little children,
ich if any man happen a little to disturb or hinder
ir play or game, or to take any manner of thing
m them, they will by and by cast away all the
t also, and will fall on weeping. Even so, were
possible enough for us to do likewise, whensoever
y misfortune should happen unto us, to wax angry
d displeased; and to have no manner of lust nor
sire to use nor to enjoy that good, that still re-
maineth and is left behind.

Be it in case that thou wert deprived of all manner
bodily comfort; yet in thy breast and heart thou
st the knowledge of Jesus Christ, which hath re-
emed thee out of hell and damnation, that was
e unto thee; in respect of the which damnation
plagues upon earth are to be esteemed as one little
op of water against the whole sea. (Rom. v.;
Cor. v.; Col. i. ii.; 1 Pet. iii.; Heb. ix. &c.)

Besides this, also through faith thou feelest a
nfidence and assurance of everlasting and eternal
y. As St. Paul doth write of the same, saying:
I suppose the afflictions of this world are not wor-
y of the glory that shall be revealed unto us."
Rom. viii.) An example have we set before our
es in the prodigal and desperate son, which did so
mble and submit himself, that he desired no more
be taken for a son, but to be put to labour as a
y-labourer and an hired servant, so that he might
it only remain in his father's house. (Luke, xvi.)
ven so, whatsoever God sendeth ought we to take
itiently, so that we may but only dwell in the house
God in heaven with him everlastingly.

Now if any man should think thus: God doth
ot punish others which have committed much more
einous sins, with so great and grievous plagues and

chasten, and yet notwithstanding he hath pleasure in him, as a father in his child." (Prov. iii.)

This is an evident testimony that affliction, trouble, and vexation, are no tokens of the wrath and displeasure of God, but rather sure tokens of his grace, mercy, and favour, whereby God assureth us of his merciful will and fatherly heart towards us. Item: "We know that unto such as love God, all things serve to the best." (Rom. viii.) And again: "We are corrected and punished of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world." (1 Cor. xi.)

All this mayest thou also mark in the whole story of Job throughout. Likewise Joseph was sold of his brethren, and delivered unto the heathen, of very malice and envy, by the provocation and suggestion of the devil. But the most faithful God turneth it to the profit and wealth, both of the house of Israel, and also of the whole kingdom of Egypt: for so did Joseph himself interpret it. (Gen. xxxvii. 45.)

Again, the church of Christ, that is to say, the Christian congregation, which is Christ's spouse, must suffer vexation and affliction here upon earth.

But forasmuch as God loveth this his spouse of his Son, namely, the congregation of the faithful, and mindeth to comfort her, and to be most beneficial unto her; therefore likeas he hath raised up Christ her bridegroom, head, and king, from death, even so will he also deliver her from all affliction, and give her a joyful victory of all such things as do oppress her. But it is the infirmity and fault of our weak eyes, that we cannot espy the merciful and loving goodness of God, in and under the rod and scourge.

Whensoever we are visited with affliction and misery, it is our duty, indeed, first to acknowledge and remember our sins, and again to consider the

grudge against him; as Saul did, which imagined and fully persuaded himself that God punished him of hatred and displeasure against him. And therefore Saul's heart turned from God, and forsook him, and so he began to hate and abhor him, as a cruel tyrant. (1 Sam. xviii.)

Wherefore unto such points and articles as are taught heretofore, this admonition doth also appertain: we ought to receive with high thankfulness whatsoever God of a fatherly and loving mind, and not of any indignation towards us, sendeth unto us, whether it be to the flesh pleasant or grievous. The Lord God visiteth us with temporal and transitory misery, even for the very careful and fatherly heart that he beareth towards us, and not of any hatred or indignation against us. (Tobit, xii.; Job, v.; Hosea, vi.; 1 Pet. iv.; Heb. xii.; Rev. iii.)

For God is reconciled and at one with all Christian men, through his Son; and loveth them, even from the very ground of his heart.

For the which cause, howsoever or by what manner of means it be that God punisheth and correcteth us, he doth it not because he hateth us, as though he would utterly refuse and cast us away; but of very pity and compassion, only to receive us as his children; to keep and preserve us, to exercise and practise us, to humble and to bring us down, and to stir and prick us forward; that prayer, faith, the fear of God, obedience and other virtues, may wax and increase in us, to his honour and our salvation.

Testimonies for this have we first: "As truly as I live, I have no pleasure in the death of the sinner, but that he turn and live." (Ezek. xviii.) Here now doth God swear, that he doth punish, not to destroy, but to allure, reduce, and bring us unto repentance.

Item: "Whom the Lord loveth, him doth he

tion, and hath satisfied his Father's righteousness, as St. Paul doth testify very comfortably, saying, "Jesus is become and made unto us our wisdom, our righteousness, our sanctification, and our redemption." (1 Cor. i.) So then, now, if afflictions hurt us only by reason of our sins, and our sins be satisfied and discharged through the death and passion of Jesus, then must it needs follow, that all our afflictions also are likewise harmless unto us, and cannot hurt us.

Yea, Christ, with and through his passion and affliction, hath blessed and sanctified all manner of afflictions, that they all should serve and redound unto all faithful Christians for their greatest wealth, by the ordinance and provision of God, their heavenly Father. He is the true physician, which after he perceiveth the affliction did fear us, took upon himself to suffer all manner of trouble, yea, the most grievous sorrows and extremities, because he would set and appoint a certain measure and end unto our sorrows, and also bless and sanctify, yea, and also make pleasant and delectable very death itself unto us.

Oh! if we could feel, behold, and consider the heart and mind of Christ, when he did willingly hang upon the cross, and suffered himself so cruelly and painfully to be tormented and punished, for no other cause but that he might utterly take away the whole strength of all our sins, sorrow, and death, and destroy hell, that none of them should hurt us. And again, that he tasted and drank of the cup before us, that we being sick and weak might the rather drink and taste of it after him, forasmuch as no evil mishappened unto him thereof, but immediately rose up again from death. Oh, if the knowledge and remembrance of this might remain in our hearts upright, and shine continually before us!

Then should we never sink or faint; nor yet despair of the mercy and goodness of God, although we should labour in never so dangerous and grievous battle, and though we ourselves should taste and feel the due punishment that our sins have deserved: then should we be able to stand stiffly against the gates of hell; and all manner of sorrow, heaviness, temptation, fear, and misfortune, should thereby be utterly consumed and swallowed up.

And even this is the highest and most special comfort that ever was heard or read of from the beginning of the world. He is only alone sufficient (if we consider him and take hold of him as we should do) to plant and graft such a mind in us, that we shall not only not sorrow nor be heavy, but also triumph, and rejoice in and of our misery and affliction, as Paul triumphed excellently and highly, where he saith, "If God hath not spared his only Son, but hath given him up for us all, how should he not give us all things with him?" (Rom. viii.)

What make we then with our vain fearfulness, care, sorrow, and heaviness?

Wherefore (if we will be right Christians) we must with all thankfulness set forth, extol, and magnify this excellent, infinite, and heavenly grace and benefit of God, and the high and singular comfort which we have by Christ.

For all they that lack the knowledge of the benefit that we have by Christ, and refuse this excellent and high treasure, whether they be Jews or Heathens, Mahometans or Popish, they cannot be able to give any true, perfect, or wholesome comfort, either to themselves or to any other, in any manner of fear or doubt of the conscience, or in any other affliction and necessity.

So long as they are quiet and safe, and neither feel

nor consider the pain of death, or any other grief or necessity, they may well live securely and boldly without any manner of fear; but when the evil hour once cometh, that the weather changeth a little; that either through the revelation and opening of the law they feel and perceive the wrath of God over them, or else through the manifest and evident tokens and preaching of the just punishment and vengeance of God, and through the present taste of some plagues, they are suddenly taken and stricken with fear, then doth all their wisdom, counsel, and policy, wherewith to withstand any such evil, utterly fail them, and suddenly deceive them.

Then fly they from God, and cannot tell whither to run, nor where to hide themselves.

And how small soever their temptation or plague is, their heart is dashed, and as sore afraid (as Moses saith) of the noise of a leaf, as of a thunder-clap. (Levit. xxvi.; Prov. xxviii.) And with such manner of persons the whole trade of their former life, with all their labour, travail, and afflictions, in their superstitious serving of God, and in their hard and strait life, is utterly lost and spent in vain.

Yea, what comfort soever they have sought beside Christ, it is all nothing else but an augmentation of their sorrowful fear, and a training of them towards desperation. So that without and besides the Lord Jesus, there is no manner of comfort, aid, nor succour, at all to be looked for. (Acts, iv.; Phil. ii.)

Similitudes and comparisons, declaring how and after what manner God doth plague and chasten us of very love, mercy, and favour towards us.

THE SIXTH CHAPTER.

Whenas Almighty God, for the merits of his Son, not of any ireful mind or displeasure, but of a

od will and loving heart towards us, doth correct d punish us, he may be compared and likened unto father, a mother, a master, a physician, an husndman, a goldsmith, and such-like, after this nse: likeas the natural father first teacheth his ar beloved child, and afterward giveth him warning d monition, and then correcteth him at last; even the eternal God assayeth all manner of ways with , which are well grown and old in years, but young d tender in faith.

First he teacheth us his will through the preaching his word, and giveth us warning. Now if so be at we will not follow him, then he beateth and keth us a little with a rod, as sometime with poerty, sometime with sickness and diseases, or with her afflictions, which should be named and esteeml as nothing else but children's rods, or the wands correction.

Now if such a rod or wand will not help nor do y good, then taketh the father a whip or a stick. s in case his son waxeth stubborn, and will spend s money and thrift wantonly and riotously at the ppling-house with evil company, then cometh the ther and pulleth him out by the hair of his head, ndeth his hands and feet, and beateth him till his nes crack, and sendeth him into prison, or banishh him out of the country: even so when we wax bstinate and stubborn, and care in manner neither r words nor for stripes, then sendeth God unto s more heavy and universal plagues, as pestilence, earth, sedition, uproar, casualty of fire, murder, ar, loss of victory, that, being taken of our eneies, we are led away prisoners and captives, &c.

All this he doth to fear and to tame us, and as it ere with violence to drive and to force us unto reentance, and amendment of our lives. Now truth is, that it is against the father's will to strike his

child; he would much rather do him all the good that ever he could. But through long sufferance and over-much cherishing, the children wax rude, and forget all nurture. Therefore doth he punish them; but yet, in the midst of all his anger and punishment, his fatherly heart breaketh out.

In case that he putteth his son away from him for some grievous fault, yet he sendeth him not away altogether comfortless, but giveth him some garments, and some comfortable words, and so sendeth him from him, not to remain for evermore in banishment, but when he is once a little humbled, meekened, and amended, to turn home again. And this is only the father's mind, to turn and keep from his son all such things as might hurt and destroy him, and never mindeth to cast away or utterly to forsake his child.

Even so, certainly when God sendeth misery and affliction upon our necks, there layeth hidden under that rod a fatherly heart and affection. For the peculiar and natural property of God is to be loving and friendly, to heal, to help, and to do good to his children, mankind.

Adam and Eve, when they were put into paradise, were they not plenteously endowed with all good things? But they could not order nor use them rightly, as none of us all can (Gen. iii.); but as soon as we have all things at pleasure, and lack nothing that we could desire, then forthwith wax we both negligent and slothful.

And therefore God sendeth us evil, that he may do us good; and yet in the midst of all affliction and punishment he sendeth some mitigation, comfort, and succour. And we may take example by our foresaid first parents, Adam and Eve; whenas God was fully determined upon the very point to exclude and banish them out of paradise, first he clothed them

gainst the frost and violence of the weather; and he comforted them also with the promise of the blessed seed (Gen. iii.), which maketh all manner of affliction not only easy and harmless, but also wholesome and profitable unto us.

And this same nature doth the immutable God never change, but keepeth it continually; he will not utterly forsake us, but only suffer us a little to smart for the sins that we have committed, and so preserve us from sin afterward, that we run not into the danger of eternal pain.

Furthermore be it, in case that the father hath two sons, whereof the one behaveth himself wickedly, and yet his father punisheth or correcteth him nothing at all, the other for the least fault that he doth is taken up and corrected by and by; what thing else is the cause of this, but that the father hath no hope of amendment at all of the one, and therefore mindeth to put him clearly from his heritage, and to give him no part thereof? For the heritage pertaineth wholly to that son that is chastened and corrected.

And yet the same poor son that is thus chastened, thinketh in his mind that his brother is much more happy than he, forasmuch as he is never beaten nor stricken. And therefore he sighs and mourneth by himself, and thinketh thus: Well, my brother doth what he will against my father's will, and without his leave, and yet my father giveth him not one foul word; he suffereth him to take his pleasure, and to run where he will; and towards me he sheweth not so much as a good look, but is ever in my top if I do but look awry, &c.

Here now mayest thou mark the foolishness and ignorance of the child, which hath respect only unto the present grief, and never remembereth nor considereth what is reserved and kept in store for him.

Even such thoughts and imaginations have Christian men and women also, whenas they suffer much tribulation, and see on the other side how prosperously it goeth with the wicked and ungodly sort; whereas they ought rather to comfort themselves with the remembrance of the heritage that is reserved for them in heaven, which appertaineth unto them, as good and virtuous children.

As for the other, that hop and spring, make merry, and take their pleasure now for a while, they shall be deprived of the heritage everlastingly as strangers, and shall have no part thereof.

And this proveth St. Paul, where he saith, "My son, fear not when thou art corrected of the Lord, but receive his punishment thankfully, and with a good will; for whomsoever the Lord loveth, him doth he chastise and punish, and scourgeth every child that he receiveth. Now if ye be partakers of correction, then doth God offer and shew himself unto you as a father. And if all those that be children be corrected, and ye without correction, are ye not then bastards, and not children?" (Heb. xii.) In these words doth St. Paul evidently compare and liken the punishment of the Lord unto the correction of a natural father.

And whom should not these words make to tremble and quake? whereas he saith, those are bastards, and not right and lawful children, which are not punished. And again, whom should not this thing rejoice and comfort? whereas he saith, they that are punished are children.

Wherefore, although the Almighty Lord sheweth himself displeased with us, it is nothing else but a displeasure of a most kind and loving father, which seeketh not our destruction and undoing, but only our reformation, amendment, and wealth. Give over thyself, therefore, patiently to the will of God

thy faithful father. Rejoice in the correction of the Lord, forasmuch as thou art sure and certain thereby that he beareth a gracious and a fatherly heart, mind, and will towards thee.

Furthermore, God is also in this behalf compared to a mother. The mother feedeth and nourisheth the child; and all the good she can do unto it, that doth she, even of a tender and motherly heart; and yet through the frowardness and unruliness of the child, is she sometimes so moved and provoked, that she is angry with it, chideth it, rebuketh it, and beateth it. Even so were it the very nature and property of God to suffer no manner of misfortune to happen unto us, but yet through our manifold sins he is provoked to punish and chasten us.

Now as little as the mother denieth, forsaketh, or giveth over the child, though she be angry with it and displease it, even as little doth God forsake or give over us in our need and necessity, misery and affliction, though he seem never so much to be displeased with us. Scripture for this have we; "If a mother can forget her child, then may I also forget thee, saith the Lord: but if she should forget her child, yet will I not forget thee." (Isaiah, xlix.)

There is never a schoolmaster, nor handycraftsman, which taketh any scholar or apprentice unto him to teach, but he will make these conditions with him expressly: that the lad shall not be self-willed, nor stubborn, nor follow his own brain and mind, but with all possible diligence shall mark and take heed unto that which the master teacheth him; and if he will be negligent, or play the truant, and not give himself unto his business as he ought to do, if he, being his master, should beat and punish him therefor, that he be content to take it patiently and with a good will. Now the master doth not correct and punish his scholar or servant for any intent to

hurt him, or for any malice or evil will towards him, but only that he should learn better afterward, be more diligent, and take better heed. Even so likewise Christ receiveth no scholar or disciple unto him, but he maketh conditions with him most necessary for every Christian man, which are expressed in Matthew, xvi.

The word of God ought to be the only rule whereby we should be ordered; but we had rather to follow our own head and our own brain, by the means whereof oft-times we go awry, and miss the right way; and therefore the heavenly Schoolmaster knappeth us on the fingers, till we apprehend and learn his will more perfectly.

Likewise, the physician or surgeon must cut away and burn out the rotten and dead flesh with his iron and instrument, that the whole body be not infected and poisoned, and so perish. Even so doth God sometimes plague our bodies sharply and grievously, that our souls may be preserved and healed. And how deep soever God thrusteth his iron into our flesh and bodies, he doth it only to remedy and to heal us; and if it be so that he kill us, then will he bring us to the right life. The physician, in making of his trial, occupieth serpents and adders, and such-like poison, to drive out one poison with another. Even so God, in afflicting and correcting of us, occupieth and useth the devil and wicked people, but yet all to do us good withal.

As long as the physician hath any hope of the recovery of his patient, he assayeth all manner of means and medicines with him, as well sour and sharp, as sweet and pleasant; but as soon as ever he beginneth to doubt of his recovery, he suffereth him to have and to take all manner of things whatsoever the patient himself desireth. Even so the heavenly Physician, as long as he taketh us Christians for his.

and hath any hope to recover or to heal us, he restraineth us from our will, and will not always suffer us to have what we most desire; but as soon as he hath no more hope of us, and giveth us over, then he suffereth us for a time to have and enjoy all our own will and pleasure. This similitude and comparison is taken out of the fifth chapter of Job: "If the Lord God doth wound, then doth his hand heal again; &c."

Furthermore, when a horse-breaker giveth unto a lusty fresh young horse too much of the bridle, he is wild and wanton, and goeth not well as he should do, and by chance in a slippery and sliding place he might fall head and legs over and over: even so, if our Creator and Maker should suffer us overmuch, and give us too large liberty, we should soon wax wild, and proud thereof; and it might happen that we should undo and destroy ourselves; therefore he giveth us a sharp bit in our mouths, and helpeth us to bridle and to tame our flesh, that the noble and precious soul perish not.

Again, likeas the carter or poor man jirketh his horses with the whip, and striketh them sharply when they will not draw nor go forward, and yet favoureth and spareth them also, that he may enjoy them the longer; even so God striketh and whippeth us, when we do not right as we should do, and yet nevertheless spareth us, and will not make utterly an end of us.

Likeas the poor shepherd, also, when his foolish sheep stray abroad in the wild wilderness among the wolves, driveth them from strange ways into the right way, and hunteth them into their sure sheep-fold, where they may be in safe guard; even so we likewise, forasmuch as we mix ourselves oft-times among the worldlings, and have fellowship with those that are enemies unto our Christian and true religion,

therefore God cometh unto us, and driveth us with sorrow and repentance from them, that we should not be destroyed, and perish together with them.

The herdman will suffer such calves as are appointed shortly to the slaughter, to run and spring about in the pasture at pleasure; and again, such as are reserved to labour are kept and used under the yoke: even so Almighty God doth suffer and permit unto those ungodly persons whose destruction is at hand, to have all pleasure and lust upon earth, and to fulfil and accomplish their pleasures and desires: but the godly, whom he will use to his honour and glory, those keepeth he under the yoke, and restraineth them from the pleasant lusts of the world.

A wise and skilful husbandman doth not cast nor sow his seed in a field or ground that is not broken, ploughed, and tilled as it ought to be, but he spanneth his oxen, and goeth to the field and casteth up the earth with his ploughshare, and so tilleth and harroweth it; and then first of all he soweth it, that if any rain fall the seed may be saved, driven into the earth, and take hold and wax therein. Even such an husbandman is God, and we are his tillage. (1 Cor. iii.) And he bestoweth not his spirit and truth upon such as are wild, and past all fear of God.

Moreover, likeas the gardener hedgeth his garden round about, and fenceth it with thorns and briers, that no beasts nor noisome cattle hurt it; even so God defendeth, keepeth, and preserveth us from evil company, and from all manner of sin, through thorns and briers, that is to say, through the cross and afflictions, as Hosea saith (chap. ii.): "I will beset their ways with thorns, and their footpaths will I hedge." If the gardener cut off the knobs and the crooked boughs from the trees in his garden, and loppeth them a little, yet as long as the roots remain the trees are never the worse, but wax

nevertheless, and bring forth fruit: even so doth God lop and hew the crabby old Adam with the cross, not to the intent to hurt or harm us, but to keep us in awe, and to teach us godly manners. And surely, as long as the root of faith remaineth with us, though we be spoiled and destitute of all riches, and of all manner of worldly and bodily comfort, yet shall we bring forth good fruits to the high honour and glory of God's holy name. (John, xvi.)

Christian men without the cross are like unto grapes which hang upon the vines, and have the fruition of the open air, and remain still upon the stock unfruitful, and no man is the better for them.

Wherefore the heavenly Vine-man bringeth the Christians unto the wine-press, where they are beaten, pressed, stamped, and broken, not to their destruction, but that they may be delivered from the corruption and infection of worldly lusts, and may bring forth sweet wine, and bear pleasant fruits.

The goldsmith casteth a lump of gold into the oven and into the fire, not to consume it away with the fire, but to purge it from the corruption that is in it; and that all that hangeth about it, and is no gold, should be burnt away with the fire, and consumed unto ashes: even so is God the goldsmith, the world the oven, affliction the fire, the faithful Christians the gold, and the filth and corruption is sin.

Now will God purge and make clean those that belong unto him from all manner of blots, blemishes, and corruption, and make them glorious and beautiful unto him.

The free-mason heweth the hard stones, and heweth off here one piece, and there another, till the stones be fit and apt for the place where he will lay them: even so God, the heavenly Free-mason, buildeth a Christian church, and he frameth and po-

lisheth us, which are the costly and precious stones, with the cross and affliction, that all abomination and wickedness, which do not agree unto this glorious building, might be removed and taken out of the way. (1 Pet. ii.)

Again, as the dyer bleacheth, or the laundress washeth, beateth, lumpeth, and clappeth the foul, unclean, and defiled clothes, that they may so be white, pure, and clean; even so doth God some time handle and deal with us, to make us pure and clean. (Dan. vi.)

Trouble and afflictions do serve to prove and to try us withal.

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

Trouble and afflictions do prove, try, instruct, confirm, and strengthen the faith; provoke and stir up prayer; drive and force us to amendment of life, to the fear of God, to meekness, to patience, to constancy, to gentleness, to soberness and temperance, and to all manner of virtues; and are the occasion of exceeding much good, as well transitory as eternal, in this world as in the world to come. By affliction and trouble will God prove and assay, mark and spy, how deep thy heart hath entered with God, how much thy faith is able to suffer and to bear, whether thou canst forsake both thyself and all other creatures in the world for his sake.

In summa, to be short, he will try how thou wilt behave thyself, when he taketh utterly from thee, and out of thy sight, that wherein thou most delightest and hast any pleasure upon earth. God knoweth well enough before how thou wilt take it, and behave thyself; but he will shew and declare to thyself and to other also, what is in thee; for oftimes people do so extol a man, and make such boast

of him, to be the wisest, most circumspect, manly, and honest man in a country; but when the time of trial cometh, there appeareth no such thing in him as was thought and looked for.

A man cannot learn to know a lusty and a stout man of war in the time of peace, but best of all in the time of war, when the cruel and fierce enemies do invade and assault his captain.

When a great tempest ariseth in the sea, then doth it appear whether the shipmaster be cunning in ruling the stern or no. Again, those are the most honest and most chaste matrons, which being sore tempted, assaulted, and provoked unto wickedness, do nevertheless keep their spouse-faith towards their husbands undefiled. Even so can no man know nor prove perfectly how the Christian church keepeth her spouse-faith and fidelity towards her spouse and bridegroom Jesus Christ, until such time as antichrist assaulteth and tempteth her with false doctrine, tyranny, and persecution.

Such trees as have strong and deep roots, and sufficient natural sap, can no violent heat of the sun hurt nor harm; but such as are felled and cut down, are soon dried up with the heat of the sun, likeas the grass also that is mowed down doth soon wither: even so likewise such faithful persons as are rooted in Christ Jesus, cannot troubles nor afflictious hurt, they grow and wax green notwithstanding; but the unfaithful do betray themselves, and shew what they are, as soon as they see any heat of trouble or persecution coming. With one flail are both the stalks and ears of the corn beaten, and also the corn itself threshed and purged out: even so with one manner of trouble and affliction are the faithful purged and provoked to pray unto God, and to laud and magnify him, and the unfaithful also to murmur and

curse; and so are they both tried, proved, and known.

When the corn is threshed, the kernel lieth mixed among the chaff, and afterwards are they dissevered asunder with the fan or windle: even so the people in the church do first hear the preaching of God's word; now some stumble, repine, and are offended at it, and other are not offended, and yet they dwell together one with another; but when they are fanned or windled, and when the wind of trouble and afflictions beginneth once a little to blow, then is it easy to sunder and to know the one from the other, the faithful from the unfaithful.

Art thou pure corn? What needest thou then to fear either the flail or the wind? In the threshing and in the wind thou shalt be delivered and sundered from the chaff, and shalt be made more pure than thou wast before. Let them fear that are chaff, which are not able to abide the wind, but must be blown away, and so cast out for ever.

A rotten and an old weak house standeth awhile for a time; but as soon as a wind cometh and bloweth, it appeareth unto all men how feeble the foundation and stay of it was.

Even so are there such Christian men without ground or foundation, which so long as all things go well and prosper with them, they are good Christians; but in the time of trouble and persecution, their dissimulation is known and breaketh out. (Wisd. iii.)

As gold is tried in the oven, wherein it is molten; even so hath God tried and purged them. Now if thou be gold, what needest thou to fear the fire, which doth more profit than hinder or hurt thee?

To this purpose doth this true proverb serve: in need doth a man try which be his friends.

Examples: Almighty God did tempt and prove Abraham, and bade him offer up and kill his only

son (Gen. xxii.): then was Abraham in a great distress, perplexity, and heaviness; he had rather have lost all his goods and possessions, and all that ever he had upon earth, than that he should slay his dear son. But yet, though it were against nature, and an untolerable thing, yet carried his son forth three days journey to kill him with his own hands: he overcame his flesh by faith, and would be obedient unto God. Then said God unto him, Now I know that thou fearest God, and hast not spared thy only dear son for my sake.

And Moses saith, "Remember all the ways through the which the Lord thy God hath led and guided thee these forty years in the wilderness, because he would chasten and prove thee, that it might appear and be known what was within thy heart, whether thou wouldest keep his commandments or no." (Deut. viii.)

Set Pharaoh and David together the one against the other, two notable kings; Pharaoh persevereth and continueth obstinately, stubbornly, and perversely in his wicked purpose, notwithstanding the manifold plagues that did fall and lighten upon him. (Exod. vii. viii. ix.) Contrariwise, how soon did David give over and break out with all meekness, submission, patience, and acknowledging of his whoredom, whenas he fled from Absalom, Shimei rebuking and reviling him most shamefully! (2 Sam. xvi.)

Job was stricken with many grievous sores, that there was nothing sound or whole in him, from the sole of his foot to the top of his head; not that he had deserved such heavy punishment more than other men, but that God would declare to all the world his patience and faithfulness. But his wife did then shew her weak faith and wicked corrupt nature. (Job, i. ii.)

Who was more faithful and more fervent than Peter? and yet he denied and forsook Christ before a simple woman. (Matt. xxvi.) Who ought not therefore to fear himself, except he hath before in the trial been found faithful, steadfast, and constant?

In like manner daily experience teacheth us to know the faithful and unfaithful asunder in persecution and affliction. There are some that cleave to the Gospel for a time; but when they see they cannot attain that they sought and looked for, then they forsake it, and fall from it again, yea, and in the time of temptation they fall to blasphemy of the holy Gospel; but the godly, which have it fixed in their hearts, stand steadfastly by God both in life and death.

Trouble and affliction do help and further us to the knowledge of ourselves, and of God also, and especially to wisdom.

THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.

Besides this, it is a profitable and a good thing for a man to know himself well.

Felicity and prosperity blindeth a man: but when he is under the cross he beginneth to mark the frailness of his body, the uncertainty of his life, the feebleness of his understanding, the infirmity and weakness of his own strength and power.

He shall spy and perceive how far he is entered in the way of virtue, how the matter standeth between God and him, whether he be a champion of God or of the devil; for a man thinketh himself oft-times to be well grounded and stablished, but in the time of temptation he feeleth how lightly and easily he is tossed and turned of every blast of the wind.

Item, by affliction and misfortune God will put thee in remembrance how many thousand perils are yet hanging over thy head, which should lighten and

ill upon thee, if he did not keep and preserve thee 'om them. And the same God saith thus unto thee: 'he wicked enemy, with an innumerable and infinite eap of all evils and mischiefs, doth assault thee, and y watch for to subdue thee, and to swallow thee p; but I have appointed him his bounds, over the hich he cannot pass.

The longer thou art under the cross, the better ıayest thou learn all the virtues and goodness of 'od; as his just judgment and strait justice, hereby he sheweth his wrath and displeasure against ıe wicked and ungodly, and sendeth upon their ecks terrible plagues; and the obstinate and unreentant he condemneth everlastingly.

Item, his infinite power, whereby he can help and omfort thee in most extreme misery and necessity.

Item, his immutable truth, whereby he doth faithlly perform all his promises, and bringeth to pass l his threatenings.

Item, his exceeding mercy and free grace, whereby e preventeth all evil towards us, and will not suffer s to be caught and oppressed with any misfortune.

Item, his eternal and everlasting providence, hereby like a father he taketh charge and care over ı, and governeth all things most wisely. (1 Pet. v.)

Item, his glory, magnificence, and lauds for the foreid virtues, which do shine most clearly in affliction ıd adversity; for the which cause St. Bernard writeth ıus: Whereby we do know that He that dwelleth ove is among us here beneath, forsooth by this, ıat we do stick in trouble and afflictions. For who ould be able to sustain, bear, and abide them withıt God?

A man hath need at all times of wisdom, circumection, prudence, and soberness. Likeas prosrity shutteth and blindeth the eyes of men, even doth adversity and trouble open them.

Likeas the salve that remedieth the disease of eyes doth first bite and grieve the eyes, and mak them to water, but yet afterward the eyesigh clearer and more sharp than it was; even so trou and affliction doth grieve and vex men wonderfull the first, but afterward it helpeth and lighteneth eyes of the mind, that it is afterward more rea able, wise, and circumspect.

For trouble bringeth experience, and experi bringeth wisdom. The rod and punishment do b wisdom. (Eccles. xxxiii. Prov. xxix.) And of did these proverbs first spring up: The more plen land, the more foolish and wicked people; again, Adversity causeth men to look well and about them; item, There is no man wise, but his hurt and loss; item, That man may well lear swim, which hath the water at his mouth. D saith, "O Lord, how good and profitable is it me, that thou hast chastened and humbled me, I might learn thy righteousness and thy comma ments!" (Psa. cxix.)

Trouble and afflictions do help and further us to right knowledge of our sins, and to perfect sor and repentance for them.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

God requireth that the knowledge of our poisc and corrupt nature, and of the wrath of God, sh wax and increase in us, whereby we might conc an hearty sorrow and repentance for our sins, so daily amend and wax better. Now truth i that in our hearts naturally sticketh a rough sec ness and retchlessness, whereby we do little reg and esteem the inward filthiness of our hearts; especially when we feel no manner of taste of

cross and affliction, we do not consider the miserable wretchedness of our sins, nor the just judgment of God, and the terrible punishment due for the same.

But when the hand of God doth humble and pluck down some special persons or a whole congregation, then remember we the greatness and heaviness of sin, that God's wrath and indignation is not too sore, without some special and most just causes.

And then break we out into such words as these: "O Lord, we have deserved these plagues a thousand ways. O good and most just God, thou rewardest the misdeeds and transgressions of the fathers in the children, if they follow their fathers' steps, even unto the third and fourth generation." (Exod. xx. xxxiv. Numb. xiv. Deut. v.) Likeas the hard copper and tin do melt in the fire, even so in trouble and affliction the hard, rough, and stubborn hearts do melt and fall to misliking and loathing their sins.

A trespasser doth then first of all perceive his faults rightly, when he is brought unto the judgment to be punished, and is adjudged and condemned unto death. And for this cause doth God use such rough and hard means with us. And both the common and general, and also the particular and special plagues and adversities, may well be called a part of God's law, and, as it were, God's preaching, which testify and declare unto us, that God is heavily displeased with all manner of wickedness and abomination that reigneth in the world, that all men should humble and submit themselves unto God, bewail and lament their sins unto him with a sorrowful and a right penitent heart, and desire his grace and mercy.

For an example: Joseph's brethren in Egypt did then first of all spy their wickedness committed against their brother, whenas very need and necessity did vex them in a strange country. (Gen. xlii.) Whenas

the Lord did send into the wilderness, among th Israelites, venomous serpents, which did bite then and set them on fire; then came they first to Mose and said, We have sinned, forasmuch as we ha spoken against the Lord, and against thee. (Num. xxi

When the pestilence did rage, then said Dav unto the Lord, Behold, it is I that have sinned; wh have these sheep done? (1 Chron. xxi.) No therefore, if it be so that knowledge of the sin, a an hearty displeasure against it, be profitable a necessary, then can we not well forbear trouble a adversity.

Trouble, affliction, and adversity, do help and fu ther us to the exercising and increasing of our faiti

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

That our faith is proved and tried through t cross, and through adversity, it is declared befo And now shall it be evidently proved, that our fai is then first right stablished, exercised, and au mented, when adversity cometh. The very tr Christian faith is grounded only upon the gra mercy, power, and help of God through Chri Which thing cannot be right comprehended w vain thoughts, imaginations, and speculations; t God cometh upon the miserable sinners with hea of miseries. Whatsoever they attempt, go abo or take in hand, it goeth backward with them, a their whole life is made so bitter as gall unto the that they can no where find any rest.

And why? forsooth it is done for this purpo that they should utterly neglect and despise all ma ner of counsel and comfort of man; that they shou be plucked from all manner of trust in the polic and powers of the world; and that they should u terly despair of all help in any creature. And inste

of that they should set and fix their hearts and minds only in God, and that nothing at all should else remain in them, but only unspeakable sighing unto God, proceeding out of a true faith, in whose help and mercy only it altogether consisteth.

Testimonies of Scripture: Moses witnesseth that God suffered the Israelites to be diversely vexed, and to be brought into great distress, and yet preserved them wonderfully; for this cause, that when they should come into the land of promise, they should not say, Mine own power, and the strength of mine own hands, were able to bring this to pass; but thou shouldest think upon the Lord thy God, for he it is which giveth thee such power, whereby thou art able to perform and bring any thing to pass. (Deut. viii.)

And so did God deal afterward with the children of Israel, which of their own brain and wisdom sought help, succour, and maintenance, at the king of the Assyrians, and at the king of Egypt, which were the very same that afterward did besiege them, slay them, and carry them away prisoners.

And so after that they felt and proved that there was none that could succour and help them, but only the Lord, unto whom they yielded and gave over themselves at length; as, I looked for no other but that I should die. (Jer. x. Hosea, ii. iv. vi.) But it was done for this purpose, that we should not put any trust in ourselves, but in God, which raiseth up the dead again. (2 Cor. i.)

Item: Whatsoever stirreth up and exerciseth our faith, of that ought we not to be afraid, but rather to rejoice in it. When we live in idleness, in all lusts and pleasures, the devil snappeth us up, and so blindeth us in our weakness, that we think God doth not regard us, and all things in the world to happen without any working or foresight of God.

But as well in special as general adversities, there is greater matter and occasion to practise and to exercise the faith.

God suffereth thee to fall into poverty, or thy most dear friends to be taken from thee by death, or some other disquietness to happen unto thee. As then hast thou a great occasion to awake and to practise thy faith; and first to call to remembrance the promises of God, contained in his word, and then to call upon him for his grace and assistance, and so to resist and withstand all manner of natural doubtfulness and despair, that hangeth in this flesh, how grievous soever the necessity seem to be, and howsoever any man doth imagine that God hath withdrawn his face from thee, and will not help thee at all.

In like manner, in all common necessities and general, this is the right exercise of faith, and the most holy service of God, that we first consider and weigh earnestly all manner of perils and assaults of the church, and of the commonwealth. And after that, that we pray unto God with a constant and a lively faith, that he will deliver and preserve the church from false doctrine, superstition, and hypocrisy, and that he will graciously rule and govern it.

And that he will also preserve the commonwealth in good order and quietness, and will grant wholesome air and seasonable weather, and will also restrain and let the wild and dissolute behaviour and conversation of the common sort of people; and will grant, maintain, and preserve a Christian discipline, behaviour, and honesty, whereby his holy and godly name may be lauded and magnified, his kingdom augmented, increased, and confirmed, and the kingdom of the devil subverted and confounded.

And remember this also, whensoever thou considerest thy adversity, forget not to desire of God,

hope and trust for comfort, aid, and security; and look that thou strive and fight mightily and manfully against all manner of mistrust, and put away all manner of despair, how grievously soever thy adversity and sorrow doth increase; and thus is thy faith well rightly practised and exercised.

An example: from holy Job was taken all that ever any man might take any comfort in: wife, children, goods, and friends; and one trouble, sorrow, and heavy message came still in another's neck, and he had not one drop of blood in his body that was not consumed and wasted. And he sat in the sight of all the world, was their laughing-stock, and so exercised and practised his faith, and gave over himself wholly and only unto God. (Job, i. ii. iii.)

Unto Abraham was promised a seed, which should be in multitude as the sand of the sea, and as the stars of the sky (Gen. xii. xviii. Eccles. xliv.); and yet was his wife barren and unfruitful, and he also waxen old and aged, that after the judgment of natural reason it was not possible that that promise should be fulfilled and come to pass, by the means whereof Abraham did exercise, try, and practise his faith. (Gen. xxxvii. xxxix. xl. xli.)

And thus did Joseph, David, Daniel, all patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, as well in the common and general adversities of the church, as in their own private and peculiar afflictions, exercise and practise their faith; and this was their highest God's service, wherewith they honoured and served God. (2 Sam. xv. Dan. iii. vi.)

Wherefore in our time also God giveth us great and marvellous occasion, through trouble and adversity, to awake, stir up, and to exercise our faith. And by such exercise is the faith increased and confirmed; yea, and shineth more brightly, and is made more beautiful and glorious. For whatsoever

a man hath proved and tried himself, then believeth he afterward the more steadfastly. Now he that is a Christian man or woman proveth and feeleth indeed, that in the midst of his sorrow and affliction he is ruled, defended, comforted, and preserved of God; for hope cannot be confounded.

And therefore the Christian and the faithful man, through trouble and adversity, is made more bold and hearty, and concludeth with himself, more than ever he did before, that God hath a special regard and consideration of those that are in trouble and misery, and will graciously help and deliver them out.

Likeas one that hath sailed oft upon the sea, and proved and escaped great and dangerous tempests, and hath been sore tossed with the fearful waves, is afterward the more bold and hardy to go unto the sea, forasmuch as he hath ever escaped well, and hath had good fortune before; even so a Christian man, whom the cross hath oft assaulted and exercised, forasmuch as he hath always found comfort, aid, and help of God, afterward he trusteth God, the longer the more, though the same affliction and adversity come again unto him that he had before.

And to this purpose hear and mark two especial and notable examples: one out of the Old, and another out of the New Testament. David, when he prepared himself to fight against the valiant giant Goliah, said these words: "The Lord, which hath delivered me from a lion and from a bear, shall deliver me also from this Philistine." (1 Sam. xvii.) And again, Paul saith, "God hath delivered us from so great a death, and delivereth us daily, and we hope that he will deliver us from henceforth also." (2Cor. i.)

And to the same purpose doth this also appertain, to consider that the cross assureth those that bear it in the Lord, of the grace and favour of God, whereby they know certainly that they are of the number of

the elect, and the children of God, forasmuch as he looketh upon them fatherly, to reform and to correct them. (Job, v. Hos. vi. Prov. iii. Tobit, xii. 1 Pet. iv. Heb. xii. Rev. iii.)

For why, thus it is written: yea all those that ever did please God have been proved and tried by many and divers troubles, and have been found constant and steadfast in faith. Item: All those that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution and affliction. (2 Tim. iii. Eccles. ii. Psalm xxxiii.)

Trouble and adversity giveth us occasion to pray unto God, and to laud and praise him.

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

Every Christian man knoweth this, that it is necessary and profitable for him to pray and to call upon God most fervently and devotedly. Now when a man liveth in all prosperity, then he prayeth very little, or very slenderly and coldly, he hath no great affection or mind upon it.

That prayer that is not pressed and thrust out with the cross, floweth not out from the depth and bottom of the heart.

But sorrow, heaviness, and adversity, kindleth the mind and setteth it on fire; driveth, chaseth, and hunteth it unto God, and compelleth it to call upon God fervently and earnestly; for at such time we feel and perceive well that we can do nothing of ourselves, and what great need we have of God, that he will vouchsafe to govern, aid, and defend us.

Likeas the water, as long as it floweth and runneth over the even, plain, wide, and broad fields, breaketh not out by any violence, but disperseth and spreadeth itself abroad every where alike; but when it is gathered together by cunning and science, and conveyed into a narrow room, as into a pipe or con-

lous things, were contemned and despised, yea, an sometimes slain and murdered, that all men migh spy and perceive, that their faith and working, whic did not shrink, but continued upright, was a wor of God, and no power of man, and, therefore, th God must be lauded and praised above all. (Psal xliv. Acts, iv. v. Rom. viii. 2 Cor. iv. 1 Mac. i 2 Mac. vi. vii.)

Trouble and adversity do further us to virtue a godliness.

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER.

The cross and tribulation do banish and dry aw the former sins, and hinder and resist those that a to come hereafter, and help to plant, exercise, a increase all manner of virtues, that the ungodly m be provoked and furthered to repentance, and amen ment, and reformation of their lives, and the god to further virtue and godliness. For what afflictic soever the flesh doth suffer, it grieveth it very sore it would rather be merry, at rest and quiet.

Now every one that hath any reason, knowe this right well, that he through his own lusts and b haviour bringeth much adversity and affliction up his own neck; and therefore, in consideration of th he beginneth to beware, and to take heed afterwa of all inordinate and dissolute living, as the caus ground, and occasion of all misery and sorrow, th besides this present affliction, he be not plagued al eternally. Which I will declare and prove, first wi similitude; secondarily, with testimonies of the ho Scripture; and, thirdly, by familiar examples.

A water that is continually standing, how clear s ever it seem, yet it is corrupt and naught. But th water which hath his continual course, the more rusheth and struggleth over the stones and sand

the more lively, fresh, and better it is; even so a godly man, in the absence of the cross, is sluggish, dull, and litherly, but through the cross and affliction he is quickened and exercised, and increased in all goodness. The rusty and cankered iron, through the file is made bright and smooth: even so the old rusty Adam hath need of trouble and adversity to file and purge him from the cankered rust of sin.

A knife, though it be ever so smooth, if it be not used, it waxeth rusty, and the same rust fretteth it and marreth it; but the more it is occupied, though it be somewhat worn thereby, yet it is the more bright: even so, although some person hath a good nature and inclination, if he be not occupied and exercised with trouble and adversity, he waxeth rusty, cankered, and rotten; but through the cross and tribulation, though the rust have worn somewhat of him, being a man and weak, yet he shall thereby be made more bright, clear, and beautiful again.

The seed that is cast into the field must suffer the wind, rain, snow, frost, and all manner of tempests, and yet it waxeth and bringeth forth fruit; even so the spiritual seed, which is the word of God, being received of a devout and fervent heart, is not destroyed through trouble, but bringeth forth right good and profitable fruit. A walnut-tree, the more it is beaten the better it is, and not the worse: even so man, through many stripes and much adversity, turneth from ill, and waxeth good.

For the thick and hard skin of an horse or an ass, is nothing better than a very sharp whip, to jerk him with: even so, for our stubborn and haughty flesh, there is nothing more fit and profitable than much sorrow and vexation, whereby it may be stirred and pricked forward. Cloth must be oft beaten and brushed, whereupon there is a proverb: thus must woollen cloth be used, that there breed no moths in

it. Even so shall spiritual moths and worms, wic edness, sin, and abomination, have the less pov to breed in us, if we be well brushed and beaten time with affliction and adversity.

The flesh that cometh fresh out of the shamb unsalted, waxeth soon unsavoury, and worms bre in it, but the salt with his sharpness keepeth it swe from corruption: even so doth God cast and sprinl salt upon us, through divers temptations and affl tions, that they may bite and season us, that we c rupt not, nor perish in sin.

That body that is always idle, and never move nor hath no exercise, is easily subject unto sickne and infirmities; but those bodies that have th exercise and labour, are more lusty and sound, a can better continue: even so the soul that is w exercised and occupied with trouble and afflicti hath occasion and cause to be beautiful, sound, a clear.

It is a very true saying, the sharper that the lie the cleaner taketh it away all manner of filth: ev so our corrupt and poisoned nature had need of sharp and a biting medicine. The greater and sharp the trouble and adversity is, the more filth and i convenience it biteth away. For a raw and we stomach, which is of a naughty digestion, bitt wormwood is very good and wholesome: even for the weak and feeble soul is bitter trouble and a fliction very wholesome and necessary.

Remember this proverb: after the sick man ha recovered his sore, he liveth worse than ever he d before. And therefore sickness is more necessa for him, that he wax not worse, and live not mo wickedly.

Now will I allege Scripture. God threateneth t send a plague sevenfold greater, if any man will nc amend at the lighter and easier punishment, that h

sent first. Whereby the Lord himself declareth, through Moses, that trouble and adversity should teach us an alteration and amendment of our lives. (Lev. xxvi.)

Strokes and wounds do purge and cleanse our evil and corruption, and stripes purify the inward parts of man. (Prov. xx.) No manner of chastening for the present time seemeth to be joyous, but heavy and grievous; but afterward it bringeth a quiet fruit of righteousness unto those that are exercised therein. (Heb. xii.)

He that suffereth in the flesh ceaseth from sin, that from henceforth (the time that is remnant in the flesh) he may live not after the lusts of men, but after the will of God. (2 Pet. iv. Rom. vi. 1 John, ii.) And this shall example make more manifest. Under Joshua had the children of Israel many battles, and were driven to fight against their enemies; and they did never fall nor swerve from the Lord, until afterward that they came unto rest, and had all things plenty. (Joshua, i. Judith, ii.)

This is an example of a whole multitude. Now take examples of special persons.

The Prophet Jonah, being in the whale's belly, remembered his sins, altered himself, turned, and was obedient unto God. (Jonah, ii.) The lost and desperate son did then first of all run home again unto his father, when he saw and felt his misery and poverty. (Luke, xv.)

Mark the daily experience. We imagine oft-times thus with ourselves: Oh, if I were once whole and restored again, I would surely behave and order myself well as I ought to do, and would help and serve every man. Oh, if I were rich, I would gladly distribute unto the poor people faithfully. But as soon as we come out of the danger indeed, we have clean forgotten altogether.

As long as we have no manner of need, no man can hinder or restrain our wickedness.

For an example, imagine two sundry houses whereof in the one is celebrate and kept a marriage, where there is mirth, joy, and good cheer. And in the other is one sick on his death-bed. In the bride-house, where is dancing, is used all manner of lightness and dissoluteness, gross and filthy words, bawdy songs and ballads, shameless behaviour and manners, and wanton and light apparel. One leapeth and winceth like an horse; another stampeth like an ass; the third drinketh himself drunk; and the fourth doeth nothing that honest is; so that a man might say the people were become very brute beasts. But by him that lieth on his death-bed is all still, not a word spoken, but honest and seemly. All things are done sadly, demurely, and discreetly.

And at that time not only the men, but also the women and children, and all that are in the house, are godly occupied; they pray, they comfort, and break out into such words as these: What is man? How transitory and vain are all things that we have here upon earth! but in the life to come it shall be far otherwise. (Eccles. xiv. Job, iv. x. xxxiv. Psal. lxxviii. xc. ciii. cxlvi. Isaiah, xl.)

Again, from the marriage or bride-house goeth many on home heavy and sad, vexed in his mind, and disdainful, that he is not so happy and fortunate as other be; and suddenly is ravished with the beauty of some wife or maiden that he saw at the dancing, which hath wounded and stricken him to the heart. And when he cometh home, he looketh sourly on his wife, he is froward toward his children, and testy against all the household, so that no man can please him.

But he that goeth home from the mourning-house, thinketh himself well blessed and happy that

he himself lieth not in any such extreme necessity. If he hath had any sickness or vexation in time past, now he is able to bear it the more easily and patiently, when he compareth it to the grievous and intolerable pain of the man that lieth in pangs of death. By reason whereof he is the more patient, gentle, and friendly towards his wife, children, and his whole household; yea, he taketh occasion thereby to reform and amend his evil life.

Sorrow and affliction do help and further us toward the fear and love of God.

THE THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

Trouble and affliction do engender the fear of God in them which suffer it, and in other likewise which do hear and know of it; so that many take example and instruction thereby, and afterward attempt not any thing timorously and rashly against the will and pleasure of God. For He is lawfully to be feared and dreaded which can bring and lay upon us all manner of plagues, and also hath just cause and right toward us so to do. (Matt. x.)

Now we, being feeble and weak, are in no wise able to resist and withstand the strong and mighty God: no; we are not able to withstand or put off the least ill day of an ague; yea, we cannot choose but suffer the least and most contemptuous and feeble creatures to plague and disquiet us, as lice, fleas, flies, and such-like vermin, which did master and overcome the mighty Pharaoh, king of Egypt. (Exod. vii. viii. ix. x. 2 Mac. ix. Acts, xii.)

It is a very true proverb, a burnt hand dreadeth the fire. For in the same sense and meaning spake Moses unto the fearful people: "God is come to tempt and prove you, that the fear of him may be before your eyes, to consider and remember that ye

sin not." (Exod. xx. Deut. viii. and xiii. Judges, ii. and iii.)

As for an example: the more the Lord did exercise and hunt about David, the more diligently did he look upon the Lord, and feared him. (1 Sam. xv.) And not only David, but others also, when they saw and perceived their misery and wretchedness, they took occasion thereby to fear God more than they did before; and specially when they saw afterward how God punished David's manslaughter and whoredom with sedition, uproar, murder, and with loss of much people. (2 Sam. xi. xiii. xiv. xv. xvi. &c.)

Holy Scripture setteth before our eyes divers like terrible examples, that we should not esteem the fear of God for a light thing, but should be afraid of all manner of wickedness, sin, and abomination.

When a trespasser is led out to be beheaded, hanged, burnt, or otherwise to be punished, others that see him do learn to fear and to beware of that thing which brought him to his last end: even so when God sendeth any plague either upon some special person, or else upon some whole community, all other ought so to consider the same, as though they themselves were in the place of the afflicted person, as though his trouble and sorrow were their own, that they may the rather fear God, and take heed that they fall not into like vengeance of God. And in very deed, as well the good and faithful, as the wicked and unfaithful, have cause to fear. (Prov. xi.)

For the faithful can consider thereby, that these transitory plagues are tokens and evident testimonies of the eternal punishments that are to come, which are a thousand thousand times more grievous, and never have end. (1 Pet. iv.) Therefore both their own and other men's afflictions and sorrows do give them occasion enough to redress and forsake that

thing, whereby all men do bring eternal plagues upon their necks.

The wicked and unfaithful, if they be not utterly obstinate and perverse, but have any use of reason at all, do also begin to fear God, and to think thus with themselves: If God visiteth, scourgeth, and assaulteth with trouble and vexation the good and faithful, which are nothing so wicked as we, how shall it then go with us, which have deserved ten, yea, twenty times more grievous punishment than they? (Jer. xxv. xlix. Ezek. ix. Prov. xiii. 1 Pet. iv.)

Mark and behold. I begin to plague the city whereunto my name is given: think ye then that ye shall escape free and unpunished? ye shall not go quit and free. (Jer. xxv.)

If this be done in the green wood, what shall be done in the dry? (Luke, xxiv.) It is time that judgment begin at the house of God: seeing then it beginneth first with us, what an end shall they have which believe not the Gospel of God! (Matt. xi. 1 Pet. iv. Luke, x. xi.)

An innocent dog that hath not offended, is beaten before the lion; that the lion, when he knoweth that he hath angered and displeased his master, should be put in the more fear. St. Gregory writeth thus: If God striketh those so sore whom he favoureth, how sharply and sore will he strike them which he favoureth not!

The crucified and afflicted Christians do love God the more fervently, forasmuch as in the midst of the cross they feel the sweet comfort that cometh from their heavenly Father, of whose merciful will they cannot doubt nor mistrust.

A dog that is of a good nature, if his master strike him, yet he loveth his master notwithstanding, and fawneth again upon him. A good child, although it be beaten, yet it loveth the father or mother never-

theless, and desireth to have their favour again: even in like manner are the true Christians minded toward their heavenly Father; but such children as be wicked, and of an evil disposition, when they be a little scourged, they run away from their fathers, and murmur against them.

Trouble and affliction is good and profitable to teach men patience, meekness, and lowliness.

THE FOURTEENTH CHAPTER.

Pride is a dangerous thing, whereof cometh no manner of good. Now felicity and prosperity all at pleasure, engendereth pride and contempt of other people; but the cross and affliction engendereth meekness and lowliness, that a man is not too proud in his own conceit, but is content that other be esteemed as well as he, confessing himself to have need of their help and counsel.

Likeas men use to clip and to cut shorter the feathers of birds or other fowls, when they begin to fly too high or too far from them: even so doth God diminish our riches, possessions, estimation, honour, authority, and power, that we should not pass our bounds, and glory too much of such gifts. Likeas the body, when it is wearied and consumed with labour and travail, desireth ease and rest, that it may lie still: even so the soul, being laden and oppressed with trouble and affliction, is brought to a narrow issue, and then it hasteth after rest and quietness, and nothing vexeth it less than pride.

Nebuchadnezzar did glory of his power, victorious acts, and costly buildings, and was wonderfully proud of them; but after his fall and adversity he learned to ascribe all praise, honour, and glory unto God. (Dan. iv.) Paul confesseth that a buffet was given him of the messenger of Satan, that he should not

glory out of measure in the abundance of revelation. (2 Cor. xii.) Experience itself teacheth, that when rich, famous, notable, and proud men are robbed and spoiled of their goods, they are afterward more humble, meek, and gentle; for then they perceive the uncertainty and unstableness of temporal and transitory things, and so learn, the longer they live, the less to trust themselves. Therefore trouble and affliction is oft-times as necessary unto men as meat and drink.

The cross, adversity, and affliction make a man soft, tame, patient, sober, loving, and friendly, both towards himself and towards all other also.

A piece of iron or of silver stricken or beaten with a hammer waxeth broader, thinner, smoother, and softer: even so the stony and hard hearts of men, through heaviness and adversity, are made more buxom and pliant, that a man may wind them (as a man might say) even round about his finger.

A curst wild colt hath a snaffle put in his mouth, that he bite not him that handleth him: even so the snaffle of the cross and adversity doth let and hinder us (being froward, furious, and full of spite, malice, and vengeance), that we commit the less wickedness, abomination, and uncharitableness in our lives.

For an example: the furious raging king Manasses was meek, still, and tame enough, after that he was once bound, taken prisoner, and led away captive. (2 Kings, xxi. 2 Chron. xxxiii.)

Paul before Damascus was stricken down as a raging and avenging wolf; but he rose up again a meek lamb. (Acts, ix.)

Trouble and adversity is good to teach men pity, compassion, and patience towards other.

THE FIFTEENTH CHAPTER.

To have pity and compassion of people that are in misery and distress, is a Christian and a necessary virtue; but he that never felt temptation, adversity, or affliction himself, can have but little pity and compassion of other. One sick man can tell the lack and necessity of another, one poor man likewise of another; and also one that is in misery and affliction himself, knoweth the better the grief of another that is in like case.

As for an example: why and for what cause can our High Priest Christ have such pity and compassion upon us miserable wretches, that we dare be bold to come unto him cheerfully without fear, and to look for succour, help, and comfort at his hands? Forsooth, even for this cause and by this means, as saith St. Paul, that he was also tempted, and suffered most bitter pain and grief himself. (Heb. xv.) And very experience doth teach even the self-same thing also. For whosoever hath once lain sick in a spittal-house himself, can have the more compassion of other that are in like case afterwards, and is ever after the more ready and prompt to help those that be in such case.

The noble and precious virtue called patience hath no place to put her head in the time of prosperity. When a man hath been a long season healthful and without any manner of sickness, he cannot take sickness by and by so patiently as he ought to do; and likewise he that never felt any affliction or adversity, whensoever any happen unto him, he is sore vexed with impatientness.

But adversity teacheth men patience, and prac-

tiseth them therein. First, when a man seeth that all goeth backward and against him, and that it will be no better, but rather worse and worse; what doth he, but of this necessity maketh a virtue, and so is content, and at a point, howsoever it goeth with him?

Secondly, when a man is continually used to trouble and affliction, this same use and custom maketh it light and easy unto him, especially considering that God will also help, aid, and comfort him. Paul saith, "Trouble or affliction bringeth patience, and patience bringeth experience, &c." (Rom. v.) The desperate and lost son learned such patience in his misery and affliction, that he said to his father, "Take nor use me not from henceforth as a son, but as an hired servant. I desire no more but that I may remain in thy house." (Luke, xv.) Even so ought we also to suffer all things willingly and patiently, whatsoever they be, so that God will not banish and put us out of his house.

Unto that noble heathen man Socrates did his curst and shrewd wife serve for this use and purpose, that he learning patience at home, might the better suffer, and the more patiently bear the people that he had to do with abroad.

Trouble and adversity maketh men hard and strong, and teacheth them soberness and temperance.

THE SIXTEENTH CHAPTER.

An ox getteth himself harder hoofs upon rough, stubble, and crabbed ground, and is able to draw and to labour better, than if he were fed in rank pasture. Those children that are nursed by fostermen's fires are for the most part more hard and strong than they which are daintily brought up in

all excess, and wantonness, and superfluity, in their own fathers' houses.

Even so the wits and minds of men, through pleasure and abundance, wax tender and weak, and effeminate and wild; but being restrained through some painful necessity and affliction, they wax harder, stronger, and more manly and sober. For an example: the dear holy Apostles, the more persecution and affliction they had, the more bold, strong, and constant were they, as the Acts of the Apostles do testify throughout.

Paul saith, "I am content and think myself well in infirmities, in rebukes, in persecutions, in anguishes, for Christ's sake; for when I am in such weakness, then am I strong." (2 Cor. xii.) The physician, when he perceiveth that his patient will eat over-much, and will wax too fat, he measureth and restraineth him, and by breaking somewhat from him he restoreth him to his health again, and so saveth him: even so, when we do shamefully misuse wine, corn, bread, and drink, and other gifts and creatures of God, to maintain drunkenness, surfeiting, excess, and riot, then doth God punish us with hunger, dearth, penury, and with other plagues, that we should learn thereby to be temperate, and to keep measure, and to use his benefits thankfully. It is said, the hour of punishment and of correction maketh us to forget all manner of pleasure and lust. (Eccles. xi.) As David soon forgot his lusty pleasures and wantonness utterly, when Absalom drave him out of his kingdom. (1 Sam. xiii.)

Trouble and adversity teacheth men to contemn, despise, and defy the world, and to be diligent and fervent in all godliness and virtue.

THE SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER.

The cross and adversity taketh from us all love of the world, and draweth away all manner of dangerous and delicious lusts and pleasures of this transitory life. We would fain be rich, but God giveth us poverty; we desire health of body, but God giveth us sickness, and so nurtureth and nurseth us in misery and with affliction, that we can no more tell what a delicious and tender pleasant life in this world meaneth; and thus begin we to contemn and loath all transitory things, and to desire another, better, more precious, and eternal life, where all manner of misery shall have an end.

He that taketh a journey in hand, and goeth into a strange country, when he cometh into a pleasant town, where he meeteth merry company and good companions, peradventure he spendeth away the time, and tarrieth too long among them, and so forgetteth his household and things at home. But if one hard mischance after another happen unto him, then he maketh the more haste home again to his wife and children, where he hath more rest and quietness.

Even so when these transitory things, as riches, health, beauty, much profit, honour, and dignity happen unto us, if we will once gape upon them and delight so much in them, that we do the less regard and esteem the heavenly life; then will God make the way rough and crabbed unto us here in this life, that we should not take and esteem this transitory life in this world for our right natural country, towards the which we take our journey.

For example: the children of Israel had little l
to sing and to play upon any pleasant instrumen
when they sat as prisoners by the rivers in Babylo
(Psal. cxxvii.)

And this may a man see and prove now-a-days
those that are in any dangerous sickness, or in a
hard prison, or in any anguish and misery, who b
fore were too fond upon eating, drinking, galla
apparel, dancing, toying, playing, and gaming, or up
such-like worldly felicity. For the cross and his he
viness wipe away and lick off all such things as clea
as the hot sun licketh and melteth away the snow.

Furthermore, they that be poor and in distre
and heaviness, are always readier to forsake th
world, and are more desirous to depart hence to Go
than those that have riches, health, and felicity
pleasure. And therefore St. Austin, in his bo
De Symbolo, writeth thus: "Behold, how G
hath replenished and filled the world with so ma
afflictions and with so much troublesome adversit
It is bitter, and yet it is loved; it is ruinous, a
ready to fall, and yet it is inhabited. O thou n
dear darling world, what should we do, if thou we
sweet, stable, and permanent, seeing we do th
now! O thou foul and unclean world, if thou a
bitter, and yet deceivest and beguilest us, who
wouldest thou not deceive and beguile, if thou we
sweet!"

And the cross doth not only drive and set us fo
ward to all manner of virtue, and putteth us in mi
of all godliness, but it quickeneth and kindleth al
a diligence and fervency in us to proceed and go fo
ward in all goodness lustily, stoutly, earnestly, ma
fully, and not litherly or faintly.

Likeas a man sometime must spur his horse, a
though he be a good and quick horse, that he ma
go and run the faster and speedier: even so we ca

not go forward in our vocation and calling so speedily nor so well as we ought to do, except we be pricked forward with sharp spurs and scourges. When the master striketh his slothful, dull, and sleepy servant, then he laboureth the more diligently, and is more profitable unto him: even so we all for the most part of us have the nature of such slothful and sluggish servants, which will do nothing well, except we be driven by compulsion, and even whipped and beaten unto it.

Although those be evil servants which will do nothing unless a man be ever upon their bones with a cudgel, yea and then will do nothing well neither; yet notwithstanding must a man never cease driving and forcing of them, until such time as they begin to amend and to serve willingly and with a good heart: even so although no compelled service, that is violently wrung out of a man, doth please God, yet the continual inuring and exercising in goodness, may make it at length so pleasant and delectable unto us, that we shall have delight therein.

Trouble and adversity is also an occasion and help of much transitory quietness and commodity in this world.

THE EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER.

Hitherto have we taught of the spiritual profit of adversity, whereby the soul of man is endued and garnished with wisdom and all kinds of virtue: now let us see what transitory commodities do oft accompany or follow after trouble and adversity. Such as dwell in valleys and in deep and low habitations, are not lightly hurt by any lightning: even so that state of life that is low and mean, keepeth and maintaineth itself most sure and with least danger against all manner of storms.

Likens precious and costly spices and odours do smell and savour best when they are bruised, broken, or set on fire: even so the praise and commendations of virtue through continual use and exercise, and through adversity, is spread wide abroad, and made manifest and known every where.

For an example: what an excellent and singular honour, renown, praise, and commendation was it unto Abraham at length, that he went out of his natural country into banishment, and there suffered great trouble and much adversity! (Gen. xx.) The children of Israel were sore kept under and oppressed in Egypt; but they were led out and set free again with such glory and renown as never was heard or read the like.

The banishment of Ulysses for the space of ten years was an occasion unto him to exercise and practise his wisdom and other virtues in the mean time; so that he obtained thereby an immortal name among all the heathen.

And to speak after the common practice and experience, there is no exceeding joy or triumph, but some sorrow or heaviness goeth before it. The spring-time following and coming immediately upon the rough and hard winter, is the more acceptable, pleasant, and welcome unto us.

In battle, the sorer our enemies do assault and fight against us, the greater is the joy and triumph at the victory and overthrow of them.

He that hath kept his bed a long time, and lain sick a great season, afterward, when he is recovered, health is a more precious treasure unto him, than ever it was before that he felt what sickness was; and also such as mourned and were sorry for his sickness, do receive an infinite joy and an exceeding rejoicing at his restoring unto health again.

Even so doth God deprive us for a time of riches,

wealth, prosperity, our natural country, bodily health, and such other transitory benefits, for this purpose, that when he giveth them again unto us, we may the more rejoice and be the gladder of them.

An example have we of the lost sheep and of the lost and desperate son; for the which there was such joy at the finding of them again, as never had been if they had not been lost; whereas before there was never thought nor sorrow taken for them. (Matt. xviii. Luke, xv.) Now in case we never find nor have restored unto us again here in this world that thing which we have lost, yet our conscience is both quiet and also joyful in God. Which quietness and joy far exceedeth all the pleasures of the whole world.

In summer, to be short, after trouble and adversity, followeth all manner of goodness and felicity: first, forasmuch as God here in this world doth plentifully and richly reward and recompense godliness, patience, and godly constancy: secondly, forasmuch as this is the nature and property of God, to throw down, that he may raise up again, and to bring unto death's door, that he may restore unto life again. (Deut. xxxii. 1 Sam. ii. Psalm cxii. Wisd. xvi.)

Roses, which are the most pleasant flowers, do spring and wax out of thorns: even so of hard and great travail springeth the most pleasant fruit.

The little bee gathereth the sweetest honey out of the most bitter blooms and flowers: even so men of wisdom and understanding receive much utility and fruit of the present sorrow and affliction.

For example: Joseph was hated of his brethren, and sold of them into a strange and foreign country, which banishment of his turned to his great honour, wealth, and profit; forasmuch as he was lord and governor over the whole kingdom of Egypt. The more the great tyrant Pharaoh went about to op-

How and in what respect trouble and adversity can be so profitable, and of such virtue, seeing that the unfaithful do wax more obstinate and perverse through trouble and afflictions.

THE TWENTIETH CHAPTER.

Hitherto have we entreated of the corporal and spiritual, temporal and eternal, profit and commodity which Christian men receive by the cross, trouble, and adversity. Which is not to be taken after this sense, as though the cross or adversity of itself, and of her own nature, could bring and work such high commodities; for then should Pharaoh and other wicked persons, in their trouble and adversity, have been converted and saved also. But the spirit of God resteth secretly, and lieth hid in the faithful, under the shadow and bark of the cross, and purgeth, reformeth, comforteth, and strengtheneth them, and worketh all these foresaid commodities in them.

Now likeas the holy Scripture attributeth a certain reward unto our good works, which works, notwithstanding it is not we that work them, but the Lord, which useth us as instruments of his: even so is the cross an instrument of God, whereby he subdueth our flesh, keepeth us in the school of correction, and forceth us, as it were, by violence, from evil to goodness. (Philip. ii. 2 Cor. i.)

Now, wheresoever the Holy Ghost will take his resting-place, for the most part he sendeth before his purveyors and forerunners, which are sorrow and affliction, trouble and adversity; that they may vex, cumber, humble, meeken, and utterly overthrow and bring down the heart of man, whereby the Holy Ghost may find the more place, and so work all goodness therein.

And therefore whatsoever is hitherto spoken, spe-

cially of the spiritual commodities of the cross and adversity, it is and so remaineth all truth; so that it be understood of the faithful and godly, which are endued with the spirit of God, to whom all things turn to their comfort and salvation.

And now on the contrary part, for the better understanding of the matter, I will declare and shew what the cross worketh in the unfaithful and ungodly, which lack the spirit of God. The unfaithful do ascribe their prosperity and felicity to their own wisdom, working, and policy, and not to God; and their misfortune and adversity they ascribe to blind fortune, as though fortune had a certain power to work of herself, without the working of God.

Take Sennacherib, the lord and ruler of the Assyrians, for an example; which by the sufferance of God brought the whole world in a manner in subjection: which thing he ascribed to his own power and policy, and not to God; for he did both hate and blaspheme the very true God of Israel. But shortly after did God send an angel, which slew in one night an hundred fourscore and five thousand of his men. And here would he not confess that it was God that did it; but peradventure he thought that it was fortune, mischance, or some other thing that was the occasion. (2 Kings, xix.)

For if he had acknowledged this punishment to have come and been of God, he would not afterward have worshipped and done his devotion in the idolaters' temple of the false god and idol Nisroch, as he did. In like manner, when any misfortune happeneth to the ungodly, they put all the fault only in the next middle or mean, that they fancied themselves; or else, very wickedly, they ascribe it unto all those that are not of their faith and sect.

As for example: Whenas it rained not for the space of three years and six months, in the time of

Ahab, the king of Israel, the king imputed the cause unto the godly prophet Elias. (1 Kings, xviii.) Likewise in our time, when any tempest hurteth the corn, wine, and other fruits of the earth, many there are that cry, This may we thank this new learning for, and this new-fangled faith, &c.: as though they themselves were so holy, that God durst not, or ought not, to punish them. It can be none but the poor sheep that disturbeth the water, that the wolf cannot drink; whereas, indeed, the poor sheep cometh but only to the brink, and at the very brink of the river drinketh.

Yea, even they also which have some taste of the Gospel, cannot well have adversity patiently, nor confess themselves guilty; but would fain shift the fault from themselves, and would lay it either upon the rulers or the preachers, or else upon some other thing.

And although their sins be an exceeding heap, and that God would fain drive them to repentance by punishing and chastising of them, yet cannot they consider the heavy burden of their sin, nor spy the clear day of the righteousness of God, which can suffer no sin unpunished.

And, therefore, forasmuch as they will not take this small and light punishment thankfully, but would go free, and have no manner of plague at all if they might choose, for that cause doth God send unto them afterward plagues and painful punishments by heaps; so that it happeneth unto them as it did unto the ass, whose skin being put over a drum or a tabor, as he wished and desired, was beaten and stricken more than ever it was before, as Æsop saith in his fables.

And forasmuch as, through incredulity and lack of faith (which is the mother of all blasphemies and abomination), they will not consider nor call to re-

membrance who it is that hath laid his hand upon them; or else, knowing that it is the hand of God, yet will not take it in good worth, nor amend no otherwise but as sour ale in summer: by this means they become like unto desperate children, which will neither turn and amend with threatening, nor yet with beating.

And therefore the Scripture testifieth very well, that one sharp word of reproach doth more good to him that hath understanding, than a hundred stripes to a fool. (Prov. xvii.)

As, for example, the longer and the sharper that God punished Pharaoh, the more obstinately did he swerve and decline from him. The wicked and ungodly do not only take no manner of occasion to reform and amend their lives by their cross and sorrow, but also they pour out all manner of impatientness, bitterness, and spiteful poison, against the righteousness of God, saying, their cross is greater than their transgression, and that they have wrong, and are punished too sore.

As for an example of this, we have one of the thieves hanging upon the cross with Clirist, which blasphemed Christ very spitefully, saying, If thou be Christ, help both thyself and us. (Luke, xxiii.) By the which words he declared, that he judgeth himself even as worthy of help as Christ, the Son of God; even as though God must forget all his righteousness, and help by and by every blasphemous wretch, and look through the fingers upon the wicked world, which is one of the greatest blasphemies unto God that can be.

When they have tumbled and wallowed in their misery (for God will not help them, because they have no trust nor confidence in him), and have sought help by creatures both in heaven and earth, and found none; then beginneth their cross and ad-

versity to open their eyes so wide, that they must needs spy and acknowledge the wrath and hand of God over them. And then doth this outward cross and sorrow even kindle in them an inward trembling and doubtfulness, out of the which springeth the highest desperation; insomuch that they cry out to the devil to help them, if God will not. (1 Sam. xxviii. 2 Sam. xvii.)

For although they be brought to the knowledge of their sin, and also to sorrow and repentance for the same, through the cross, as Cain and Judas also were, yet have they no trust nor confidence that the same sin shall be taken from them and forgiven them, but rave and rage, and give themselves over to the devil, and so depart wretchedly out of this world. (Gen. iv. Matt. xxvii.)

Of whose destruction yet, and confusion, these commodities do ensue: first, that they must of force cease any longer to make any disturbance by the wicked example of their life in the church and regiment of God: secondarily, that they which remain alive after them may learn, by their terrible example, to repent and amend by times.

So that by this, that we have hitherto declared, every Christian man may know his trouble and adversity, whether he be a martyr of God or of the devil, and what greater profit and singular commodity all those that are God's martyrs do receive by the means of their cross, trouble, and martyrdom.

Fellow-companions in trouble and adversity.

THE TWENTY-FIRST CHAPTER.

Why should any man shew and behave himself impatiently in suffering the thing which he can by no policy, counsel, nor lawful means avoid, alter, turn, remedy, or amend? He that is wise maketh

of such necessity, as can by no remedy be avoided, a very virtue.

Now trouble and adversity doth so happen unto man, that he cannot help nor avoid it, though he would never so fain. Man must needs suffer trouble and adversity upon earth, there is no remedy.

And again, why should any man without measure cumber himself about that thing which is common unto all men, or to the most part, and not to him alone? By natural reason that burden is lighter which many do bear together.

Now is the life of man a very miserable and lamentable thing. When another man prospereth so that all things go well with him, yet it fareth with him even as with a bloom or a flower in the field, which flourisheth for a while, and is pleasant and delectable to look upon, within a little while after it drieth up and fadeth away.

As long as we are upon earth, we are, as it were, in a camp or a siege, where we must be skirmishing and fighting, and know neither who shall break out and give the onset against us, nor where, nor how, nor when. Sometime a man is attacked and assaulted in his body, in his goods, in his name and fame. Sometime happen unto him common mischances; as dearth, pestilence, war, which sometime continue very long, so that he may well say, no misfortune cometh alone, but bringeth one or other companion with it.

If not at that present, yet hereafter it may; and there is no misfortune so great, but may happen and light upon any of us all. At least ways we must all look for death, as it was said long ago unto our first parents. (Gen. iii.)

To rehearse examples it were but folly and superfluous, forasmuch as there is no man but may lawfully complain of one thing or other; and although

some things happen after our minds, yet it is not without some sour sauce.

And specially at this present, how are all Christ's realms compassed with sorrows, troubles, and miseries on every side! Look but upon our own country: there is neither good nor bad, godly nor ungodly, but hath one cross or other.

And although some there be that can shift for a while, and can make provision for themselves for a time by craft, subtilty, and dissimulation, or by some falsehood in fellowship, as they call it, yet they bring themselves at length into the highest danger, confusion, and shame, both in this world and in the world to come.

And seeing that all the troubles and adversities in this world are a thousand times lighter and easier, yea, nothing in the respect of the eternal unquenchable fire, which is prepared and already kindled for the unfaithful and wicked enemies of God, all faithful and godly persons ought to bear and suffer their transitory afflictions and adversities the more patiently, willingly, and thankfully, considering and remembering all the dear beloved friends of God, which were wonderfully vexed and plagued of their enemies. (Rom. viii. 2 Cor. iv. v. 1 Cor. iii. Mat. xxv. Isai. xxx. Dan. vii.)

Abraham of the Chaldees, Lot of the Sodomites, Isaac of Ishmael, Jacob of Esau, Moses of his people, David of Saul, and of his own son. As for Job, he had not one drop of blood in his body unconsumed. (Gen. xii. xix. xxxii. xxxiii. Num. xx. 1 Sam. xv. Job. ii.)

John Baptist, the holiest that ever was naturally born of a woman, was without any manner of form or order of law, right, or reason, beheaded in the prison, as though God had known nothing at all of him. (Matt. xiv. Mark, vi.)

We have many thousand fellow-martyrs and companions of our misery and adversity, in respect of whose imprisonment, racking, chains, fire, wild beasts, and other means, wherewith they are tormented, all that we suffer is but a wind or a pastime.

But specially this is to be considered above all other in our trouble and adversity, that we have Jesus Christ for a fellow and companion with us therein, which suffered upon earth in his body all manner of smart and pain. (Isai. liii. Matt. xxvii. Mark, xv.)

Now is not the servant above the master. What reason were it that the natural Son of God, being utterly innocent, should be so cruelly intreated and mishandled; and we which are his children, not by nature, but by adoption and election, and in all points guilty, should escape quiet and free? (Matt. x. John, i. Rom. viii. 1 Cor. i. v.)

Therefore, now, whosoever is ashamed of the cross, and aggrieved therewith, the same is ashamed and aggrieved to have Christ for his fellow and companion, and therefore shall the Lord Jesus Christ be ashamed of him again at the latter day. (Gal. iv. Eph. i.)

THE SECOND PART OF THIS BOOK.

By what natural means or ways trouble and adversity may be qualified, eased, and overcome.

THE TWENTY-SECOND CHAPTER.

First and foremost, no man ought to meddle with other men's matters, which appertain nothing unto him, nor to cast himself into peril and danger without any need. For that were as much as to tempt

God, and were clean contrary to the examples both of our Saviour Christ, and also of the holy Apostles; which by the commandment of Christ did sometime flee and avoid perils and dangers. (Matt. x.) But a man cannot always honestly and conveniently avoid them.

Therefore, for the second point, likeas a waterman will never let out his sail so far but that he may soon pull it in again; even so every man, as long as all things stand well and upright with him, let him foresee and prepare in time for the contrary.

For the which cause the Lord did tell his disciples of his cross, death, and passion before, that they, seeing him suffer anguish and sorrow, might the less quail and shrink at it. In like manner did he also declare before unto them, that they must be persecuted and suffer trouble, that they might look for it, and be the more hardy, bold, and strong, in persecution, whensoever it should happen. (Matt. xvi. xvii. xx. Mark, viii. ix. x. Luke, ix. xviii.)

Thirdly: a great weight and substance of the matter dependeth and hangeth upon this point, that a man conceive a right judgment and opinion of all things that happen and chance. For every thing appeareth so unto us, even as we in our thoughts and minds do fancy, imagine, and conceive it.

If a man esteem worldly goods for a light thing (as they ought in very deed to be esteemed), then can he forbear the same with the less grief and pain. Contrariwise, if he make a god of them, and esteem them highly, then he trembleth, quaketh, and taketh on unmeasurably, when he is spoiled and deprived of them.

In like manner in other things, a man oft-times fancieth and imagineth in himself that he can abide and suffer no manner of misfortune; when, if it were well considered, that present evil which is so

feared should soon seem but a trifle and no misfortune, but rather a blessing or a good turn. And though it be not light and small indeed, yet let it be esteemed and taken for light, forasmuch as it cometh alone, and bringeth not two, three, or an hundred companions with it.

For it is a wonder and a singular miracle of God, that among such infinite and innumerable perils as the world and Satan have ready prepared, and even bent over us, we are not utterly headlong overwhelmed, and suddenly destroyed of them all. (1 Pet. v.) And yet God sendeth and mixeth always some goodness and comfort between.

As thou hast peradventure a sickly and diseased body, but yet thy mind and heart is sound and strong. Or thou art vexed and cumbered in thy mind, yet hast thou an whole or a sound body. Or peradventure thou art robbed, spoiled, and deprived of thy temporal and worldly goods, and other transitory pleasures; yet hast many and divers Christian virtues and singular gifts of grace; where is a thousand times more felicity than in all health, beauty, strength, riches, friendship, wife, children, honour, dignity, or power; for this is not written in vain: O Lord, the earth is full of thy goodness. (Psal. civ.)

Here should an heart and mind that is vexed and cumbered cease and leave off from the consideration of the present misery and affliction, and call to remembrance what other benefits of God do yet remain, or what other we have had, or at least what are yet to come and to happen to all faithful Christians. And therefor there is an old common proverb, good to be remembered: In adversity remember prosperity; and again, in prosperity think upon adversity.

Again: oft-times many a loss and mischance weareth lightly away again, and is soon remedied another way. As, if some special friend of thine be taken

of help, aid, and comfort, and performeth it. And I will also shew by what means, and in what measure, he worketh the same.

God seeth and looketh upon us, how we stick and wrestle in peril and danger, and he knoweth best of all how and when to remedy, help, and deliver us, that his glory and our wealth may be most furthered. And he is not one that only knoweth all things, but he is also almighty, and can work and bring to pass all things. And if our affliction and adversity wax and increase from day to day, the longer the worse; yet is God always a thousand times mightier and stronger than it.

But so mighty cannot God be, but he is as gracious and merciful also, and hath a greater lust and desire to shew and declare his true heart and love towards us, than we can wish or desire. And although he seemeth in our sight to take utterly away all manner of light of his grace out of our eyes, yet he remaineth gracious and favourable towards us privily, and, as it were, in secret; and certainly he will not forsake us, give us over, nor suffer us to stick and continue in such heaviness and danger.

And it is not our good works, merits, and deserts, that move him thereunto, but the infinite and endless merit and desert of Jesus Christ, which hath purchased unto us, through his death and passion, remission of our sins, the heavenly gifts of the Holy Ghost, and mitigation or easement of our troubles and adversities.

And it is not possible that any man that taketh hold of Christ and hath him, can be oppressed or overthrown either of sin, the devil, the world, or of all the creatures in heaven and earth; but shall continue and remain for ever under the wing and defence of God. (Rom. viii. Psal. xxxiv. Prov. xxiv.)

Furthermore, Almighty God, being pacified and

reconciled with mankind through Jesus Christ, hath promised both unto the children of Israel, and to all that be in any distress and vexation, through his ministers, evermore, from time to time, help, succour, and comfort.

The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a contrite and broken heart, and will help them that have sorrowful and humble minds. (Psal. cxlvii.)

He desireth me, and hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him. I am by him and with him in his trouble; I will bring him out, and set him in honour, &c. (Psal. xci.) O, how comfortable a thing, and what an high honour is it, to have such a mighty and so faithful a fellow-companion, which will so lovingly stand by us and aid us!

Now as for the time, God will help in due and convenient season, and we must suffer him to take his time and leisure. For likeas God seeth the trouble and affliction of his church, how it is vexed, even so hath he appointed a just time, how long he will suffer the wicked to take their pleasure, and how far they shall go and attempt. And when that is expired, no longer nor further can they go. As the captivity of Babylon was appointed to continue seventy years, and then to cease.

Yea, when the sorrow and heaviness is at the highest, and every one of us thinketh that God hath utterly forsaken us, then is God most ready to help us, and his aid is most nigh unto us. Yea, and to speak certainly as the truth is, God comforteth us continually in the midst of all our troubles and heaviness, and is never from us. (Psal. xlvi. Matthew, xxviii. John, xiv.)

For the faithful man hath in his heart the spirit of God, the fountain and spring of the heavenly water, of the which he is evermore moistened, revived, and refreshed, to his singular comfort. (John, iv.)

And the more that our sorrow and adversity augmenteth and increaseth, the greater aid and assistance shall we find and perceive. God will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength, but together with your temptation he will make a way out, that ye shall be able to bear it. (1 Cor. x. 2 Pet. ii.)

By these words doth Paul teach very comfortably, that God will not tempt, test, nor assay us harder nor sorer than we may away with, and be able to bear.

As the afflictions of Christ are plentiful and abundant in us, even so is the consolation through Christ also plentiful and abundant. (2 Cor. i.)

For example: the holy Apostles were so strengthened, that they rejoiced that they might suffer any thing for Christ's sake. (Acts, iv. v.) And at this present day God sendeth more comfort than all devils and all the world are able to send heaviness, sorrow, and discomfort.

Likeas a captain in war giveth his soldiers that are under him a great courage by speaking manfully and comfortably unto them; even so God will have his comfortable word daily to be published and proclaimed abroad, to the intent to encourage his soldiers that fight under his banner. And yet he is not so satisfied, that we should be encouraged with bare and simple words, but he himself is present by us with his Spirit; which Spirit, as a sure warrant and an earnest penny, certifieth and assureth our hearts of the grace, favour, and aid of God. (Matt. xxviii. Rom. viii.)

And thus he comforteth and maketh our hearts rejoice unfeignedly, and giveth us wisdom, boldness, and strength, to skirmish and fight against all manner of enemies, as well ghostly as bodily.

Although in winter the trees seem and appear not only unfruitful, but also utterly dead, yet the sun with his coming, when the winter hath taken her

leave, doth so mollify, resolve, and warm both the earth itself and the trees, that they bud out again, wax green, and bring forth fruit: even so, when the faithful are esteemed and seem as though they were deprived and destitute of all help, and utterly forsaken, yet doth the heavenly Spirit of God lighten, warm, and strengthen their hearts to all goodness.

Likeas the young infant is not able to go of himself for very tenderness and lack of strength, but must be sustained, holden up, and led with the hand of the nurse; and likeas a sick woman, weakened with much and long sickness, is not able to go one step, but some whole and strong woman must take her under the arm, guide, and lead her, that she may go with them: even so are we not able to go of ourselves.

There is some kind of sorrow and martyrdom that we tremble and quake for fear when we do but hear of it, much less were we able to suffer and to bear it; but God with his mighty hand and present power strengtheneth, sustaineth, and preserveth us. The Spirit succoureth and helpeth our weakness and infirmities. (Rom. viii.)

And if the devil through his spirit doth drive and move the people, that they are ready and willing to all wickedness and abomination, though it cost them their lives; why should not God through his Spirit make us as lusty and willing to all goodness, whatsoever sorrow or affliction we suffer?

Sometime God mitigateth and easeth the punishments, that we may the more easily overcome them. The captain giveth sometime his soldiers liberty to take their rest, ease, and pastime, that they may somewhat refresh themselves, and afterward fight the more manly and freshly: even so our spiritual Captain granteth oft-times unto his Christians, a certain recreation, ease, and rest, whereby they may refresh

and revive themselves, that they may afterward handle themselves the more valiantly in their spiritual affairs.

And sometime he dischargeth us utterly of all manner of trouble and unquietness, and restoreth all our losses and hindrances again, and delivereth us, to our singular pre-eminence, praise, and commendation, and keepeth and saveth us from all manner of misery and unquietness in time to come. And to perform this thing God useth not only his Spirit, but also other means; as the angels, the stars, the elements, beasts, men, and all manner of creatures.

Likeas a man of war hath a lust and a courage to fight, having divers valiant servants about him, which will suffer him to take no wrong; even so the holy angels do compass us about and defend us, that in all manner of affliction and adversity we are bold, and able to stand and continue valiantly. (Psal. xxxiv. 2 Kings, xix.; Joshua, v.)

Elias said to his boy, Be not afraid; for they that are with us are more than they that are with them, &c. (2 Kings, vi.) The Red Sea and the flood of Jordan withdrew themselves, that the children of Israel might go over dry, and never wet their feet. (Exod. xiv. Josh. iii.)

The sun and moon stood still for Joshua's pleasure, and never moved until such time as he had slain the five kings. (Josh. x.)

Elias was wonderfully fed of the ravens. (1 Kings, xvii.)

Through the hand of a woman the Israelites were delivered from a terrible and cruel host of their enemies. And commonly God comforteth and delivereth men through other men. (Esther, vi. vii. viii., Judith, viii.)

And specially this is a comfortable thing, that all faithful and holy Christians upon earth have fellow-

ship and participation together in all manner of things, both good and bad, as well one as another; and therefore whensoever I suffer any smart, pain, or sorrow, both Christ and all true Christians suffer with me. For the Lord saith not, They were hungry and thirsty, &c. but he saith, I was hungry, and I was thirsty. (Isa. lviii. Matt. xxv.)

And furthermore, the whole congregation of Christ doth help me to bear my burden. For they that are the members of one body, take care and sorrow one for another: if the sole of the foot be hurt, doth it not grieve the whole body? (Gal. vi.) Now St. Paul calleth all Christian men one body, and also one bread and one cup. (1 Cor. vi.) And therefore all other faithful Christians have compassion, and are heavy and sorrowful for me; and whatsoever is light unto them, is also light unto me.

Take a manifest example by the godly Prophet Jeremy; which complained sore, and was in much distress, when he had no other cause, but that the Jews, his countrymen, were so evil handled and vexed.

Examples of the help and aid of God.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH CHAPTER.

To this end and purpose ought we to consider and to call unto mind the examples both of the Old and New Testament. If God had ever forsaken his faithful elect in their trouble and need, then might we have a just and lawful excuse to mistrust him; but forasmuch as none that ever sought upon God was forsaken of him (Psalm xxxvii.), ought not that to comfort and strengthen us, that he will also mercifully stand by us in all our need and necessity?

The godly man Noah, his sons and sons' wives, were preserved of God through an ark or a ship,

whenas the whole world beside was destroyed with the sin-flood. Now if we with Noah believe in the blessed Seed, so shall we also with him be reputed for virtuous and good before God, and be preserved as he was. (Gen. iii.)

Lot was also delivered from the plague and punishment of the Sodomites. (Gen. xix.)

Jacob was fain to flee from his brother Esau, and to suffer great wrong and injury of his father-in-law, Laban; and yet he was nevertheless blessed and preserved of God. (Gen. xxxii.)

Joseph being sold of his brethren, and because he would not commit filthiness and abomination with his master's wife, was cast into prison; but God delivered him, and exalted him to high honour. (Gen. xxxviii. xxxix. xli.)

King Pharaoh threatened Moses very sore, and the children of Israel also themselves would have stoned him to death: but God preserved him under his protection. (Exod. xiv. xvii.)

Unto the children of Israel God gave water out of a hard rock of stone, and bread from heaven, and quails and other necessary things, for the comfort of their necessity, wonderfully in the wilderness. (Numb. xx. Exod. xvi. xvii.) How graciously did God preserve king David and Hezekiah in their trouble and necessity, and also the Prophets Ezekiel and Daniel among the heathen; and likewise defended he Judas Macchabæus, with other at that time. (1 Sam. xix. xxiv. xxvi. xxviii. 2 Chron. xxxii. Dan. vi. 1 Mac. ii.)

Forty men had made a solemn vow, neither to eat nor drink till they had killed Paul; but God did not suffer it to come to pass. (Acts, xxiii. Rom. xv.) These and other like examples are written for this purpose, that we should give like judgment, and have like opinion of other like examples, which are not expressed.

Beside this, it is also evident, and hath been marked, that some time such as have been the most timorous, weak, and fearful, afterward, being strengthened in faith through the might and power of God, have suffered martyrdom, banishment, and death, most willingly and joyfully; and also have comforted boldly such as have suffered with them, even against the nature and disposition of the flesh of man. (Acts, iv. v. Rom. viii. 2 Cor. iv. Psalm xliv.)

Yea, there is not one of us all but have oft felt and proved the help, protection, and aid of God. For who can make his boast that he himself did help any thing at all to the matter, when he was formed in his mother's womb? of the which matter read David: Who hath kept us hitherto while we have been asleep. (Psalm cxix, cxxvii.)

Who hath sorrowed and taken care for us, when we have laboured or taken our pastime, or else done some other thing, and never took thought the least moment for ourselves? It may well happen that God may sometime suffer us to swim, but he will never suffer us to sink or drown.

To be short: if there were not so many examples before our eyes, if we would but look a little backward, and consider how we have passed and avoided the time that is past, which surely hath been always full of great perils and dangers; whether we will or will not, we shall be compelled to confess and grant, that the merciful goodness of God hath borne us in his bosom, and hath preserved us from divers dangers and perils, over and above all that ever we could think, imagine, or devise.

Now if God hath thus holpen and delivered us many and divers ways, without any labour or study of ourselves, yea, without any manner of care or sorrow of our parts, whenas we neither knew nor thought that he was present with us, we must needs

be very obstinate, dull, and mad, if we do not from henceforth, in any manner of trouble or necessity, cast our sorrow upon him, and suffer him to care for us; but we in such case, oh shame! begin to doubt and fear lest he hath already forsaken us, or will from henceforth give us over. (Psalm xxxv. Matt. vi. Luke, xii. 1 Pet. v.)

Item, if God of his natural love, beneficialness, and free liberality giveth here in this transitory life health, strength, riches, wealth, friendship, power, authority, honour, and such-like, even unto the wicked and ungodly; why should not we determine and conclude upon the same, that he will deal and distribute a thousand times higher and greater benefits unto the godly and right faithful Christians, although they neither see nor receive those gifts at that present instant?

Besides this the Lord also comforteth us: if God take care for the fowls of the air and the flowers of the field, and provideth nourishment and clothing for them; truly he will deal as faithfully with us men, which excel many ways the fowls of the air and grass of the field. (Luke, xii. Matt. vi. x.)

THE THIRD AND LAST PART OF THIS BOOK.

We must direct our faith, hope, and confidence towards God.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH CHAPTER.

Hitherto hath it been declared, that the very right and true help, succour, and comfort resteth in God through Christ, and for his sake; now shall it consequently be taught how we should order and behave ourselves again with faith, hope, prayer, repentance, amendment of life, and patience, that God may par-

ticipate, distribute, and extend his grace and mighty merciful hand towards us.

First of all, although we must utterly despair of all manner of help and succour of man, and can in no wise devise or imagine what or after what sort God will or may help and aid us; yet notwithstanding, we must utterly resist and banish all manner of heavy, sorrowful, and desperate fancies and imaginations of the mind, and give no place unto them, but conceive steadfastly this sure trust and confidence in God, that he both knoweth and will take and hit the right time, measure, and means to help us, and will valiantly and gloriously deliver us.

Let us commit altogether joyfully and boldly without fear unto God, and let his mercy and gracious goodness more rejoice and comfort us, than all the misery and sorrow under heaven, upon earth, or in hell may fear us.

Yea, we need to care and sorrow for nothing so much as for this, that we be not too careful and sorrowful for ourselves, as though God had given over all his care and sorrow for us; for likeas the governor, father, or good man of the house taketh all the care and sorrow upon himself, how he shall find, feed, and sustain his family; and as the household servants ought to love their masters, to have a good trust and opinion of them, and also to labour and to do such service as they are appointed unto, faithfully: even so all manner of care and sorrow for us belongeth unto God, and our parts and duty is no more but to trust and believe in him, and to serve in the vocation and condition of life, whereunto we are all called and appointed of God, faithfully.

Now if God be most victorious and invincible, and his dear beloved Son also an everlasting strength, that can never fail against the devil and the world; and again, both Christ and God himself, through faith,

are ours, and dwell in us (Eph. iii.); then there is no cause why the fearful Christian man should fear neither his own feeble flesh and body, nor his weak and impotent age, nor yet the whole power of the devil, though he be armed and weaponed with a thousand thousand crafts and subtleties. (1 Pet. v.)

For if so be that in God be all manner of joy, blessedness, and felicity, and we through faith do prove and find him a gracious and merciful God unto us, then may we lawfully rejoice in God, even in the midst of the highest sorrow and adversity that can be: witness Psalm xxv. lv. There shall none be confounded and put to shame, that hopeth in thee. Cast thy care and sorrow upon the Lord, and he shall defend and sustain thee. What can be thought or imagined more sweet or comfortable?

For example: the heathenish woman of Canaan, all hope and comfort in the remedy and counsel of man set apart, desireth help and succour of Christ; and although the Lord giveth her at first a rough and sharp answer, yet she is nothing abashed, nor will be so answered. (Matt. xv.)

Even so hold thou on likewise with the heathenish woman, saying and crying still, "O thou Son of David, have mercy upon me." And so shalt thou hear at length this comfortable Gospel and absolution: "Thy faith is great, be it unto thee as thou desirest."

St. Bernard sheweth very comfortably what a faith he had in these godly words: "O Lord, it is much better for me to suffer trouble, so that thou only mayest be by me, than to rule and live pleasantly and costly without thee: it is better and more pleasant unto me to be in a hot, burning, and flaming oven with thee, than even to be in heaven without thee."

And who did ever trust in the Lord, whom he at length forsook? Besides all this, Almighty God com-

mandeth that we should hope, trust, and look for help at his hands; which hope bringeth with her a mitigation and easement of the smart and sorrow. I hope in the Lord, therefore shall I not fall. Hope thou only in God, so shalt thou be holpen. Hope is never confounded nor put to shame. (Psalm xxvi. xxviii. Rom. v.)

Of prayer in trouble and adversity.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH CHAPTER.

The holy Scripture teacheth us in all manner of necessities, as well bodily as ghostly, to call upon God, and to flee unto him. And here doth it profit very much, if one be mindful of another in his prayer.

But what should a man pray for? First and most specially, for remission of his sins; for when we have once obtained of God pardon of our sins, then certainly shall the sickness, adversity, or punishment either clearly cease, or else, through the gracious will and goodness of God, it shall redound to the furtherance of our salvation.

Secondarily, we must also pray either that God will help and deliver us, not after the device and fancy of our own brains, but after such wise as shall seem meet unto his godly wisdom; or else that he will mitigate and ease our pain and punishment, that our weakness may not utterly faint and sink down to the bottom.

Likeas a sick person, although he doubt nothing of the faithfulness, honesty, and tenderness of his physician or surgeon towards him, yet for all that desireth him to handle his wound, and to dress him as easily and tenderly as is possible for him: even so in like manner may we call upon God, that if it be

not against his honour and glory, he will vouchsafe to give some mitigation and easement of the pain.

And specially let us desire of him to grant us strength that we faint not, nor be overcome with the fear or greatness of our sorrow and grief, whereby we might forsake him, and fall into some wickedness; but that we may rather, after the examples of the holy martyrs, suffer death and most intolerable torments, than either to forsake and deny our faith, or else to do any manner of thing against the will of God. (Rom. viii.) And it is very expedient for us to pray with the lost and desperate son, "I am no more worthy from henceforth to be called thy son; make me as one of thy hired servants." (Luke, xv.) I will gladly with all my heart have sorrow and trouble upon earth even as a labouring servant, that goeth for his hire, so that thou wilt but suffer me to dwell and remain in thy house for ever.

But now how should we pray? St. James, in his first chapter, teacheth us, that we should pray in faith without wavering, and nothing doubt but that God doth mercifully hear us. We must continually look upon the promises of God, and have this always before our eyes, that we do not only seek help and remedy at his hands, but also hope and look surely for it, committing both body and soul with a good will unto him. (Matt. xxi. Mark, xi.)

"Call upon me in thy need, and I will help and deliver thee, and so shalt thou praise me: let him call upon me, so will I hear him: I am by him in his trouble, I will deliver him out, and bring him to honour." (Psalm l. xci.)

And again, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever you shall pray for unto the Father in my name (that is to say, in the trust and confidence upon my merits), he shall give it unto you." (John, xiv.) For example: when Moses held up his hands unto

God and prayed, his enemies, the Amalekites, were overcome. (Exod. xvii.) The two blind men which did cry after the Lord, "O Son of David, have mercy upon us," were heard. (Matt. ix.) Of such-like examples are the Gospels full.

Item, in trouble and adversity we ought to praise God, and to give him thanks that he hath not forgotten us, but through his fatherly visitation calleth and draweth us unto him, and graciously helpeth us to bear all manner of burdens: even so did Paul in his adversity praise God. (2 Cor. i.) "Praised be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercy, and God of all consolation, which comforteth us in all our troubles and afflictions."

Repentance and amendment of life in trouble and adversity is necessary.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH CHAPTER.

Now there must go with all this repentance, heaviness, and sorrow for the sins which we have committed in time past, amendment of life, the love of God, the fear of God, all virtue and godliness. Manasseh was sorry and penitent for his wicked life and cruel tyranny, and therefore did God deliver him out of the bands and captivity of the king of Babylon, and restored him again to his kingdom in Israel. (2 Kings, xxi. 2 Chron. xxxiii.) By Jonah was it preached and proclaimed unto the great city of Nineveh, that God should destroy and overthrow it within forty days. The Ninevites believed this proclamation and preaching, and began to repent and amend their lives with a great and a singular humbleness and submission; and so God of his mercy spared them. (Jonah, iii.)

Now is God's merciful heart nothing diminished: if we do as the Ninevites did, he both can and will

pardon and spare us as he did them. (Numb. xi. Isa. l. lix.)

Christian and godly persuasions and examples out of the word of God, to move men unto patience in affliction and adversity.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CHAPTER.

Among all other virtues, in adversity patience is most necessary; not such a patience as to suffer all things to pass, whether they be good or bad, right or wrong, setting all on sixes and sevens; but when we are in trouble and adversity, and can avoid it by no lawful mean, whereas, after the desire and lust of our flesh, we would murmur, forsake, and give over both God and all manner of righteousness; then to resist and strive against our afflictions and sorrowful thoughts, and, as a man would say, to spear up and to captivate and subdue our natural eyes, wit, and reason under and unto the obedience of God, yielding and submitting ourselves unto him, suffering whatsoever it be with a good and ready will, even though it were most bitter and cruel death, rather than we would swerve from the word of God (Luke, ix.); yea and moreover, to praise God, and to give him thanks, that he will vouchsafe so fatherly to visit us, and that he hath not forgotten us:—

This is called a right Christian patience; for it is God's precept and commandment, that we should not murmur or grudge against him when he chasteneth us; but that we should submit ourselves most humbly unto his holy will, and after a certain manner to wish, that is to say, willingly to suffer and bear such punishment and correction, whereby we remain and continue obedient unto his godly righteousness. Murmur not, as certain murmured, and were destroyed of the destroyer. (1 Cor. x. Numb. xxi.)

Wherefore we ought to shew patience in all things, as a point of our duty; and it is a grievous sin to murmur and grudge against the judgment of God, and to resist and strive against God's will. And God doth not only command patience, but also is himself patient and long-suffering; which destroyeth not at once the whoremonger, the extortioner, and other such-like wicked and damnable people, with a lightning or thunderbolt, although his holy and strait righteousness requireth no less. (Deut. xxxii.) He giveth time and space sufficient for the man to repent, and to return to grace again.

Hence Paul saith, Dost thou despise the abundant riches of his goodness, his patience, and long-suffering? Knowest thou not that the goodness and gentleness of God calleth thee to repentance? (Rom. xii.) According unto this godly example, though it be so that we must suffer somewhat against our will, and contrary to our minds and affections, yet should we not murmur and grudge, but amend our lives, and patiently look and wait for better.

And specially the unspeakable fidelity and love of God towards us ought lawfully to move and persuade us to suffer God to work with us even according to his will and pleasure; for by this means we give God this honour, that he doth us no wrong nor injury, but disposeth all things most wisely, and will direct them to a good end.

On the contrary part, the impatient man murmureth and grudgeth against God, and is angry with him, as though his judgments and works were not just and right, forasmuch as the wicked and ungodly live in pomp, pleasure, and all dissoluteness, and the virtuous and godly in poverty, sorrow, and misery. He may peradventure fancy and imagine with himself, that God overchargeth his faithful children, and will

suffer them to remain in peril, necessity, and danger, and will not hear them. (Psalm xxxvii.)

And thus he is so poisoned with bitterness and obstinacy, that he beginneth to hate and to blaspheme God in heaven, and seeketh unlawful means to help and remedy himself: likeas Saul did, *running* after witches and soothsayers. (1 Sam. xxviii.) Wherefore let every Christian man take heed, that no such raving fierceness and bitterness come upon him, or at least that it remain not long by him; but in such temptation let him fight manfully, as in the face and sight of the heavenly Captain, which both seeth and knoweth all things, and also most faithfully rescueth his soldiers, and is, as it were, a fellow and one among them, and will recompense all their labour and travail a thousand fold in the life everlasting.

Moreover, we have an evident and perfect image and spectacle of all patience in our Lord Jesus Christ, as he himself pointed us unto himself, saying, "Whosoever will follow me, let him forsake himself, and take his cross upon his back, and follow me." (Matt. xvi.) When his unspeakable martyrdom and passion began, he prayed, "O Father, if it be possible, take this cup from me; but thy will, and not mine, be done." Where did he ever once murmur or grudge, or cast out so much as one untoward and unpatient word, when he was mocked and scorned, scourged and beaten, and most cruelly misordered and dealt withal? (Matt. xxvi. Mark, xiv. Luke, xxii. John, vi. xviii. Isa. liii.)

Print this well and surely in thy mind, that he did pray upon the cross for his greatest enemies, and said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." (Luke, xxiii. Acts, vii.) If he through his heavenly and divine might and power rid himself of all his pain, sorrow, and danger, and that we in our sorrow, anguish, and necessity had not felt any

heavenly strength nor power from God, then could we not have comforted ourselves at all with our Saviour Jesus Christ. But he would not put off his bitter passion through his almighty power, but rather overcame it through weakness.

Now then if He, whom all angels and creatures in heaven and earth do behold and look upon (Psa. xcvii. Heb. i.), yea, whom they all must serve and fear, doth suffer innocently undeserved, with all patience and meekness, more than ever any Christian man was attempted with, it ought lawfully to make even a heart of stone or iron to yearn and melt, and to take these small afflictions well deserved, most patiently and willingly, and to suffer and bear them most meekly.

And this practice did the holy elect of God in the old time not only inculcate and teach with words, but also express and perform in deed. It was a heavy cross unto Abraham to slay and offer up his most dear son; and yet he with all patience shewed himself obedient unto God therein.

And Isaac, perceiving that it stood upon his life, and that he should die, we read not that he did resist, nor once open his mouth against it. (Gen. xxii.)

Joseph, when he was delivered of his brethren unto the heathen, which were strangers unto him, yet he forgave it his brethren, and did them good for it. (Gen. xxxvii. xlv.) Moses being reviled of the Israelites as a deceiver and a betrayer, yet had such compassion on them that he prayed for them, saying, "O Lord, either forgive them, or else wipe me out of thy book." Here is he willing and ready to take all the Israelites' sins and offences upon himself, that God should punish him for them. (Exod. xvii. xxxii. Rom. ix.)

David was fain to be a banished outcast a long time, and to flee every where from Saul, whom not-

withstanding he might as easily have destroyed and killed, as he might have eaten a bit of bread (1 Sam. xviii.); and after that he was put to flight of his own son, yet said patiently, "If I find grace and favour before God, then will he restore me again; but if he say, I have no pleasure nor delight in thee, behold, here I am, let him do with me as pleaseth him best." (2 Sam. xvi.)

Job, the spectacle of patience, being full of sores in his body, spoiled of his goods, and deprived of his children, said thus: "God gave it, and God hath taken it away, the name of the Lord be praised." Furthermore he saith, "If he should kill me, yet will I put my trust in him." (Job, i. ii. xiii.)

Mattathias, in the very highest peril and danger of his body and life, at such time as they would have compelled and forced him unto idolatry, made this answer unto the servants and ministers of Antiochus: "We will not swerve nor depart from our faith, neither to the right hand nor the left." (1 Mac. ii.) The Apostles did rejoice that they were worthy to be scourged, beat, and reviled for the name of Jesus. (Acts, v.)

We should learn to cry with Paul, "I am sure that neither death nor life, neither height nor depth, nor any other creature, can separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ our Lord."

After the time of the holy Prophets and Apostles, many thousand martyrs (among whom were divers notable matrons, chaste virgins, and other young people) did suffer most grievous torments and afflictions for the truth's sake. (1 Mac. ii. 2 Mac. vi. vii.)

But now here might some man object and say, It is no marvel that the holy saints did suffer joyfully and boldly, for they did suffer innocently, unworthily, and without desert; but as for me, I must needs complain that I am a wretched sinner, and that which

I suffer is for my deserts and sins, so that I suffer worthily; and therefore my cross and affliction can in no wise be compared or likened unto the cross of the holy saints, &c. This objection may be answered in few words.

The holy saints, every one of them, concerning themselves and their own nature, were miserable sinners; but again they were holy and righteous through Jesus Christ, which hath distributed and given unto them also, through true faith, his holiness and righteousness. (Job, iv. xiii. Isa. xiv. 2 Pet. ii. Rev. xx.)

Furthermore, these two virtues, true faith and Christian patience, are so nigh of affinity, and so annexed and knit in fellowship together, that always the one helpeth the other.

Faith, if stirred up, exercised, put in ure, and practised, receiveth increase and more strength through patience in sorrow and affliction; whenas we for Christ's sake do both desire and also wait for help and strength of God against our nature, which can nothing but doubt and despair; and also against the weakness of the flesh, against the temptation of the devil, and against the assaults of the world.

And again, patience is exercised, proved, and made stronger through true faith. For whosoever knoweth, and is fully persuaded that he hath a gracious and a merciful God, with whom after this miserable life he shall live everlastingly, the same shall suffer all manner of trouble and adversity patiently, christianly, and thankfully. Again, through faith in Christ, we are set at one, and reconciled with God, and assured of his grace, mercy, and favour for Jesus Christ's sake and the merits of his passion. (Rom. iv. Gal. iv. Eph. ii.)

For example: David, forasmuch as he believed truly and steadfastly in God, spake boldly with a courage: God is our hope and strength, a very present help

in all the sorrows and necessities that have assaulted us. Therefore will we not fear, though the world should sink, and though the hills should be carried away in the midst of the sea, &c. (Psal. xlvi.) Yea, every Christian man (if it were possible) should be content to lose a thousand bodies and lives, if it were for no other thing but that he hath heard, tasted, and believed the holy Gospel.

But for any man to be impatient, and so to remain, it is an evident token that the same person never had any true faith; or else, if he had, that it is quenched and gone away. For impatiency falleth unto murmuring and disobedience against God, and beginneth to hate God, and to blaspheme him.

Also Christian prayer is a great help and furtherance to patience; for in prayer we desire the sanctification of the name of God. Now is the name of God most praised and sanctified, when we, being in the highest danger and necessity, do depend and hang upon God (through faith and patience) as upon one that will dispose all things well, and to a good end.

Again, in prayer we desire that the kingdom of God may come unto us, (Matt. vi. Luke, xi.) Now, if God will confound and destroy in us the kingdom of the devil and of the flesh, or else would utterly lead and draw us into his godly and heavenly kingdom through the cross, were it not as much as to pray against ourselves, if we should be impatient under the same?

We pray, likewise, that God's will be done. Now if it be God's will that we should have sorrow, trouble, and adversity upon earth, how dare or can we resist or grudge against his will?

Examples and causes taken out of natural things, and of heathen men, whereby a man may be moved to patience in adversity.

THE TWENTY-NINTH CHAPTER.

If there were no holy Scripture at all, yet might a man of his own reason take example of brute beasts, of natural things, as of body and soul, and the natural parts unto them belonging; also of heathen men, Jews, and handycraftsmen, and of all manner of states and degrees of men; and likewise of the angels, and of the devil; whereby they might conclude and learn, that they ought to behave themselves patiently, boldly, and manfully, in adversity and misfortune.

A lamb or a sheep is led unto the slaughter, and never crieth nor openeth the mouth, but suffereth and abideth it patiently and meekly. Even so ought the holy elect of God, when they are cursed and reviled, not to curse or revile again; when they are smitten, not to smite again; but to suffer all manner of smart and pain, and not once to open their mouths against it.

Our body is but very worm's meat; and if we could bestow the same to the honour of our Redeemer and Saviour Christ, ought we not to be glad and rejoice, if we might so do? (Job, xix. 1 Cor. xv. Eccles. v.)

Likeas they that are sick and diseased can be content to suffer and abide any of the members of their body to be cut off, and to be burnt, so that they might be any thing relieved and eased thereby of their great smart and continual pain (which is yet but transitory), and be made whole and sound again: even so ought we gladly and willingly to suffer our Lord God, and to be still and quiet when he sendeth

us adversity, whereby we may be relieved and discharged of eternal pain, and obtain health, blessing, and salvation for our souls.

If thou canst consider the order and course of nature, that is naturally written in thy heart, thou shalt thereby learn and conclude that a man ought to be so strong and steadfast, that he should not be moved by any smart, pain, or other temptation, to do any thing that is unseemly or against honesty.

And out of this honesty, wrought and planted in nature, sprang the learning and examples of the wise and notable heathen men, which we call philosophers, among whom this was a common proverb and sentence: "Bear and forbear." The first word whereof teacheth us, that we should suffer the cross patiently, and to be still and meek when we are visited therewith. And the second signifieth, that we should hate, flee, and avoid all manner of examples, words, or deeds, that might give any manner of occasion to any evil. Aristotle, in his book of manners, teacheth, that felicity and blessedness consisteth not specially in health of body, in abundance of goods, or in worldly honour, dignity, and estimation, but rather in the exercise and practice of virtue. Out of the which it followeth, that a man that is virtuous may be blessed, though he have never so much trouble and adversity; and he reckoneth and taketh trouble or adversity for the very matter and occasion whereby virtue is most stirred up and exercised, and wherein it doth most shine and appear.

And the same Aristotle also compareth an honest and virtuous man unto a good captain: for likeas a good captain leadeth and ordereth his host, according as the occasion requireth: even so a virtuous man behaveth himself patiently and well in adversity, and maketh the best of it.

The Stoics did teach plainly, that it was not to be

reckoned an evil thing for us to live in poverty, sickness, and misery; but this only to be evil, to forsake virtue, and shew any point of dishonesty. Cicero, one of the most notable and excellent Romans, writeth thus: "Remember and persuade this with thyself, that besides sin and dishonesty, nothing can happen to a man whereat he ought to be astonished or abashed." And according to this example did one heathen man often comfort another by all manner of circumstances and things, as these following, and others.

It beseemeth not a man to weep and wail like a child, or a woman. And Seneca writeth thus: It is easier to subdue and overcome a whole nation, than one only man. Item: Thou art no more a child of a year, but thou hast age and years, and therefore more is required of thee than of a child. Thou hast been brought up and instructed from thy youth in godly wisdom and knowledge; the same must thou now practise and shew forth.

Before this time thou couldest comfort and give good counsel unto others; do not now, therefore, like the evil physicians, which boast and pretend that they can help other men, and cannot help themselves. Before this time hitherto thou hast shewed and behaved thyself manfully; therefore be now like unto thyself, and go not backward. It were an unseeming thing to wax from day to day worse, and weaker, and such-like.

Although this doctrine of the heathen men in this and such other points is to be commended, yet the stories do make mention of many unseemly acts that they did: as this, that Coriolanus, for desire of revenge, did war against his own natural country; also Cato and Antonius, for sorrow and heaviness, did kill and murder themselves. But the very reason of man can discern and judge, that such things

are against nature, and against all virtue and honesty.

But the very right and the most notable heathen men have commended and set forth patience, not only with words, but also have shewed the same in example and deed. Among the Grecians, Aristides, an excellent virtuous man, being banished out of his country, did take and suffer his misery very manfully and patiently. Among the Romans, Camillus and Attilius Regulus were highly commended and praised for their excellent patience and stoutness, which they shewed in adversity.

Scipio could have defended and revenged himself of the seditious rebellion with force and strong hand. But of an excellent princely heart he went out of the sight of his enemies for a time, and suffered much trouble and injury of them, for the profit of his land, lest he should give the occasion to more bitterness and fierceness. Yea, we read of certain women, as of Cornelia, which in affliction and adversity did shew manly hearts and great stoutness.

But we must always mark the right difference between the heathenish and the Christian patience. As Socrates in his adversity did wonder at the unrighteousness of men, and thought that it was but a chance and fortune that he was afflicted; but David knew and confessed that his visitation and affliction came from God. (2 Sam. xxiv. 1 Chron. xii.)

Socrates, forasmuch as he suffereth innocently, and without a cause, he cannot find by his reason that we should wish and desire punishment and affliction; but David, after a certain manner, wisheth and desireth the cross; for he knoweth that it is God's will to testify, and to open manifestly, through the cross and adversity, his wrath and displeasure against sin.

Socrates, in his manly sufferance and patience, neither desireth nor looketh for any help, comfort, or

mitigation of his afflictions from God. Yea, the notable Cato, hearing Pompeius, being a good man, was overcome and subdued of Julius, which was a wicked man, began to doubt and despair. But David in his patience and obedience calleth upon God for help and deliverance, and is certain and sure that the Almighty Lord doth assist him for the holy and blessed seed's sake, whereof the heathen have no knowledge nor understanding. (Psalm v. Gen. iii.)

Thus, by comparing the one to the other, we shall find and perceive that the doctrine of the Gospel is more pleasant and acceptable, and moveth us unto more thankfulness towards the Gospel of Jesus Christ; through whom, and by whose means, we obtain an whole and a perfect comfort. Now from the old ethnics and heathen men let us descend and come to the Turks, Jews, and to other degrees of men. Many a Turk and Jew would suffer himself to be martyred and tormented most cruelly, rather than he would deny or forsake Mahomet's religion, and his perverse and naughty faith; and why should not a Christian then much more be content to suffer stoutly, if need should require, for the Christian religion and faith's sake?

A merchant-man maketh far voyages and great journeys, and ventureth body and goods, and nothing is too hard and sour for him, only for worldly and transitory gain and lucre. And yet his hope is uncertain, whether his chance shall be good or evil. And though he happeneth never so well, yet he bringeth home nothing but frail and transitory goods, which shall have an end.

Now all we have a long voyage to make also, even from earth to heaven. And should not we be as well content, as prompt, glad, and willing, to suffer all manner of perils and dangers, that may happen by the way, seeing that we have an infallible and sure

hope of eternal and everlasting riches, for Jesus Christ's sake?

A wayfaring man, that goeth from home, although he passeth many pleasant houses and goodly meads, yet minding altogether homeward again, all such things do nothing tempt nor grieve him: even so, whensoever we have not all our pleasure and delight here, let us stablish our comfort and delight ourselves with our country and habitation in heaven. (2 Cor. v. Phil. iii.)

When a man of an high and noble birth is contemned and mishandled in a strange land; where he is not known, it grieveth him nothing so much as if the like should happen unto him at home in his own natural country. Now is our natural country in heaven; upon earth we are but strangers and pilgrims. Therefore we ought the rather to suffer all things patiently here, only that we may have rest among the inhabitants in our right eternal land and country. (Heb. xiii. Phil. iii. 1 Pet. i.)

A man of war, preparing himself with all manner of things appertaining to warfare, though his enemy be never so strong, yet he forgetteth all fear, and never once thinketh upon the strokes and wounds, but only upon the victory and triumph, and goeth his way and fighteth manfully like a giant against his enemies, only for worldly glory and lucre: which thing may redound to the great slander and shame of Christian people, if they for the honour, glory, and pleasure of God should not as promptly, willingly, and manfully, fight against their ghostly enemies for higher and greater triumph, lucre, and commodity.

A ploughman or an husbandman goeth to the field, dungeth, plougheth, soweth, and harroweth his ground, and hath much sorrow therewith, and waiteth for fruit and profit thereof. By the same

example doth the holy Apostle St. James move and exhort us unto patience.

Turn a four-cornered stone how thou wilt, and it shall always stand upright. Even so, howsoever a right Christian be tempted and assaulted, he will ever, notwithstanding, remain upright. When a man playeth at the tables, he cannot always cast what he would have, but whatsoever he hath cast, he must make the best of it. To this game doth Plato liken our life, wherein happen many things contrary to our will, which we must take and turn all to the best, and never despair.

When a little child that can scarcely go chanceth to stumble upon a stone, he falleth down by and by in the same place, and there lieth still, weeping and crying till somebody take him up. But people of reason and understanding must not do like children, but must use and endeavour themselves, what sickness or inconvenience soever happen, by and by (so far as is possible) to ease, heal, and remedy it.

A virtuous child will not forsake his father in his need or trouble, nor an honest wife her husband and spouse, nor yet a faithful servant his master. And why, then, should we forsake God our father, or Christ our spouse and heavenly lord and master, in trouble and adversity?

Such as are money-merchants, ambitious and vainglorious, fornicators, whoremongers, and murderers, care neither for shame nor for any thing else, and spare no labour or travail, so that they may bring to pass their wicked lust and desire, and yet oft-times they miss also. And why, then, should not a right godly man be constant, painful, and patient, in honest and good things, as St. Bernard writeth very well, saying, What a faintness, sluggishness, and dulness is this, that such as are wicked and ungodly should be more fervent to wickedness and abomina-

tion, than we should be to honesty and goodness; yea, that they should run more swiftly to the devil and to death, than we should to God and to life!

Furthermore, thy fearfulness and impatiency is a great pleasure and comfort to thy foes, and a great heaviness and discomfort to thy friends. For doubtless all that wish thee good, do rejoice in thy strength and constantness. Think also that thou fightest in the presence of the holy angels, which by the provision and appointment of God do dwell with thee, and move and exhort thee to steadfastness; and they rejoice when thou continuest steadfast in goodness. (1 Cor. iv.)

And again: we should to the uttermost of our power flee and abhor all such things as might delight and rejoice the devil; for he is the deadly archenemy of God, and of all mankind. (1 Pet. iv.)

Now this is the very purpose of his temptations and suggestions, and all that he seeketh, that we, when we are poor, should steal; and when we are sick, that we should murmur against God; and in war, affliction, and adversity, that we should forsake our Christian faith and religion. Constantness, faithfulness, and steadfastness towards God and the Christian church, doth grieve and displease him; therefore we, to rejoice the angels, and to grieve the devil, ought the rather to be constant and patient in the midst of all adversity.

By what means patience may be obtained and gotten; and once had, how it may be kept and increased.

THE THIRTIETH CHAPTER.

Notwithstanding that we know and perceive that patience is so profitable and fruitful a thing unto us, yet we feel in our flesh a certain misliking and grudge toward the cross. Who can be content and

glad to see himself deprived of his life, honour, estimation, goods, children, or wife? The remembrance of the pleasure and prosperity that we have had in times past doth so grieve us, that with Lot's wife we sigh and look back after Sodom (Gen. xix.); and with the children of Israel we lust after the flesh-pots in Egypt. (Exod. xvi.) And like weakness do we also find in the noble king and prophet David, as he himself saith: Many say unto my soul, He hath no God; my soul would receive no comfort, my spirit is waxen weak and feeble. (Psalm lxxvii.)

Item, our Saviour Jesus, in his innocent flesh, did shew and declare the fearfulness and anguish of the flesh, whenas he, kneeling upon the Mount Olivet, considered his passion and martyrdom that was coming and at hand, and sweat for sorrow and anguish, so that the drops of his sweat gushed upon the earth like drops of blood, and he prayed unto his Father, that, if it were his will, that cup might be taken from him. (Luke, xxii.) In like manner, being upon the cross, he said, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? how long wilt thou thus deal with me? (Psalm xxii. Matt. xxvii.)

But it is not to be understood as though Christ did doubt of his Father's favour and grace; but the weakness of his flesh could have been content to have suffered no more. (Mark, xiv. Luke, xxii. John, xviii. Gal. v.)

Now likeas the spirit far passeth and overcometh the flesh in Christ: even so must it do in us also, that we have more respect unto God, and unto the life everlasting, than unto this worm-eaten flesh. And therefore now will we declare by most sure and infallible reasons, by what means and ways a man may master and overcome his flesh in the time of the cross and affliction; and so shew and declare true and perfect patience.

Which virtue (likeas all other) hath her first beginning and increase of the grace, power, and spirit of God, without whom we can work nothing that good is, neither yet resist or overcome any evil.

It is written, The victory consisteth not in the multitude of men, but the power and strength cometh from heaven. (1 Mac. iii.)

Item: I am able to do all things through Him that maketh me mighty, which is Christ. (Phil. iv.) Wherefore, although my fleshly reason sinketh, wavereth, and faileth never so much, yet doth God continually preserve and uphold my spirit, that it do not utterly faint, but continue prompt and willing till such time as it may be delivered and eased.

But now how should we order and behave ourselves that God may grant us his strength, and true patience, and boldness? Forsooth, through faith, hope, prayer, love, true faithfulness, virtue, and godliness, we may obtain it of God.

First, we must furnish and comfort our hearts and minds with faith towards God; for whosoever doth know perfectly, and is certain that God, which is the Lord of all haps and mishaps, of prosperity and adversity, is pacified and reconciled with him, and that he for that cause cannot be deprived of eternal salvation, the same shall be able to contemn and defy all worldly honour, pomp, and lusts. And again, there can be no pain so bitter, sharp, and grievous unto him, that can bring him out of patience.

In our Christian faith we confess and believe an holy universal church, and that we have fellowship and participation with all saints and elect of God; and also we confess and believe remission of sins, resurrection of the flesh, and life everlasting. And Christ giveth unto every one that hath faith this absolution: Whosoever heareth my word and believeth Him that hath sent me, the same hath everlasting

life, and cometh not to judgment, but passeth through from death to life. (John, v.) Wherefore through faith a man obtaineth power, strength, patience, constancy, and steadfastness in all goodness. (Rom. v. viii. Heb. x. xi.)

If strong and mighty enemies should come upon thee, assault and besiege thee, and thou hadst on thy side one whom thou knewest certainly to be a lord, and to have power over all thine enemies, thou mightest lawfully be bold, and without fear. Now have we (through faith) Christ on our side, which is Lord over all lords, which hath full power over all fortune and misfortune, prosperity and adversity.

Therefore thou must not long think and look upon the weakness of thy flesh, but thou must stir about with thy faith, that is to say, thou must earnestly and diligently consider the mighty and true love of Jesus Christ, which both can and will comfort and rejoice thee more than all misfortune is able to discomfort thee, or to make thee heavy.

It is said to us, Your enemy the devil goeth about like a roaring lion, and seeketh whom he may devour; whom resist ye steadfastly with faith. (1 Pet. v.) Item: St. James saith that your approved faith worketh patience. The holy and faithful Apostles did evidently declare, that according to the inward man it was a joy and comfort unto them to be beaten and scourged for the Lord's sake. Again: all trouble and affliction are grievous by reason of our weak faith, which is yet but little exercised, and hath not well and fully tasted the riches and treasures of the children of God.

Yet, notwithstanding, no man ought to despair, though he have not a perfect strong faith.

It happeneth oftentimes that the faith, being little and weak, in the time of necessity and affliction, draweth back, and is like to a brand and sparkle that

hath but a little fire upon it, which the Lord Jesus will not quench, but increase, so that we do but pray with the dear Apostles, and say, O Lord, strengthen our faith. (Isai. xli. Matt. xii. Mar. ix.)

But when a man is utterly destitute of faith, as he that knoweth of no other, nor of no better life than this, it is no marvel at all, though he despair at length.

Yea, the more he trusteth in himself, or in any worldly and transitory thing, the more unable is he to resist and continue in trouble and adversity. (Acts, iv. v.) For there is no right, comfort, nor succour, in any manner of thing besides the Lord Jesus.

There are two kinds of hope; the one is of nature, and the other cometh of faith. The natural hope is a special gift and benefit of God, which, after a certain manner, doth help and comfort a man that is troubled and vexed, that he do not utterly despair; but in the midst of all adversity hopeth that in a while it will be better, and so waiteth and tarrieth till the adversity be overblown.

Now if this natural hope have such a strength and virtue, should not the other hope, which the Spirit of God doth newly inspire, through faith, work a much greater and perfecter patience and strength; that a man in the midst of his cross shall hope and wait for heavenly comfort and aid of God for Christ's sake? And although the natural hope doth often and many times fail and deceive, and is always uncertain, yet this Christian hope doth never fail nor deceive.

The husbandman considereth not only his labour and travail, and what tempest and mischance of weather may fortune; but forasmuch as he trusteth and hopeth that the fruit shall wax and come forth when the time is, therefore he laboureth stoutly and with a good will; even so in the spiritual vineyard, under

the yoke of the Lord, the hope and trust of honour and reward maketh men patient and willing, and giveth them courage. If we hope for that thing which we see not, we wait for it through patience. (Rom. viii.)

Furthermore, we must seek upon God fervently and without ceasing through prayer, that he will give us a bold and a strong spirit to suffer all things, and to continue steadfast unto the end. (Matt. xxiv.) Thus doing, he will surely hear us most graciously, according to his promise, and faithfully give us his spiritual gifts most specially.

When a man maketh his complaint and openeth his need and grief unto his special friend, he feeleth a certain ease afterward, so that his pain and grief (by rehearsing thereof) is somewhat relieved, remedied, and taken away. Much more comfort and ease shall we receive by telling and opening our grief and complaint unto God.

For a man is soon weary of our complaining; but if we should spend the whole day in praying, crying, and complaining unto God, he would love, comfort, and strengthen us the more. Again, to search, hear, and learn the word of God, and for a man to exercise himself therein, is a great furtherance and help to patience. (Luke, xviii.) For God hath not revealed and opened his word in vain unto us, but hath shewed and set before us in the same most sweet and loving promises, and comfortable examples; that we might learn thereby his goodness, faithfulness, and great loving kindness, and so comfort and strengthen ourselves by the same, in all manner of trouble and adversity. For an example: the holy word of God saith, In the world ye shall have sorrow and trouble, but be of good comfort, for I have overcome the world. (John, xvi.)

Item: God is our hope and strength. O Lord,

thou forsakest not them that seek thee, &c. (Psalm xxv. Isai. xxviii.) Many such godly promises and excellent comfortable sayings have we, which we ought to seek and to fetch, though it were even from Jerusalem, upon our knees, and never to cease lauding and praising of God, that he in these latter days hath made us partakers of the eternal and infallible comfort of our souls in his word and Gospel. Which word is nothing but pure virtue and life, as all faithful hearts do feel and perceive. And it ought no otherwise to be received of us, but as though we heard the very voice of God himself from heaven, speaking all such things as we hear out of the Old and New Testament.

Again: the love which waxeth and springeth out of faith worketh patience in adversity, constancy and steadfastness in goodness. Jacob served seven years for the damsel Rachel, and by reason of the hearty love that he bare unto her the time was but short unto him. And the days that he served for her seemed but a short space. (Gen. xxix.) Even so, whosoever loveth God shall bear and take patiently whatsoever God layeth upon him; and whatsoever he suffereth for God's sake, it shall be easy unto him.

Now sickness and other plagues do not happen unto us without the will and providence of God; therefore if we love God heartily (as we ought to do, forasmuch as he is our merciful Father, and we his children and heirs), we cannot murmur against his visitation, nor be discontent with it, but we shall rather run after him through all manner of ways, be they never so rough; and shall be content with all things, be they never so hard and grievous; and evermore press unto him through thick and thin, until such time as we come to rest in him, according to the example of the holy Apostles and martyrs, whose love toward God did mitigate and ease all their

sorrow, cross, and adversity. (Acts, iv. 2 Cor. xi. 2 Tim. iii. 1 Mac. xii. 2 Mac. vi. &c.)

Item: to give alms, and to exercise all kinds of virtue and godliness, worketh patience, and that specially, for these two causes: first, because God doth increase his spiritual gifts in them which do well use and bestow them; for to him that hath, shall more be given. (Eccles. xxxv. Matt. xxv.) And secondarily, whosoever behaveth himself godly and virtuously, the same hath a better and a more quiet conscience, and so much more boldness and confidence, but yet only building and staying upon the righteousness of Jesus Christ. (1 Cor. ix. 2 Tim. ii.)

Item: likeas a soldier (first, for fear of prison, and of the shameful death which he should suffer if the battle should be lost; and again, in hope of the high reward and excellent honour and renown if the victory go on his side) will fight the more boldly and lustily: even so every true Christian is stirred and provoked to more faithfulness and patience, when he considereth the exceeding profit and commodity of patience; and again, the great hurt and discommodity of impatience. (Job, i. v. Rev. ii.)

The fruit, profit, and commodity of patience, as well corporal as spiritual.

THE THIRTY-FIRST CHAPTER.

Last of all, patience serveth to the honour and glory of God, and to the wealth and profit of man, both in soul, body, and in transitory goods and possessions, and also in worldly honour and commendation. For the faithful do resist and withstand their pain and smart, and patiently without any grudging suffer the Lord to do all with them according to his own will; not for any vain-glory, nor for any worldly or transitory gain or lucre, but only and specially to

shew themselves obedient to God, and to laud and praise him.

As, for example, God was as highly praised and glorified when the three companions of Daniel suffered themselves so patiently and manfully to be cast into the hot burning oven; as he was by the excellent wisdom of Daniel, which he declared in that he could open unto the king his dream. Furthermore, the patient is less sick, and when he is sick, he is sooner whole again. Whereas, through impatiency the heart is pressed, vexed, gnawed, consumed, and eaten up. A merry and quiet heart is an help and furtherance to health; but a heavy and sorrowful mind maketh the natural strength to consume. Likeas the moths do hurt the garments, and worms the wood, even so doth sorrow and heaviness hurt the heart of man.

When a child, being corrected and punished of his father, suffereth it patiently, his father hath the more pity upon him, and holdeth his hand, and ceaseth the sooner; but if the child shew himself froward, cry any thing loud, or murmur and grudge against him, then is the father the more angry and fierce over him, and beateth him the more sharply: even so the heavenly Father punisheth the patient man more easily, and healeth him the sooner; but towards them that murmur against him, he sheweth himself sharp and fierce.

The patient man, Job, obtained his goods back again, and was plentifully recompensed of the Lord, even here in this life. The faithful have experience and proof in very deed, that it is good for them to be patient, and to suffer the Lord to work his will. And again, many, by their impatiency and murmuring, do lose the thing that they should else have enjoyed.

Sufferance and patience is a token of wisdom;

unmeasurable heaviness is a token of foolishness, when we weep and complain like children, saying, I would never have thought, I would never have believed that it should have come thus and thus to pass, and such-like.

Item, impatiency entangleth and ensnareth the mind, and maketh a man sometimes dull, and at his wit's end. When a man submitteth and giveth over himself humbly unto the will of God, although his adversity cannot be remedied, yet it shall be easier and lighter unto him; yea, there is nothing so bitter, sour, hard, or terrible to a man, but by this means shall be easy, sweet, light, and unto him comfortable.

And again, so long as a man doth not utterly give over and yield himself to the good will of God, and will not suffer him to work his pleasure with him, contented whatsoever he sendeth, his grief is the worse, and the more sharp is his pain, his mind never ceaseth gnawing and fretting, and of one sorrow he maketh three or four. Likeas the bird that is caught with the lime-rod, the more it striveth to deliver itself, the more do the feathers cleave and hang to the lime; and in like manner the more the fish that is caught in the net seeketh to come out, the more it windeth itself in; and as he that is bound with chains or fetters of iron, the more he strayeth abroad, the more harm he doth himself: even so such as are froward and unpatient in adversity, do increase their sorrow, and hurt themselves the more.

He that hath a heavy burden upon his back, the more he shutleth and moveth the same, the more doth it grieve him: even so the more froward and unpatient a man is under the cross, the more grievous and painful is it unto him. It is not unwisely spoke of the heathen man Pliny, which saith, a good heart in adversity taketh away the half of his misery;

and it is a common proverb of the heathen men, the fear of adversity and pain, before it cometh, is worse than the pain itself when it is come.

All manner of punishment and adversity, which according to the merit and desert of man should be unto him a taste and beginning of everlasting pain and damnation, the patient man taketh and useth for an occasion to exercise thereby all kinds of virtue; whereby the spiritual gifts of grace do wax and increase more and more. For they that are patient do keep the true faith toward God, cry and call upon God through fervent prayer; honour, laud, and praise God, not only for that he ruleth and disposeth all things, but also that he bringeth all things to a good end and success, and that he will so continually do. And thus through patience is patience increased.

And contrariwise, the unpatient man decayeth daily in all kinds of virtue, and is daily more and more spoiled and deprived of all goodness. For whosoever is content, and can suffer himself to be provoked of the devil and of the flesh, and giveth place unto them, the same forsaketh faith, prayer, and obedience toward God, and suffereth them to depart, and so is unthankful unto his true and faithful God, whom he cannot be content to suffer, and to commit himself unto him for a while, that he may the more defend and preserve him afterward.

He thinketh that God doth not regard him, and that it is in vain to trust and to wait for help, comfort, and deliverance of God; he imagineth with himself nothing else but that God is utterly wroth and displeased with him, and can find in his heart to curse and to blaspheme God, as though he were a cruel, unmerciful, and an unrighteous God, shewing more love and favour, and doing more good to the wicked than to the godly; and by this occasion seeketh for

aid, help, and comfort of creatures, and maketh vows unto saints and to pilgrimages; that is to say, to chapels of idolatry and of false gods, and maketh wicked covenants, agreements, and promises against God.

Some for fear do forsake and deny the Christian faith, and receive the wicked popish religion, consenting to manifest idolatry, and make God a liar, as that he could not or would not help any more in this or that thing, according to his manifold promises in the Old and New Testament.

Furthermore, unquietness is augmented and increased through impatiency, so that a man that is unpatient is every day more sorrowful and desperate than other; fleeth, where he should steadfastly continue; and findeth neither rest, ease, nor quietness in his heart: and many one, because he will not suffer and abide poverty, and other like extreme necessity, falleth to naughtiness, murder, whoredom, lying, stealing, extortion, riot, cutting of purses, and to such other detestable abominations.

Item, they that be unpatient do envy and disdain at other men's wealth and prosperity; for they imagine that to be the cause of their cross and sorrow, and they fret against it, envying, disdaining, and hating oft-times the innocent without any cause; yea, they rage and rave, running headlong to revenge themselves. By the reason thereof oft-times (as many stories do testify), contention, hatred, war, uproar, shedding of blood, decay and destruction of the church, of religion, and of the commonwealth, have risen; as Coriolanus, to revenge himself, as an enemy did procure war against his own natural country. Besides this, it is a high honour and commendation before men, before the angels, before the holy saints, and also before God himself, when a

man sheweth patience, boldness, and strength in adversity.

And again, when a man behaveth himself unseemly, unpatiently, and desperately, it is a shame and dishonour for him both before all creatures, and also before the Creator himself. For it is no high nor hard thing for a man to shew a bold and a strong heart, and to be content with God's working, when all things happen prosperously and according to his mind; but this is a virtue and a point of cunning, when a man's mind is not moved nor broken in adversity and misfortune. Likeas in a school of defence, he that hath shewed the most manly touch, and hath won the victory, hath the greater commendation and higher honour: even so it is much more commendable, and a greater honour, to overcome and to subdue our spiritual enemies, and to have the victory against the assaults of the flesh and the devil.

He that forsaketh his bodily master without a just cause, is taken before the world for a man that lacketh faith, truth, and honesty; and should it not then be a greater point of dishonesty and of unfaithfulness, in the time of affliction under the cross, to forsake Christ and his word, and through impatiency to work and to do against the same? He that subdueth the temptations of the mind, is to be preferred, and more to be commended than he that hath besieged and overcome a strong city. For the which cause, as well among the Christians as among the heathen, divers notable persons have gotten high commendation and praise for their trustiness, fidelity, and excellent constancy, which they have shewed at a hazard and at the time of need.

And specially the example of our Saviour Jesus Christ is to be considered, whereof Paul maketh mention, saying, If Christ, after his affliction and

obedience even unto death, were exalted to high honour and glory, it shall be a furtherance likewise unto us to great honour, if we take our cross daily upon us, and follow him boldly and manly.

Experience teacheth also, when a man will shift away the cross from him by unlawful means, oft-times he is compelled and driven by force to suffer as much or more the shame and dishonesty.

Judith saith, they that have not taken their cross and temptation in the fear of God, but through murmuring and grudging against God have shewed themselves unpatient, they were destroyed and murdered of serpents.

Item, whether a man do suffer worthily or innocently, if he continue in murmuring and is unpatient, it serveth to his eternal damnation.

And again, whether a man suffer justly or innocently, if he take it patiently as he ought to do, it will be profitable unto him, and a furtherance to everlasting life. And all the sorrows and pains upon earth, in respect of the bliss and salvation that is prepared for us, is but the biting of a gnat or a flea, which is easy to overcome.

When men in warfare lying in camp will play the sluggards and be slothful, and not resist the enemies stoutly and manfully, their friends are destroyed, their houses spoiled, their villages set on fire, their dear friends and neighbours murdered and slain, and their wives and daughters defiled and ravished, and all goeth to havoc, and is full of misery: even so in the spiritual warfare and field, if we yield unto the flesh and the devil, and resist them not manfully and constantly, we cast ourselves into perpetual danger, misery, and unquietness. But if we fight against the ghostly enemies stoutly and patiently, we may the sooner attain to perpetual rest and quietness.

He that is sick, if he will not receive the medicine

because it is bitter and sour, it is no marvel nor wo
der if the same man perish in his sickness or diseas
but if he would suffer himself to be handled af
the mind and counsel of the physician, he mig
overcome the smart, and have good hope to be
stored to his health again: even so all right a
faithful Christians, that are patient in adversity, m
conceive a much more steadfast and sure hope th
they shall attain to everlasting rest of body and so
Whereas, contrariwise, they which remain and co
tinue in their frowardness and impatiency agai
God the heavenly physician, must smart for
everlastingly both in body and soul. Scripture
confirm and prove this have we: Happy is that m
which suffereth in temptation; for after that he
proved, he shall receive the crown of life. But
man may gather or conclude upon this, that we me
or deserve eternal salvation for our patience, wh
thing only Christ alone hath done.

Last of all, patience is profitable, and bringe
singular commodity, not only to him that hath t
same virtue, but also to other; for when anotl
perceiveth thee to be constant in the truth, he take
occasion to exercise like patience and steadfastne
It is manifest by divers credible stories, whenas t
Christians have died boldly for the Christian fait
sake, that certain of the persecutors have wonde
so sore thereat, that they, by that and no other oc
sion, were converted to the faith of Christ.

Item, patience and steadfastness have wrought q
etness in commonwealths, in the church, in ma
nations, cities, and towns. Scipio, a noble rul
chose rather to leave Rome, than to subdue a
oppress his enemies with force of arms; the do
whereof turned to the singular commodity of t
whole commonwealth; and contrariwise, a bitt

cruel, and unpatient mind bringeth, worketh, and occasioneth infinite harm and destruction.

Also through our impatience in adversity we give occasion to them that be weak in the faith to doubt whether our faith be the true faith or no, when we confess of God that he is our comfort, both in this world and in the world to come, and yet shew ourselves so desperate in adversity, as though God had utterly forsaken us.

Wherefore we ought to prepare ourselves for all adversity in time of prosperity, and not to hang upon transitory things, that when need shall require, we may be content to forego them, and continue steadfast in the true faith, wherein whosoever shall continue unto the end, shall be saved.

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